AN

Univerſal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent:

COMPILED from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, Chronological, and Other TABLES.

VOL. IV.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξίχεσθαι μὴ καλανόει, ἐν ἀυταῖς γὰρ ἐυρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως.

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M.DCC.XLIV.



TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM

LORD *TALBOT*,

BARON of HENSOL.

My LORD,

WE preſume to lay before Your Lordſhip the Fourth Volume of the *Univerſal Hiſtory*; a Work which has hitherto received a favourable Applauſe, and is at preſent read by moſt Nations of *Europe* in their ſeveral Dialects, and by the Learned of all Nations in that Language which is peculiar to Men of Letters. The Names of the Noble Perſonages who have given Countenance and Protection to the foregoing Volumes, have, no doubt, greatly contributed to the uncommon Approbation they have met with, and heightened their Reputation among our own Countrymen, as well as Foreigners. That this Volume might, at its firſt Appearance in the World, be attended with the ſame Advantages as the former, is the Motive that has induced us to take the Liberty of inſcribing it to Your Lordſhip: For who can be ſo little converſant in the Hiſtories of the preſent and paſt Ages, as not to be greatly influenced in favour of a Performance, which diſplays the Illuſtrious Name of TALBOT? The Name of a Family from which your Lordſhip is lineally derived, near as ancient as our Monarchy, and ever revered by this Nation, as it has eminently adorned the higheſt Offices both in Church and State: For whoever turns over the *Engliſh* Annals, muſt find the TALBOTS exerting their great Talents for the Service of their Country, commanding Armies in the Field, preſiding in the Senate, or at the Head of a glorious Adminiſtration.

Adminiſtration. And here, my Lord, we muſt aſk Pardon for reviving Your's and the Kingdom's deplorable Loſs, when we reflect upon that Great and Good Man Your Father, who, to his immortal Honour, was the Darling of the preſent, as he will be the Admiration of all future Times. My Lord, a Subject ſo copious as the CHARACTER of the laſt Lord Chancellor, we are ſenſible, cannot be confined to the narrow Limits of a Dedication; and we ſhall the rather decline it, becauſe we hope to ſee THAT become one of the moſt amiable Parts of ſome future Volume: Beſides, my Lord, as You are univerſally allowed to inherit his extraordinary Virtues, we will not dare to offend that remarkable Modeſty, which, with his other valuable Qualities, hath deſcended to Your Lordſhip. Therefore we ſhall not preſume further, but only with Your Lordſhip's Permiſſion, to acquaint the World, that the ſole Aim of this Addreſs is to pay a Reverence to ſuch exalted Merit, and to have the Honour of declaring ourſelves to be, with the utmoſt Duty and Reſpect,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt Obedient,

And Devoted,

Humble Servants,

The Authors.

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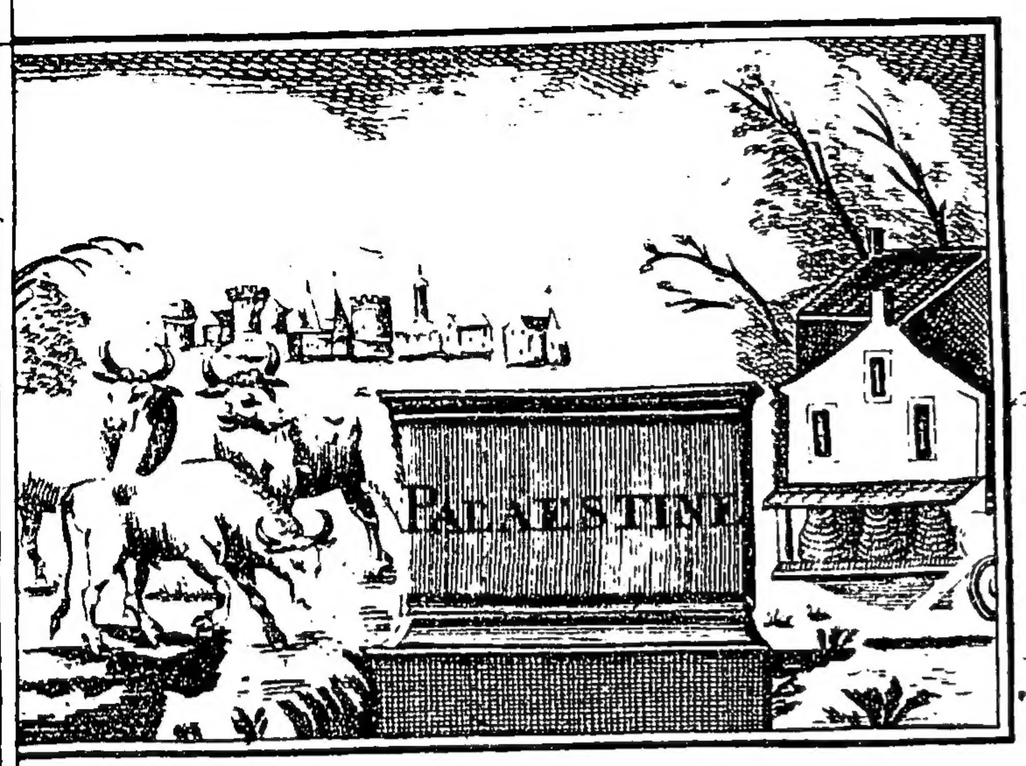
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AN UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

CHAP. XI.

The Hiſtory of the Jews *from their return from the* Babyloniſh *captivity to the deſtruction of* Jeruſalem *by* Titus Veſpaſian, *with an account of their diſperſion and condition to this preſent time.*

THIS chapter, long and extenſive as it is, it containing an epocha of five hundred and thirty-ſix years from their return into *Judæa* to the birth of Chriſt, and ſeventy-three more from that time to the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* and total diſperſion of the *Jewiſh* nation, may be conveniently enough divided into ſeven ſections or æras, according to the following chronological order: *The diviſion and chronology of this chapter.*

	Years of the flood.	Total of years.
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THE account of their diſperſion and condition to this preſent time we ſhall give in an appendix.

BUT, before we paſs to the firſt ſection, it will be convenient to premiſe ſome few things concerning the ſtate of the *Jews* during this new epoch; for from this time they are no more to be looked upon as that free, rich, and glorious people, which they had *A ſummary of the ſtate of the* Jews *during this epocha.*

had been, either under their former theocracy, as *Joſephus* rightly terms it [a], or under their opulent and warlike monarchs, and the direction of their prophets. Their condition, government, manners, their very name, and every thing but their religion, is now intirely changed! And indeed, it could hardly be expected otherwiſe, when we conſider that thoſe that had been carried away into *Babylon* were ſold for ſlaves, and diſperſed far and wide through that vaſt empire, according to the cuſtom of thoſe conquerors; and though ſome of them we find to have attained to very conſiderable poſts [b], or grown exceeding rich in the land of their captivity, yet theſe were but few, in compariſon of thoſe who groaned under the heavy hand of their oppreſſors [c]. Neither was it the former, but the latter, that is, the poorer ſort, that came back into *Judæa*; and even of theſe, the whole amount of all that came, either with *Zerubbabel*, *Ezra*, or *Nehemiah*, did ſcarcely come up to ſeventy thouſand; among whom a multitude of ſtrangers was likewiſe intermixed, either by marriages, or otherwiſe, moſt of them ſo indigent, that they were forced to be ſupported in their journey by the charitable contributions of thoſe that ſtayed behind.

a

b

They were indeed to be governed by their own laws; but as they ſtill continued in ſubjection to other nations, to the *Perſians*, *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and *Romans*, that privilege, as well as the exerciſe of their religion, did very much depend on the arbitrary will of their conquerors, and was often curtailed, and ſometimes wholly taken away. Even whilſt they were under the *Perſians*, the lives and eſtates of the whole nation were on the brink of being ſacrificed to the ambition of a favourite *Haman*, had not *Eſther*'s intereſt miraculouſly prevented the execution of that bloody edict [d]; and ſo weak did they continue under them, that they were a long time expoſed to the injuries of even the neighbouring *Samaritans*. They ſeem however to have recovered themſelves by degrees, and to have lived in more peace and plenty during the two following centuries, and that is perhaps the reaſon of that vaſt chaſm of near two hundred and fifty years in their hiſtory, between the death of *Nehemiah* and the times of the *Maccabees*, when thoſe glorious heroes not only ſhook off the foreign yoke, but raiſed the glory of their nation by their victories and conqueſts, and by obliging other nations to embrace the *Jewiſh* religion. But this epocha was but ſhort-lived, and eighty years were hardly expired, before the ungovernable ambition of ſome of their unworthy ſucceſſors introduced a general apoſtacy, and brought them under ſuch ſubjection to the *Romans*, as they could never more ſhake off. *Herod* indeed, whom theſe raiſed to the royal dignity, did greatly increaſe the glory and opulence of the *Jewiſh* nation; but as he was an *Idumean*, who had gained the crown by the deſtruction of the *Aſmonean* race, as he was a vaſſal to the *Romans*, and a tyrant of the *Jews*, they could neither be ſaid to be free or happy during his hateful reign, much leſs under thoſe of his ſucceſſors, when the government of *Judæa* was ſplit into ſo many toparchies; ſo that the nation went from thenceforward from bad to worſe, till their total deſtruction. We obſerved that they were changed in their very name; that of *Iſraelites* was quite loſt, as well as thoſe of all the other tribes, which were abſorbed into that of *Judah*. So that from their return they were chiefly known by the name of *Jews*, in oppoſition to the *Samaritans*, who were a mongrel mixture, partly of the ten tribes, partly of revolted *Jews*, and of other nations, as the ſequel will ſoon ſhew. Religion was the only thing that received the leaſt change ſince their re-eſtabliſhment, and if we except ſome apoſtacies, occaſioned by perſecutions, or the ambition of ſome of their high-prieſts, we ſhall find them in the ſequel more averſe to idolatry and all heatheniſh ſuperſtitions, than ever their fore-fathers had been prone to them before the captivity; ſuch ſtrict obſervers of the ſabbath, as to ſuffer themſelves to be murdered by whole armies, rather than violate it by ſtanding on their defence; in a word, ſo zealous for their religion, and ſuch ſtrict obſervers of their oaths, whether of allegiance or confederacy, as to ſuffer the moſt bloody perſecutions and horrid butcheries, with the utmoſt courage and conſtancy, rather than to violate their laws or fidelity. This is indeed a virtue, which, as *Joſephus* rightly obſerves, was peculiar to the *Jews* [e], and which no other nation or religion could ever lay any claim to, till the ſufferings, number, and conſtancy of the chriſtian martyrs, did in a great meaſure eclipſe the glory of the *Jewiſh* ones. We have already ſeen ſeveral inſtances of theſe laſt in a former volume, but ſhall find them ſtill more frequent in this ſequel of their hiſtory.

c

d

e

f

[a] Cont. Apion. l. ii. c. 6. [b] Vid. Nehem. i. Esth. i. Tobit paſſ. [c] Vid. int. al. Pſalm cxxxvii. [d] Esther iii. & ſeq. [e] Cont. Apion. ubi ſupra.

SECT.

SECT. I.

The history of the Jews, *from their return out of* Babylon *to their being governed by their high-priests, where the canonical books end.*

a AS ſoon as the ſeventy years captivity, pronounced by *Jeremiah* againſt this rebellious people [a], were fully accompliſhed (A), God was pleaſed to raiſe up the great *Cyrus* to the throne; who, in the very firſt year of his reign, iſſued out that decree in favour of them, of which an account has been given in a former volume *. By this edict they were not only permitted to return to their own land, which that prince had doubtleſs beheld in ſome late expedition, lying deſolate and barren, though naturally fertile (B); but alſo to rebuild their temple at *Jeruſalem*, renew the divine worſhip, and tranſport thither all the ſacred utenſils which *Nebuchadnezzar* had brought away from thence. Theſe laſt he ordered to be delivered by *Mithridath*, b his high treaſurer, to *Sheſhbazzar*, whom we take to be the ſame with *Zerubbabel* (C), who, being the grandſon of *Jehoiakim*, or *Jeconiah*, king of *Judah*, was then the firſt

Cyrus's decree. *Year of the flood* 2463. *Year before Chriſt* 536.

[a] Jerem. xxv. 11. xxix. 10. See before, Vol. I. p. 847, a. * Vol. II. p. 94, b. & not.

(A) Theſe ſeventy years are differently computed; ſome begin them from the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, when the firſt *Jewiſh* captives were carried away by *Nebuchadnezzar* (1), and end them at the firſt iſſuing of *Cyrus*'s decree. Others from the words of *Zechariah* (2) place the beginning of it at the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and its concluſion at the publication of *Darius*'s decree for the building of the temple, and reſtoring liberty to the *Jews*.

Both computations may be juſtly maintained, and may have even been deſigned by *Jeremiah*, ſince between either of the two epochas there are juſt ſeventy years, and the latter begins and ends juſt eighteen years after the former.

For as the captivity which began in the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, could not be ſaid to be completed till the total deſtruction of the city and *Jewiſh* monarchy; ſo neither could their deliverance, begun at the firſt decree of *Cyrus*, be ſaid to be completed till the fourth year of *Darius*, which confirmed and put it in full vigour and execution.

We may ſtill reckon a third method or ſtage of computing theſe ſeventy years, which anſwers in the ſame exactneſs with the two former; namely, from the twenty-third year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, when *Nebuzaradan* carried off all the remainder of the conquered *Jews*; at which time the captivity was completed to all intents; and the full reſtoration of their temple worſhip, at the ſolemn dedication of the new temple, and their celebrating the firſt paſſover immediately after it in the ſeventh year of *Darius*'s reign; when, and not till then, was fully completed the end of their thraldom, and the *Jewiſh* religion reſtored to its antient ſplendor and regularity. All theſe the reader may ſee fully demonſtrated by the learned *Prideaux* in the place laſt quoted.

However the words of the prophecy before us, we own, ſeem to fix the epocha according to the firſt of theſe ſtages; though thoſe of *Zechariah* do more plainly belong to the laſt, as will be ſhewn in its due time.

(B) We have ſhewn in a former volume †, that the *Jews* were obliged by the *Moſaic* law to let their lands lie fallow every ſeventh year (4); but this had been neglected for a conſiderable time; for which God cauſed it to lie deſolate and uncultivated, till it had recovered that full reſpit, of which that rebellious nation had deprived it (5).

If therefore we reckon the whole ſeventy *ſabbatic* years to be here implied, it will follow, that the omiſſion of this law began even before the time of *David*, or even of *Samuel*; but it is ſcarce credible, that it ſhould have been ſuffered under the government of two ſuch pious perſons; whereas, if we date the deſolation of the land from the murder of *Gedaliah*, at which time thoſe few *Jews* that were left there fled into *Egypt*; to this firſt year of *Cyrus*, the number of *ſabbatic* years will be juſt fifty-two, and will carry us back three hundred and ſixty-four years, that is, to about the beginning of *Aſa*'s reign, from which time the people began to be very remiſs in this and many other particulars of the *Moſaic* law (6).

(C) It is likely, that the firſt was his *Babyloniſh* name (7), it being cuſtomary for thoſe conquerors to change the names of their captives, as we find they did thoſe of ſome of the later kings of *Judah* (8), as well as thoſe of *Daniel* and his three companions (9). As to the title of *Tirſhatha*, or *Hatirſhatha*, though ſome derive it from the *Chaldee*, התיר שתא *diſpenſator potûs*, or *a cup-bearer*, ſuch as *Nehemiah* ſeems to have been to *Artaxerxes*; yet it is moſt likely, that the word implied ſome high dignity, ſuch as *a governor*, *lord lieutenant*, *a deputy*, and the like; for ſuch was here our *Sheſhbazzar* or *Zerubbabel*.

The veſſels that were delivered to him by the king's order, were, according to *Ezra* (10), thirty chargers of gold, a thouſand chargers of ſilver, thirty baſons of gold, four hundred and ten of ſilver, twenty-nine knives, beſides many others, amounting in all to five hundred and forty; but theſe were not all that had been carried out of *Jeruſalem*; the reſt were afterwards brought thither by *Nehemiah*.

(1) 2 *Kings* xxiv. 10, & *ſeq.* (2) *Ch.* vii. 1, & *ſeq.* (3) *Vid. Prideaux. Connect, Vol. I. Part* 3. † *See before. Vol. I. p.* 612, a. (4) *Levit.* xxv. 1, & *ſeq.* (5) *Conf. Levit.* xxvi. 34, & *ſeq.* 2 *Chron. cap. ult. verſ.* 21. (6) *Vid. Prid. ubi ſupra. Tremell. Munſt. & al. in loc. ſup. citat.* (7) *Conf. Ezra* iii. 8, 10. & v. 16. (8) *Vid.* 2 *King.* xxiv. 17. *& alib. paſſ.* (9) *Dan.* i. 7. & *alib.* (10) *Ezra* i. 9, & *ſeq.*

first prince of the royal blood, and was therefore appointed head governor of *Judæa*, a
under the title of *Tirshatha* [b]. He likewise gave directions concerning the dimensions of the temple, which was to be *sixty cubits in height and breadth, built upon a strong foundation, with three rows of great stones, and a row of timber*; the expence of the whole to be furnished out of the king's house [c]; to all these the king added a full permission to all the *Jews* that were so disposed to return into *Judæa*, and to those who preferred staying behind, free liberty to contribute, as liberally as they pleased, gold, silver, or any other precious stuffs, towards the building and adorning that sacred edifice, and the renewing and carrying on of the worship of God there [d].

IMMEDIATELY upon the publishing of this edict, the chiefs of the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, together with the priests and *Levites*, assembled themselves; and as many b
as retained still a love for their country and a zeal for the God of *Israel*, disposed themselves to return to that once happy land. As for the rest, which were the far greater number, who preferred the land of *Babylon* to it, they contented themselves with furnishing their returning brethren with gold, silver, cattle, and other conveniencies, either for their journey, or for the building of the temple and city. At the head of these were *Zerubbabel* mentioned above, and *Jesua* the high-priest (D). The next in rank were *Nehemiah* and *Mordecai* (E), *Serajah*, *Reelajah*, *Bilshan*, *Mispar*, *Bigvai*, *Rehum*, and *Baanah*,, who were all heads of families, and assistants to *Zerubbabel* in the re-establishment of the *Jewish* affairs both in church and state [e]. The rest amounted to about forty-two thousand three hundred and sixty, including those that c
came afterwards with *Nehemiah*, besides their servants and slaves of both sexes, which were in all seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven [f]. Neither were they all of the tribes of *Levi*, *Judah*, and *Benjamin*, though from that time they were all blended together under the name of *Jehudim*, or *Jews*; for many of those of the other ten tribes, which had been formerly carried away by *Tiglath-pilezer*, *Shalmanezer*, and *Esarhaddon*, and had still preserved the true worship of God, took the advantage of the king's edict to return into the land of their forefathers. To these we may add a great number, who had formerly gone from the idolatrous ten tribes to put themselves under the protection of the kings of *Judah* [g]; and this may be the reason why the whole number of those mentioned in *Ezra*'s list, amounts but to twenty- d
nine thousand eight hundred and eighteen, and to thirty-one thousand and thirty-one in that of *Nehemiah*; whereas both these historians make the sum total to be forty-two thousand three hundred and sixty; so that the overplus seems to be added from those of the other ten tribes, which returned with those of *Judah* and *Benjamin* (F). We find likewise mention made of two hundred men and women singers, whom they brought with them, four hundred and thirty-five camels, seven hundred and thirty-six horses, two hundred and forty-five mules, and six thousand seven hundred asses [h].

The heads of those that returned.

The total of them.

ONE may see by this list, how small the number was of those who returned, in comparison of those who stayed behind; neither must we be much surprized at it; for

[b] Conf. EZRA i. 8, 11. ii. 2. iii. 8, 10. v. 16. [c] See EZRA vi. 3, 4. [d] Ibid. i. 3, 4.
[e] EZRA ii. 2. NEHEM. vii. 7. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Vide 2 CHRON. xi. 16. xv. 9, & alib
[h] EZRA ii. 65, & seq.

(D) This office belonged to him by a lineal descent, he being the son of *Jozadak* (11), whose father *Seraiah*, high priest at the taking of *Jerusalem*, had been put to death at *Riblah* (12). As for *Jozadak*, he was carried captive into *Babylon*, and had been dead some time before the publishing of this decree, so that *Jesua* was then the head of the pontifical family.

(E) Some think these two to be the same with those so often mentioned in the books of *Esther* and *Nehemiah*, and that finding the work of the temple obstructed by their enemies, they returned again to *Shushan* (13); but it is generally believed, that they were quite different persons of the same name (14).

As for the other seven, the *Jewish* writers affirm them to have been the chiefs of the *Jewish* synagogue, or grand council of the *Jews*, which they say did sit at *Jerusalem* after their return from *Babylon*. We shall have occasion to speak more largely of this synagogue in the sequel of this chapter.

(F) Accordingly we find the decree of *Cyrus*'s, and afterwards that of *Artaxerxes*, extended not to those two tribes only, but to all the people of the God of *Israel*, and to all those that worshipped God at *Jerusalem*, which could not but include all the other ten (16).

In consequence of which *Ezra* concludes the chapter in which the above-mentioned list is, with these remarkable words; *So the priests, levites, people, singers, porters, and* nethinims, *dwelt in their cities, and all* Israel *in their cities*. And when he speaks of the expiatory sacrifices which were offered at *Jerusalem*, he mentions expresly *twelve he-goats according to the twelve tribes of* Israel (17).

(11) *Conf. Ezra* iii. 1 & 1 *Chron.* vi. 14, 15. (12) 1 *Kings* xxv. 18 *ad* 21. (13) *Abenezr. Corn. à Lap & al. in Ezra* ii. 2. (14) *Vide Prid. conn. & al. supra citat.* (15) *Vide Abenezr. in loc Kimch in rad & al. Munst & Jun. in l.* (16) *Ezra* i, 3. vii. 13. (17) *Ibid* vi. 16, 17.

a for if even their forefathers, who were brought with ſo many wonders out of the furnace of *Egypt* were almoſt continually plotting to return thither, what could be expected from their ſordid offspring, but that the far greater part of them would prefer the place of their captivity, where they were poſſeſſed of lands, houſes, and money, to that of *Paleſtine*, which had lain ſo long deſolate? And accordingly the *Jews* themſelves tell us [i], that only the bran came out of *Babylon*, but that the flour ſtaid behind; even of the prieſts, who, as we obſerved in the former part of their hiſtory *, were divided into twenty-four claſſes, only four of theſe returned, namely thoſe of *Jedajah*, *Immer*, *Peſhur*, and *Harim*. Theſe however ſoon after their arrival, ſubdivided themſelves each into ſix, that they might again make up b the old number, and called themſelves by their names accordingly (G) [k]. Some of theſe there were, who not being able to make out their lineal deſcent from the prieſthood, were deprived of the office and privileges of it until ſome high-prieſt ſhould ariſe who could decide their title by the urim and thummim [l]. The ſame diſpute happened alſo concerning ſome others, who being come from *Telmela*, *Telharſa* (H), and other places, could not prove themſelves to belong to any tribe [m]. Theſe were about ſix hundred and fifty in number, beſides upwards of three hundred and ninety nethinims, the poſterity of thoſe *Gibeonites* whom *Solomon* did afterwards dedicate to the ſervice of the temple †; ſo ſmall was the number of thoſe of unqueſtionable deſcent, who returned either with *Zarubbabel* or *Nehemiah*. And hence it is, c that ever ſince this time the number of *Jews* that dwelt in *Paleſtine* was always vaſtly inferior to thoſe that were diſperſed in *Chaldea*, *Perſia*, &c. The prieſts, levites, ſingers, nethinims, and other officers of the temple ſettled themſelves as well as they could in or near *Jeruſalem*, that they might more readily vacate on the ſervice of God, by rearing up his altar, and preparing all other things againſt the next grand ſolemnity; as for the reſt, the greater part of them diſperſed themſelves in the neighbouring cities and country, where ſome of them had formerly dwelt, and where they probably found alſo ſome of their brethren whom *Nebuchadnezzar* had left there.

Priests that returned.

By this time the month *Tiſhri*, which, as we have elſewhere ſhewn ††, was the *The feaſt.* firſt of the civil, and ſeventh of the eccleſiaſtical year, was at hand. The firſt day d of it was the feaſt of the trumpets, becauſe the new year was to be proclaimed by the ſound of that inſtrument [n]. It uſhered in moreover two other great ſolemnities, namely the expiation day, or grand faſt, which was to be kept on the tenth [o], and the feaſt of tabernacles, which begun on the fifteenth, and ended on the twenty-ſecond of the month [p] incluſive. The greateſt part of that of expiation, ſuch as the high-prieſt entering on that day into the moſt holy place, *&c.* they were forced to ſet aſide for want of a temple; however they failed not to come from all parts to the ſolemnity, and to faſt, pray, *&c.* and to offer the proper ſacrifices on the altar, which they had by this time repaired, ſo that from this day they ceaſed not to offer the morning and evening, and all other ſacrifices preſcribed by the law of *Moſes*. The e feaſt of tabernacles coming five days after that of expiation, they erected them booths at *Jeruſalem*, and celebrated that feſtival with the uſual ſolemnities, and ſo ſet about in good earneſt to reſtore the worſhip of God in that metropolis.

Expiation faſt

Feaſt of tabernacles celebrated.

In this ſolemn aſſembly, it was reſolved to ſet about the rebuilding of the temple, towards which every one chearfully contributed according to their power; the whole amounted to ſixty-one thouſand drachms of gold, and five thouſand minas of ſilver (I), beſides an hundred veſtments for the prieſts to officiate in. This was indeed

i Talmud. Babyl. in Keduſhim. * See before, Vol. I. p. 643, a. b. [k] Sedar. Holam. Rabb. c. 29. Talmud. Hieroſ. in Taanith. Vid. Prid. ubi ſupra. [l] Ezra ii. 62, 63. [m] Ibid. 58. & ſeq. † See before, Vol. I. p. 650. †† Ibid, 607. & 609. [n] Ibid. [o] Ibid. 617. [p] Ibid. 606.

(G) Hence it is that *Zechariah* the father of *John the Baptiſt* is ſaid (18) to have been of the courſe of *Abiah*, and *Matthias* the *Maccabee* to have been of that of *Joarib* (19), though 'tis plain neither of them, nor any other but the four above-mentioned, returned into *Judæa*.

(H) Perhaps the ſame with *Telaſſar*, a province of *Aſſyria*; if not, we own we are in the dark about the ſituation of thoſe places.

(I) Every drachm of gold being computed to be worth about ten ſhillings of our money, and every mina of ſilver, about nine pounds ſterling, the whole amounted to ſeventy-five thouſand five hundred pounds. This was indeed a great ſum, if we ſuppoſe it to have been all contributed by that ſmall number of poor people juſt returned from a long captivity; and therefore it is generally thought, that it included likewiſe the offerings of thoſe who ſtaid behind, and who, as we have ſeen above, did all contribute largely towards it; but then this

(18) *Conf. Luke* i. 5. 1 *Maccab.* ii. 1. (19) *Vid Prid. ubi ſupra.*

indeed a ſmall ſum toward ſuch a vaſt and expenſive undertaking; and therefore we a
do ſuppoſe it to have been a free-will addition of their own, to a much greater one
which had been contributed by their brethren, who choſe to ſtay in the places of their
diſperſion. This money was put into the hands of proper officers, who were to over-
ſee the work, who immediately hired workmen, ſent to *Tyre* and *Sydon* for cedars
from *Libanus*, purſuant to *Cyrus*'s decree, and employed the firſt year in preparing
the materials for the building [q].

Year of the flood 2465. *Before Chriſt* 534.

In the ſecond month of the following year, which was the third of *Cyrus*'s reign,
and the ſecond from their return, they began to lay the foundation of the temple
with great ſolemnity, in the preſence of *Zerubbabel* their governor, of *Jeſua* the high-
prieſt, and of the whole congregation. It was accompanied with the ſound of their b
trumpets, and other muſical inſtruments, the prieſts and muſicians ſinging ſome
pſalms proper to the occaſion, and all the people ſhouting for joy at the laying of the
firſt ſtones. But whilſt the younger ſort were thus expreſſing their joyful zeal upon
this occaſion, many of the prieſts, levites, and heads of families, who had ſeen that
famous building in its ſplendor fifty-three years before, could not forbear ſending
the loudeſt cries of grief at the ſight of that which they were now going to build;
inſomuch that the acclamations of the one, and the ſighs and groans of the other,
were ſo intermixed, that it was not eaſy to diſtinguiſh them from each other (K) [r].

The foundation of the temple laid.

Whilst the work was carrying on, the *Samaritans* (L) came to *Zerubbabel*, and
the *Jewiſh* congregation, and expreſſed an earneſt deſire to join their aſſiſtance in it, c
ſeeing

[q] Ezra iii. 5. & ſeq.

[r] Ezra iii. 12.

this ſum will appear vaſtly too ſhort, conſidering the vaſt number, richneſs, and uſual munificence of thoſe that ſtayed; beſides, it is ſcarcely to be ſuppoſed, that had this been the whole that had been collected both in and out of *Paleſtine*, they would have ſo readily ſet about ſo magnificent a building; for which ſeveral millions would ſcarcely have ſufficed.

It ſeems therefore more probable to us, that this collection was raiſed among them who returned, and were then at *Jeruſalem*; and conſequently, that though the bulk of them might be as poor as the *Jewiſh* writers make them, yet there were ſome conſiderable ones, who were both opulent and liberal enough, to add this offering of ſeventy-five thouſand five hundred pounds to that which had been contributed by their brethren abroad, and which was thought ſufficient to ſet about that noble edifice.

(K) That there was a real and even conſiderable diſparity between the old and new temple, is very certain, ſince God is pleaſed to comfort them for it, and to promiſe to raiſe the glory of the latter above that of the former by the preſence of the Meſſiah (20).

This difference however cannot be underſtood of its largeneſs, ſince the new was built upon the foundation of the old. Of the two the decree of *Cyrus* ſeems to allow this new one three times the breadth of that of *Solomon*; this being but twenty, and that ſixty cubits broad (21); but our learned *Prideaux* has ſufficiently proved that the dimenſions were the ſame, only differently taken, *viz.* the one from in to in, and the other from out to out.

The *Jews* indeed tell us, that the ſecond temple wanted five conſiderable things, which were the chief glory of the firſt (22); and theſe were, 1ſt, the ark or mercy-ſeat: 2. the divine preſence, called by them the *Shekinah*: 3. the holy fire upon the altar: 4. the urim and thummim: and laſtly, the ſpirit of prophecy. And they are certainly in the right; but then it doth not appear from the ſacred hiſtorian, that theſe were the things which the *Jewiſh* elders bewailed, at the foundation of this ſecond temple (23)

It ſeems therefore probable, that their grief did ariſe from the unlikelihood that it would ever be raiſed to the grandeur and magnificence of the old one, ſeeing the one had been built by the wiſeſt and richeſt king, and conſtantly adorned by ſome one or other of his poſterity; the other was now begun by ſome few exiles juſt returned from their captivity: the one in the time of profound peace, and greateſt opulence; the other in time of adverſity and oppreſſion from their enemies round about: the former was built of the moſt curious and coſtly ſtones, and timber, and other materials wrought with the moſt exquiſite art, and overlaid with a prodigious quantity of gold; inſomuch that the overlayings of the moſt holy place, which was but thirty foot ſquare every way, is ſaid to have amounted to ſix hundred talents of gold (24), that is, to four millions three hundred and twenty thouſand pounds ſterling. What likelihood therefore was there, that this, which was moſtly built of the materials that were dug up out of the ruins of the former would ever come up to it? Laſtly, there were in the old one many ſumptuous galleries, buildings, gates and other ornaments, which were not in this, nor were added to it till *Herod*'s time, that is, about five hundred years after, as ſhall be ſeen in its proper place.

(L) Theſe were not of the ſeed of *Iſrael*, but the poſterity of that mixed multitude, whom *Shalmanezer*, king of *Aſſyria*, ſent from *Cuthah*, *Ava*, *Hamath*, *Sepharvaim*, and other provinces, to inhabit thoſe parts, out of which he had carried the ten *Iſraelitiſh* tribes, as we have ſeen in a former volume †; they therefore took the name of *Samaritans* from *Samaria* the capital of that kingdom, but by the *Jews* they were called *Cuthim* from *Cuthah*, one of the provinces out of which they came (25).

Theſe had, ſoon after their ſettlement in and about *Samaria*, been taught the worſhip of the true God, but they likewiſe retained, each of them, the worſhip of their own Gods, ſo that their religion was a mixture of judaiſm and heatheniſm *Samaria* having been then totally deſtroyed by *Shalmanezer* according to the prophecy (26), they did not think fit to rebuild

(20) *Haggai* ii. 3. & *ſeq.* (21) *Conf* 1 *Kings* vi. & *Appen. to Vol.* I. *cum Ezra* vi. 3. (22) *Talm. Jeroſol. in Taanith, c.* 2. & *Babyl. in Joma c.* 1. *Vid. Prid. Part* I. *lib.* iii. (23) *Ezra* iii. 12. (24) 2 *Chron.* iii. 8. † *Vol* I. *p.* 835. & *not.* (25) 2 *Kings* xvii. 23. & *ſeq.* (26) *Mic.* i. 6.

a ſeeing they had worſhipped the ſame God ever ſince the time of *Eſarhaddon* king of *Aſſyria*, who had ſettled them there. But whether the *Jews* ſuſpected the ſincerity of their offer, or out of contempt to a people who were not of the ſeed of *Iſrael*, but only imperfect worſhippers of God; *Jeſhua*, *Zerubbabel*, and the whole congregation, refuſed to let them bear any part in the undertaking, alledging, that the decree of *Cyrus* being only directed to thoſe who were of *Iſraelitiſh* deſcent, it would be a diſhonour to their nation to admit any ſtrangers to be partners in the work [s]. Whether this refuſal was really juſtifiable or not, we will not pretend to determine, ſince the ſcripture doth no where either praiſe or diſcommend it (M). Sure it is, that it proved the

Why obſtructed by the Samaritans.

[s] Ibid. Chap. iv. 1. & ſeq.

it, but went and dwelt at *Shichem*, near mount *Gerizzim*, and made it their capital (27).

However they ſeem to have rebuilt and repeopled the old city, at leaſt in ſome degree, by that time the *Jews* were returned from *Babylon*, ſince both *Ezra* (28) and *Nehemiah* (29) make mention of the inhabitants of *Samaria*, and in this ſituation they were when they came to offer their aſſiſtance to *Zerubbabel*.

(M) The *Jews*, out of their innate hatred to the *Samaritans*, do one and all commend the zeal of that aſſembly, in refuſing to admit them to the work; and they think that the reſentment which that people ſhewed immediately after, is a ſufficient token of the inſincerity of their offer, eſpecially ſeeing they are ſaid no-where to have forſaken the old worſhip of their country gods. We do not know of one chriſtian commentator that hath not given into this *Jewiſh* notion, or has been at the pains to examine this refuſal in a different light, notwithſtanding its having proved ſo fatal to them, and ſo detrimental to their religion.

We ſhall therefore for once take the liberty to inquire how far they may be juſtly blamed for this refuſal, and ſo be anſwerable for all that long train of miſchiefs it brought after it.

Firſt, then, the ſacred hiſtorian doth no-where intimate, that they came to offer their aſſiſtance out of any hoſtile deſign, which he would ſcarcely have omitted, had that been the caſe; but plainly tells us, that they came and offered their aſſiſtance to the *Jews*. It is true, he calls them the adverſaries of the *Jews*, for ſuch they became when rejected by them; but it proves not that they were ſo before; beſides, we have ſhewn heretofore, that the word צר *Tzar*, here uſed, doth often ſignify a rival or competitor *, and may be as capable of a good ſenſe as of a bad one, and why not in this caſe?

For the *Samaritans* had been long ſince inſtructed and initiated in the law of *Moſes*, and been worſhippers of the God of *Iſrael*; and as for the idolatries which their forefathers had intermixed with it, we think it more than probable, that they had long ſince forſaken them, upon reading the ſevere prohibitions that are interſperſed in the pentateuch, which they had in their hands. This ſeems beyond diſpute, not only from the confeſſion they made before the *Jewiſh* congregation (30), but alſo from their conſtant behaviour, even after their rupture with the *Jews*, ſince we do not find them any-where taxed with idolatry, nor find the leaſt monument or relic of it, though in every thing elſe diametrically oppoſite to the *Jewiſh* nation; though, if this had been the caſe, the admitting of them into their commonwealth, and partnerſhip in the work, might probably have proved an effectual means of curing them of it; and it was indeed their duty to endeavour it, becauſe

2dly, The law of *Moſes* obliged them to incorporate into their church and ſtate all, except two or three nations therein excepted, that would become circumciſed, and obſervers of the law (31). And might it not be in right of this law, that the converted *Samaritans* claimed their admittance into the work? eſpecially ſince,

3dly, As ſervants of the God of *Iſrael*, they knew that after the temple was once rebuilt, they would be equally obliged with the *Jews* to come and worſhip there, and there only; and if they were thus equally intitled to and deſirous of enjoying the benefit of the temple, why might they not be equally zealous to contribute towards the rebuilding of it? There could be then no juſt pretence for excluding them, ſince even heathens were allowed to ſend their offerings both to the temple, and for maintaining the divine worſhip there. Now, is it not more than probable, that if the ſtiff *Jews* had admitted them to any ſhare in the undertaking, though it had been only to contribute towards the charges of rebuilding, they might have found them as hearty friends to them, as their haughty refuſal made them enemies?

We have ſeen in a former volume how *Joſiah*, one of the beſt kings that ever reigned in *Judah*, thought theſe nations worthy to be invited to the ſolemnities which were celebrated at *Jeruſalem*, and with what zeal he deſtroyed all the idolatrous monuments that were in that kingdom (32); and was not his example very well worth imitating, eſpecially at this juncture?

If it be aſked how this zeal of the *Samaritans*, if it had been ſincere, came to be ſo ſoon turned into the bittereſt rancour, we need not now go far to ſeek for an anſwer. It is plain, firſt, they thought themſelves unjuſtly uſed by their refuſal, ſince even the law of *Moſes* condemned it; and in the next place, the *Jews* anſwer was couched in ſuch haughty and contemptuous terms, as plainly gave them to underſtand, that if ever they came to be again maſters of themſelves, inſtead of being looked upon as brethren, and ſervants of the ſame God, they muſt expect to be uſed with the ſame heavy hand as the *Canaanites* and other conquered nations had been by the former kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael*. It was natural therefore for them to uſe all proper endeavours to prevent it, which they did, by oppoſing all their meaſures to the utmoſt of their power; and their firſt ſtep was to obſtruct the rebuilding of the temple, which the *Jews* reſenting and rataliating, the enmity improved to ſuch a degree, that no two nations ever hated or were more cruel to each other upon all occaſions, than the *Jews* and the *Samaritans*. All which might in all probability have been prevented, had the former complied at leaſt in ſome meaſure with the requeſt of the latter.

Upon the whole then we think, that inſtead of commending them for their zeal, we may much more reaſonably look upon all the miſfortunes which the

(27) *Joſeph. antiq. lib.* xi. *c* 8. (28) *Chap.* iv. 17. (29) *Chap.* iv. 2. & *al.* * *See before*, *p.* 634. *ſub fin. not.* & *conf.* 1 *Sam.* i. 6. & ii. 32. (30) *Ezra* iv. 2. (31) *Exod.* xii. 48, & *alib. paſſ.* (32) *Vid.* 2 *Kings* xxiii. *paſſ.* 2 *Chron.* xxxiv. *ult.* xxxv. *paſſ.* *Vid.* & *ſup. Vol.* I. *p.* 842. & *ſeq*

the ſource of a bitter and irreconcileable hatred between theſe two nations, the ſad a
effects of which the *Jews* ſoon felt in the immediate obſtruction of their undertaking, and by numberleſs ill offices, which the incenſed *Samaritans* did to them, and of which we ſhall give a further account in the ſequel of this chapter.

The firſt ſtep the repulſed *Samaritans* took to obſtruct the work, ſince they knew they could not procure a reverſion of the king's decree, was to bribe underhand ſome of his head miniſters and officers, to repreſent the *Jews* as a rebellious nation, and their rebuilding the temple as dangerous, and tending to ſhake off their obedience to him. They failed not to carry their point, and the work was accordingly ſtopped, in a great meaſure, not only during the remaining five years of *Cyrus*'s life, but alſo during the reign of his ſucceſſor (N); however, while *Cyrus* lived, b
the *Jews* did ſtill keep on gathering materials for the work, in hopes of better times; they were ſtill aſſiſted in it by the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians*, who furniſhed them with cedars from *Libanus*, with maſons, carpenters, and other workmen; and theſe being as it were pent up in their maritime cities, received in return a proportionable quantity of corn, wine, and oyl from the *Jews*, as their anceſtors had formerly done from king *Solomon* [t]. But *Cyrus* was no ſooner dead, than the *Samaritans*, encouraged by the ill diſpoſition of his ſucceſſor *Cambyſes*, called in ſcripture *Ahaſhuerus* [u], inſtead of their former ſubdolous practices, declared themſelves openly againſt the *Jews*, and againſt their undertaking; and writ in the moſt preſſing terms to that monarch to put an immediate ſtop to it. *Cambyſes* however, probably out of reſpect c
to his father's decree, would not ſeem to revoke it, but privately gave them leave to obſtruct the execution of it, ſo that the work, though it was not wholly ſuppreſſed, went at leaſt very heavily on during his whole reign, which laſted but ſeven years and five months.

Cambyſes

[t] Conf. 1 Kings v. 8. & ſeq. & Ezra iii. 7. [u] Ezra iv. 6. See alſo Vol. II. p. 92. c.

the *Samaritans* made them ſuffer, to have been ſent them as a puniſhment for their uncharitableneſs.

The only thing we can ſee may be objected againſt what has been ſaid is, that the *Jewiſh* congregation had ſome inſpired perſons among them, ſuch as the prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah* (33), whom they probably conſulted before they gave a definitive anſwer to the *Samaritans*; and if ſo, their refuſal muſt have been conformable to the will of God. But the text doth no where ſay they did conſult them; and they might indeed do as *Joſhua* had formerly done with reſpect to the *Gibeonites* (34), think the caſe too plain to require it; and ſo forgetting that charity which the *Moſaic* law commands towards its proſelytes **, they might only liſten to their natural contempt for all that were not of the ſeed of *Iſrael*; however that be, the event ſhews this their refuſal to have been the unhappy ſource of endleſs evils, in which the *Jews* did almoſt conſtantly bear the bigger ſhare, as the ſequel will ſoon ſhew.

(N) This ſuppreſſion of the work is ſuppoſed to have given occaſion to *Daniel*'s three weeks faſting and praying, which we read of (35), in the third year of *Cyrus*'s reign, and which began on the third day of the firſt month (36), and at the end of which he ſaw the famous viſion of the *Perſian*, *Macedonian*, and *Roman* empires, contained in the three laſt chapters of that prophet, and which ſeem to have been the laſt he ever had.

And indeed, if we compare what he ſays in the cloſe of them, with his great age, it is reaſonable to believe he did not outlive it long, ſince he was then in the ſeventy-third year of his captivity, to which, if we add but fifteen, the age he was of when carried into *Babylon*, and leſs than that he cannot be ſuppoſed to have been, he muſt then have been near ninety years old; however, whether he died when we ſuppoſe him, or lived any time longer, we hear no more of him, except in the talmudic writings.

What the *Jews* opinion is, concerning him and his writings, has been ſeen in a former volume †. But *Ezekiel*, and even *Joſephus*, give him much the preference to the other prophets (37); and what is of more weight than all, our ſaviour himſelf (38) acknowledges him to have been a prophet; and if the *Jews* ſince then had not been fatally blinded, they muſt have been forced to own that they had found him a very true one to their coſt. But this will beſt be ſeen in the ſequel of their hiſtory.

In the mean time we cannot forbear obſerving, concerning his prophecies, whether thoſe that relate to the Meſſiah or to thoſe foreign empires abovementioned, that they are the cleareſt and moſt circumſtantiate of any; inſomuch that *Joſephus*, in the place above quoted, rightly obſerves, that he did not only foretel future events, as the reſt of the prophets did, but did alſo determine the time in which they ſhould come to paſs.

And this wonderful agreement between the facts when accompliſhed, and the prophecies that foretold them, appeared ſo exact and irrefragable, that *Porphyry* could no other way elude the force of it, than by ſuppoſing the latter to have been written after the former (39).

Beſides thoſe prophecies of his, which were originally written, partly in *Hebrew*, and partly in *Chaldee*, the *Latin* verſion has ſome other pretended pieces of his, which were, however, never admitted by the *Jews* into their canon, and are therefore thrown out by the proteſtants among the apocrypha; of this kind are the hiſtory of *Suſanna*, of *Bel* and the dragon, *&c.* concerning which the reader may ſee all that is worth knowing in the authors quoted in the margin (40).

(33) *Ezra* v. 1 (34) *Joſh.* ix. 14. ** *See before, Vol.* I. *p.* 664. (35) *Dan.* x. 1. *& ſeq.* (36) *Vid. int. al Uſſer, ſub A. M.* 3470. † *Sup. Vol.* I. *p.* 732. *note* O. (37) *Ezek.* xiv. *paſſ. Joſeph. lib.* x. *c.* 12. (38) *Matth.* xxiv. 15. (39) *Vid. Hieron. præfat. in Daniel.* (40) *Id. ibid. & in Dan.* xiii. *Calmet præfat. in eund. Prid. Connect. Part* I. *lib.* iii.

a *Cambyſes* being dead, and one of the magi having mounted the throne (O), as has been elſewhere related *, the *Samaritans* failed not to renew their accuſation againſt the *Jews* to that uſurper; they repreſented to him, that that nation had been always famed for rebellion, for the truth of which they appealed to ancient records; and added, that if they were ſuffered to go on in the rebuilding of their city and temple, which they were then about, they would not be long ere they ſhook off the yoke, and refuſed to pay him either tribute or obedience, and that their example might ſoon be followed by other provinces on that ſide of the *Euphrates*, and occaſion a general revolt. The uſurper, who had been one of the chiefs of the ſect of the magi, againſt whom the *Jews* were known to be diametrically oppoſite in point of religion, did not b want any great arguments to induce him to ſuppreſs them, but ſent an immediate decree to them to deſiſt from their enterprize, and charged the *Samaritans* to ſee it executed. Theſe therefore, having received the order, went ſtraitway with it to *Jeruſalem*, and by virtue of it cauſed a total ſtop to be put to it, till the *Jews* obtained a freſh decree in the ſecond year of *Darius* his ſucceſſor's reign, that is, about two years after.

Year of the flood 3477. Before Chriſt 522.

The building obſtructed by the Samaritans.

THE *Jews* by that time had been ſo diſheartened, partly by the conſtant oppoſition of the *Samaritans*, and partly by this laſt decree, that though this laſt ceaſed with the diſcovery and death of the uſurper, yet did they not ſhew the leaſt readineſs to reſume their enterprize, till God had puniſhed their indolence with a great dearth, c and let them know by his prophet *Haggai*, that it was upon that account that both their harveſt and vintage had failed them [w]. This was indeed an effectual argument to awake the zeal of that ſelfiſh people, who had by this time taken care to ſeat themſelves in commodious and ſumptuous houſes, without giving themſelves any further thought about the houſe of God. The prophet was therefore ſent to the governor, to the high-prieſt, and to the reſt of the heads of *Judah*, to upbraid them with their ingratitude [x], and at the ſame time to aſſure them, that if they would now ſet about the work in good earneſt, God would not only make it proſper in their hands, but that he would make the glory of this ſecond temple to exceed by far that of the firſt [y]. This reproof had at length the deſired effect, and the people, rouſed up by d theſe promiſes and threats, reſumed and purſued the work under the eye and guidance of *Haggai* and *Zechariah* [z].

The Jews puniſhed with dearth.

The work reſumed.

IN the mean time the *Samaritans*, who kept a watchful eye over them, being ſurprized that they ſhould dare to go to work again, in ſpight of the decree they had obtained againſt them, went and applied themſelves to *Tatnai*, whom *Darius* had made governor of *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, and acquainted him, that this enterpriſe was reſumed, not only againſt the king's order, but to the manifeſt detriment of his realm; they expected, probably, that this new governor would have immediately ſuppreſſed that work; but he, being a man of more temper and moderation, came directly to *Jeruſalem* accompanied with ſome of his counſellors, and with one *Shetharboznai*, e who is ſuppoſed to have been governor of *Samaria*, and inquired of the *Jews* by what authority they ventured upon that work. *Zerubbabel* and *Jeſhua* undertook to anſwer for the reſt, and acquainted him with the decree they had formerly obtained from *Cyrus*, and at the ſame time produced the ſacred veſſels which that monarch had ordered to be reſtored to them in order to renew the worſhip of God in *Jeruſalem*. *Tatnai*, having received this anſwer, thought the matter of too great conſequence to interfere with, till he had ſent a full account of it to *Darius*, and deſired that ſearch might be made concerning that decree. It was accordingly found among the records that were kept in the place of *Ecbatan* †, where *Cyrus* was at the time of his granting it, and *Darius*, out of reſpect to that great monarch, two of whoſe f daughters he had then married, readily confirmed it by a new one, in which all the grants of the old were repeated and ratified, with this ſevere penalty annexed, that whoſoever ſhould preſume to contravene or obſtruct it, his houſe ſhould be pulled down,

Tatnai *comes to* Jeruſalem.

Darius's *decree.*

* Vol. II. p. 100. c. [w] HAGGAI i. 6. & ſeq. [x] Ibid. verſ. 4. [y] Ibid. ch. ii. 4. & ſeq. [z] EZRA v. 1. & ſeq. ZACHAR. i. 1. & ſeq. † De hac vid. Vol. II. p. 2. a. p. 04. b. c. & 104. e. Vid. & EZRA v. 3. & ſeq.

(O) This is he whom *Ezra* calls *Artaxerxes* or rather *Artaſhſhaſhta* (41); he is differently named by profane hiſtorians, as *Smerdis* by *Herodotus*; *Mardus* by *Æſchylus*; *Spendadates* by *Cteſias*; and *Oropaſtes* by *Juſtin* †.

(41) *Ezra* iv. 7. † *See before, Vol. II. p.* 100, *d.*

down, and a gallows made of the timber of it, and the offender hanged upon it. a
Year of the Prd 3481. Year before Christ 518. The execution of the decree was committed to *Tatnai* and *Shetharboznai*, and was brought to them accordingly much about the beginning of the fourth year of *Darius*'s reign (P), and by them communicated to the *Jews* [a].

It was then that the building began to rise apace, since they were now not only free from any obstructions from their enemies, but were supplied by the king's order, with all necessaries towards the expence of it, out of the treasury of that province; and this addition of the king's bounty, joined to the offerings which both they of *Palestine* and their brethren abroad paid towards it, caused such a dispatch in the
The temple finished. work, that it was completely finished in three years, that is, in the sixth year of *Darius*, and in the month *Adar*, which is the last of the *Jewish* year, answering in b
part to our *February* *. The dedication of that sacred building was celebrated with suitable solemnity and joy, and with abundance of sacrifices; after which they prepared themselves likewise for the approaching festival of the passover [b], to which many of their brethren from other provinces assisted, having heard of the success which that long-wished-for enterprize had met with; and from this time we reckon the complete restoration of the *Jews* mentioned in the first note of this chapter. Accordingly, when those that dwelt in *Babylon* sent about this time to *Jerusalem* to inquire of the prophets, whether they might not thenceforward desist from keeping the fasts of the fifth and seventh months (Q), *Zachariah*, among other things contained in the seventh and eighth chapters of his prophecies, tells them, that they had now kept those fasts c
seventy years [c]. In memory of this decree, which, we observed, was given from *Shushan*, or *Susa*, the *Jews* gave the name of *Shushan* to the eastern gate of the outward temple wall, and caused a bas-relief of that metropolis to be set up over it, which continued there till its total destruction by the *Romans* [d].

In the mean time, the mortification which the envious *Samaritans* received from the king's decree in favour of the *Jews*, and the wonderful dispatch with which they had finished their temple, did but serve to augment their rancour against them; their being obliged to pay, not only towards the rebuilding of that edifice, but towards the sacrifices and oblations that were daily to be offered up there, for the prosperity of the king and the whole realm, and towards the maintenance of the priests who officiated d
Samaritans refuse to help to it. there [e], was what they seemed to resent above all the rest; and therefore, as soon as the temple was finished, though the outbuildings were still unrepaired, and continued so for many years, they made it a pretence for with-holding the usual tribute, pretending, that it was to cease as soon as the building was finished. This obliged the *Jews* to send a deputation to *Darius*, at the head of whom were *Zerubbabel*, *Mordecai*, and *Ananias*, to complain to the king of it. *Darius* received them with his usual benevolence, and after a full hearing issued out a fresh decree, commanding his officers at *Samaria* to cause the usual tribute to be paid to the temple, and for the future on no pretence whatever to give the *Jews* any cause of complaint upon that article [f]. After this they met with no further obstacle during the rest of that monarch's e
reign, which lasted twenty-eight years longer, nor during the twelve years of his successor; but enjoyed a perfect peace, being governed by their high-priests in matters of religion, and in those of state by the heads of the tribe of *Judah*, though still in subjection to the kings of *Persia*, and subordinate to his governors on this side of the *Euphrates*.

[a] Ezra vi. 6, & seq. Vide & Joseph. antiq. l. xi. c. 4. * See before, Vol. I. 612, & note.
[c] Ibid. vers. 15. ch. vii. 6. Ezra vi. 16, ad fin. [d] See Lightfoot's prospect of the temple, ch. 3. [e] Ezra vi. 8. & seq. [f] Vide Joseph. antiq. ubi supra, c. 4.

(P) The learned *Usher* seems to place this decree one year sooner; but if we consider that it was about the beginning of the third year of that monarch, that *Tatnai* sent to the king about it, one may reasonably allow six months for the messenger's going and coming from *Jerusalem* to *Shushan* in *Persia*, since, as we have seen a little higher, *Ezra* was four months in coming from *Babylon*; and less than other six months can hardly be allowed, before they could obtain, in so great a court, an order for searching the records, going from *Shushan* to *Ecbatan*, procuring an authentic copy of the decree, bringing it back to *Darius*, and obtaining a confirmation of it (42).

(Q) These were fasts which the captive *Jews* kept in those two months in memory of, first, *Jerusalem* being first besieged by *Nebuchadnezzar*: Secondly, Of its being taken by him. Thirdly, Of its being burnt with the temple: And, Fourthly, For the murder of *Gedaliah*: All which fasts they still keep to this day, though they have somewhat changed their place in their calendar.

(42) *Vide Prideaux, ubi supra.*

a *Euphrates* (R). *Xerxes* had no ſooner ſucceeded his father, than he confirmed all the privileges formerly granted to the *Jews*. This was not without a ſingular mark of the divine providence, ſince the temple of *Jeruſalem* was the only one that obtained this particular regard for that prince, whilſt he was plundering and deſtroying all the reſt that came in his way. But he was in both caſes fulfilling the prophecies of *Iſaiah* [g] and *Jeremiah* [h], which had long ſince foretold both the downfall of the heathen idols and temples, and the reſtoration of the *Jewiſh* one, under the protection and favour of *Cyrus* and his ſucceſſors. *Joſephus* adds from a paſſage out of an ancient poet (S), that the *Jews* aſſiſted *Xerxes* in his wars, and that he had a band of them in his army [i]. It is true, the meaning of the poet has been much canvaſſed by very
b great critics; but whether or no he intended the *Jews* by it, it is hardly to be ſuppoſed, that they, who were ſo well known for their valour, fidelity, and attachment to that prince, ſhould be the only people excuſed from the war, when his army was compoſed of all the other nations of the *Perſian* empire. In the third year of his reign, according to the *Alexandrian* chronicle, died the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt *Jeſhua* in the fifty-third year of his high-prieſthood, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Joiakim* [k]; and *Xerxes*, being murdered in the twenty-firſt year of his reign, was ſucceeded by his third ſon *Artaxerxes*, whom we have elſewhere ſhewn to have been the *Ahaſhuerus* of ſcripture, the huſband of *Eſther* †, and conſequently the greateſt friend the *Jews* ever had, either before or ſince their reſtoration.

Xerxes. *Year of the flood* 2541. *Year before Chriſt* 453.

c How he came to be ſo above all his predeceſſors, we chiefly learn from the book of *Eſther*, whoſe hiſtory there related is ſo well known, that we ſhall content ourſelves with giving our readers as ſhort a ſummary of it as is neceſſary for the thread of our hiſtory. *Eſther* or *Hadaſſah* was an orphan of the tribe of *Benjamin*, brought up and adopted by her uncle *Mordecai*; this laſt was a deſcendant of thoſe who had been brought captives into *Babylon* with *Jeconiah* king of *Judah*, and, by his conſtant attendance at the palace-gate, ſeems to have been one of the king's porters. He had had intereſt enough to introduce his niece into the palace, among other beauties who were to be candidates to ſucceed the repudiated *Vaſhti*; and ſhe had already ſo captivated the *Perſian* monarch, even before he had ſet the diadem on her head, that
d ſhe could obtain any thing from him, which her uncle bid her aſk of him; it being a peculiar privilege of thoſe virgins, whenever their turn came to appear before the king, to obtain whatever they aſked of him [l]. It is therefore reaſonably ſuppoſed, that it was by her intereſt that *Ezra*, a very learned and zealous *Jew*, of the houſe of *Aaron* (T), obtained an ample commiſſion from *Artaxerxes* to return to *Jeruſalem*, with

Artaxerxes *or* Ahaſhuerus *favours the* Jews.

Ezra *ſent into* Judæa.

[g] Ch. xxi. 9. [h] Ch. x. 11. li. 44, 47. & alib. paſſ. [i] Cont. Apion. l. i. [k] Nehem. xii. 10. Joseph. ubi ſupra. c. 5. † Vol. II. p. 130. & ſeq. & note. [l] Esther ii. 18. & ſeq.

(R) Theſe particulars we have from *Joſephus*, who adds, that *Zerubbabel* was the perſon who anſwered the wiſe queſtion propoſed by the king, which we have in the apocryphal book of *Baruc*. But we ſcarce think it worth inſerting here, though the ſame author tells us, the rebuilding of the temple and the reſtoration of the *Jews* were granted him as a reward for his merit and judgment. The canonical books are ſilent as to all thoſe particulars, and we ſhall ſtick cloſe to them as far as they go.

(S) The paſſage is out of *Chœrilus*, and is to this purpoſe, That a ſtrange people, who uſed the *Phœnician* dialect, and dwelt in the high and hilly grounds of *Solyma*, near to a great lake, marched under his (*Xerxes*) ſtandards. The *Jews* ſpeaking then the *Syriac* language, *Solyma* being one of the names of *Jeruſalem*, and its being ſituate upon hills, and near the famous lake *Aſphaltites*, it was natural for *Joſephus* to underſtand the people here mentioned to have been the *Jews*. Some great critics, however, (43) have pretended to apply it to the *Solymi* of *Piſidia*, againſt whom *Salmaſius* has undertaken to vindicate the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian (44), who ſeems indeed to be moſt in the right,

(T) He calls himſelf here, according to the *Hebrew* idiom, the ſon of *Seraiah* (45), who was the high-prieſt, whom *Nebuchadnezzar* cauſed to be ſlain at the taking of *Jeruſalem* (46); but had he been his real ſon, he muſt then have been at leaſt a hundred and thirty-two years old, ſuppoſing him to have been an infant when his father died (47), and ſo wholly unfit for ſuch a journey and employ; whereas we find him capable of reading the ſcriptures to the people from morning to noon, one whole week, and of aſſiſting *Nehemiah* in his office thirteen years after (48), when he muſt have been at leaſt a hundred and forty-five years old.

But ſince he there alſo calls *Azariah* the ſon of *Merajoth*, though it appears from the book of the *Chronicles* (49), that there were ſix deſcendants between them, what ſhould hinder, but he may himſelf have been ſome deſcents off *Seraiah*, though it doth not appear how many?

What reputation he was in at the *Perſian* court, may be gathered from the commiſſion itſelf, which is ſo extenſive in favour of the *Jewiſh* nation, as well as of *Ezra* himſelf, that a leſs intereſt than that of *Eſther* can hardly be ſuppoſed to have procured it to him; it was to this effect (50):

" *Artax-*

(43) *Scalig. not. ad fragm. Bochart. Phaleg. part* ii. *l.* i. *c.* 6. *Cuneus de repub. Hebr.* (44) *Oſſileg. Ling. Hellen. Vid. Prid. ubi ſupra.* (45) *Ezra* vii. 1. (46) 2 *Kings* xxv. 18, *& ſeq.* (47) *Comp. the Marg. Chronol. in both places.* (48) *Nehem.* viii. 2, *& ſeq.* (49) 1 *Chron.* vi. 7, *& ſeq.* (50) *Ezra* vii. 12. *& ſeq.*

Ezra's commission from Artaxerxes.

with as many of his nation as were willing to go with him, and there to regulate or reform all matters, whether of church or ſtate, as he ſhould ſee fit [m]. This commiſſion was granted to him in the ſeventh year of that monarch's reign, in virtue of which he began his journey from *Babylon* on the firſt day of the month *Niſan*, anſwering to the middle of *March*; he ſtaid ſome days near the river *Ahava* for the reſt of his company, and during that time, being willing to take ſome *Nethinims* with him to *Jeruſalem* to ſerve there as formerly in the temple, he ſent ſome of his retinue to *Iddo*, who was chief of thoſe that dwelt near the place *Caſiphia* (U), from whence he gathered about two hundred and twenty of them, beſides ſome prieſts and levites [n]; after which having proclaimed a ſolemn faſt, to implore the divine protection, they ſet forward, and arrived at *Jeruſalem* on the firſt day of the fifth month, or the middle of *July*, that is, after a journey of four months. a b

His commiſſion.

AT his arrival he opened his commiſſion before the whole *Jewiſh* aſſembly, and there delivered to the prieſts the offerings which had been made by the king, nobles, and by the *Babyloniſh Jews* (W); after which, having ſent to acquaint the governor of *Syria* and *Paleſtine* with the power he had received from the king, he ſet about putting it in execution; he began with appointing judges and magiſtrates, to reform every thing that was contrary to the law of *Moſes*, and, purſuant to his commiſſion, impowered them to puniſh offenders, not only with fines, impriſonment, and other leſſer puniſhments, but even with baniſhment and death, according to the nature of the crime [o]. *Ezra* continued in the faithful diſcharge of his authority thirteen years, that is, till he was ſucceeded by *Nehemiah*, who was ſent thither with a freſh commiſſion from the ſame monarch. But before that, the *Jews* having received freſh tokens of the king's favour upon his raiſing *Eſther* to the diadem, *Ezra* relying upon the protection of two ſuch powerful friends as the new queen and *Mordecai*, who now engroſſed the king's favour, gave himſelf up wholly to the care of the *Jewiſh* affairs, and to reform ſome crying abuſes, which had crept in among thoſe, who were returned from *Babylon* under *Zerubbabel*. c

From the Jewish writers.

ONE of theſe was the intermarriages, which not only the common people, but even prieſts, levites, and heads of families, had made with ſome of their idolatrous neighbours [p], by which they had introduced a mixed mongrel breed of *Egyptians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Samaritans*, and other ſtrange nations among the true *Iſraelites*; to rectify this, *Ezra* iſſued out a proclamation, and ordered all that were returned from d

Abuſives mixt marriages.

[m] EZRA vii. 6. & ſeq. [n] Ibid. ch. viii. 15. & ſeq. [o] Ibid. vii. 25, 26. [p] EZRA ix. 1. & ſeq.

" *Artaxerxes*, king of kings, unto *Ezra*, the prieſt " of the law of the God of heaven, peace, &c. " It is our decree, that whoſoever of you, whether " prieſts, levites, &c. ſhall be deſirous to return to " *Jeruſalem*, be permitted to go ſafely thither— " We give you power to ſettle and reform every " thing according to the law of your God, and to " convey thither all the money, veſſels, &c. which " we, our counſellors, as well as the prieſts and " others of your nation that ſtay in the province of " *Babylon*, ſhall freely offer for the ſervice of the " temple of your God, which is at *Jeruſalem*, or to " diſpoſe of it in any other way you ſhall think fit— " and that whatever other charges *Eſdra* ſhall think " neceſſary for the houſe of God, ſhall be forthwith " furniſhed to him out of our revenue or the other " ſide the *Euphrates*, as far as a hundred talents of " ſilver, a hundred meaſures of flour, wine and " oyl, &c.

" And we do likewiſe forbid our governors in " thoſe provinces to levy or demand any toll or " taxes on any of the prieſts, levites, ſingers, &c. " of the temple; and we impower you, *Eſdra*, to " appoint judges, magiſtrates, &c. according to " the wiſdom with which God has endowed you, " to judge that people on that ſide the river, and " to condemn every offender to death, baniſhment, " or any leſſer puniſhment, according to the nature " of his crime."

(U) It is not eaſy to gueſs what place this was: the text calls it כספיא דמקים, *Caſiphia hammakom*, *Caſiphia the place*. Some have taken it for the *Caſpian* mountains, ſituate between *Media* and *Hyrcania*, in the mines of which theſe captive *Nethinims* are ſuppoſed to have been ſent to work; if ſo, it is no wonder they ſhould be ſo ready to embrace the benefit of the king's decree.

Joſephus paſſes by this whole affair, and is ſo out both in his chronology and hiſtory, that he makes this decree, as was that which *Nehemiah* obtained thirteen years after, to have been both granted by *Xerxes*, contrary to the *Hebrew* text, which calls him *Artaxerxes*; but this is not the only place where that hiſtorian is out.

(W) Theſe offerings amounted to (1) a hundred talents of gold, beſides twenty baſons of gold, amounting to a thouſand darkonim (or darics, which were equivalent to our jacobus); (2) ſix hundred and fifty talents of ſilver, with veſſels of ſilver, to the weight of a hundred talents more, and two veſſels of ſome fine copper, then reckoned as valuable as gold.

From this new reformation made by *Ezra* in the *Jewiſh* church and commonwealth, the learned *Prideaux* begins the computation of *Daniel*'s weeks; but as this is a ſubject quite out of our province, we refer thoſe readers who are curious about it to conſult the book itſelf (3).

(1) *Ibid. ch.* viii. 25, *& ſeq.* (2) *Vid. Prid. part* i. *l.* ii. (3) *Connect. part.* i. *l.* v.

a from the captivity to appear before him at *Jeruſalem* on a ſet day, under the penalty of being excommunicated and forfeiture of all they had. As ſoon as they were aſſembled, he upbraided them in the ſevereſt terms for their crimes, ſo ſtrongly forbidden by the *Moſaic* law; after which he obliged them to take a ſolemn oath, that as many as had been guilty of it ſhould put away both their ſtrange wives and the children they had by them. But as the thorough cognizance of the matter was like to take up ſome conſiderable time, and the court of the temple was ſtill uncovered and expoſed to the rains that fell then abundantly, he appointed commiſſioners to make ſtrict ſearch into every family, and to oblige all delinquents to comply with the covenant which *Ezra* had exacted from them. This ſcrutiny was accordingly begun on the firſt day
b of the tenth month, and ended on the ſame day of the firſt month, when the number of delinquents was found to amount to a hundred and fourteen, ſome of whom had children by thoſe ſtrange wives [q].

His next great work in purſuance to his commiſſion was, to reform the whole ſtate of the *Jewiſh* church, by reſtoring its diſcipline and rites, according to its ancient pattern under the former prophets. In order to which, his firſt care was to collect and ſet forth a correct edition of the ſacred books, and then to reduce the obſervance of the *Moſaic* law to that ſtandard. This circumſtance we find neither expreſsly mentioned in the ſacred hiſtorians, nor in *Joſephus*; but we have it from the *Talmudiſts* and other ancient *Jews*, who add a great many others, which, not carrying the ſame probability with this, we ſhall for that reaſon give an epitome of in the
c margin (X). But as for this of his collecting and reviſing the ſacred books, making ſome ſmall additions to them, and fixing the canon of the *Old Teſtament* to twenty-two books, as they are now received by the *Jews* and proteſtant chriſtians; we have many reaſons to confirm it. He was excellently well verſed in them; his extenſive authority enabled him to gather up all the beſt copies that could be met with, either at *Jeruſalem* or among the diſperſed *Jews*; he was himſelf inſpired, and had the aſſiſtance of two or three prophets (Y) in the work. The then confuſed ſtate of the

Collection of the ſacred Books of the Jews

[q] Ibid. cap. ult. verſ. 17. & ſeq.

(X) They tell us, 1ſt, that he was aſſiſted in it by the grand ſynagogue or ſanhedrin, which they pretend to have been originally inſtituted by *Moſes* in the ſeventy elders, and to have been ſince increaſed to a hundred and twenty; we have already confuted the greateſt part of this aſſertion in a former volume, to which we refer the reader †.

2dly, In this ſynagogue they place among the principals of them the prophet *Daniel* and his three friends, *Shadrach*, *Meſhach*, and *Abednego*, whom they pretend to have been ſtill alive, and to have returned from the captivity, though neither he, *Ezra*, or *Nehemiah*, mention any thing about any of them.

Laſtly, and to mention no more, They place at the tail of this ſynagogue *Simon* the juſt, between whom and the time in which we ſuppoſed *Daniel* to have died there elapſed near two hundred and fifty years. The method they take to ſkip over this difficulty is equally abſurd, and only expoſes their ignorance of chronology; and this makes the judicious dean above quoted rightly ſuppoſe, that this pretended aſſembly of a hundred and twenty was only a ſucceſſion of men, who put every one a helping hand to complete what *Ezra* had ſet on foot; and that *Simon* the juſt, who is the laſt there named, and was really ſo in point of time, was the perſon who gave the finiſhing ſtroke to that great work (4); for that it was not ſo far compleated in *Ezra*'s time, as to have had no addition or amendment made to it afterwards, is ſcarce credible.

1ſt, Becauſe we find in *Nehemiah* * the genealogy of *Jeſhua* the high-prieſt is carried down to *Iadua*, and mention made of *Darius* the *Perſian*, or *Codomanus*, who were recenter by at leaſt a hundred years; and in the third chapter of the firſt book of the *Chronicles*, *Zerubbabel*'s genealogy is carried down ſo far as muſt neceſſarily reach to the time of *Alexander the Great*.

2dly, Among the various readings noted in the margin of the ſacred books which are attributed to *Ezra*, and are known by the names of *Keri* and *Ketib*, we find ſome in thoſe of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, which cannot be ſuppoſed to have been put in by them, but by ſome of their ſucceſſors in the work.

3dly, We may add, that *Nehemiah* and the *Chronicles* fall very ſhort of that correctneſs of ſtyle and method that we find in the other books of the *Old Teſtament*, and, for the reaſons above alledged, were hardly admitted into the canon, till about the time of *Simon* the juſt above-mentioned.

(Y) Theſe were *Haggai*, *Zachariah*, and *Malachi*, to which the *Jews* add, as we hinted in the laſt note, *Daniel* and his three companions. As for *Malachi*, they pretend, that he was the ſame with *Ezra*; that this laſt was his proper name, and מלאכי *Malachi*, which ſignifies *my angel* or *meſſenger*, to have been that of his office, as being the perſon or prophet ſent by God to reſtore the *Jewiſh* church to its priſtine ſplendor and ſtandard.

St. *Jerom* and ſome other ancient writers have maintained the ſame notion (5): ſure it is, that *Malachi* is rather a common than a proper name, and that in *Ezra*'s time, prophets were called by that name (6); and accordingly, ſeveral ancient fathers quoted *Malachi* under the title of *the angel* or *meſſenger of God* (7).

What ſeems to confirm that he was an aſſiſtant to, if not the ſame with, *Ezra*, is his reproving the people for marrying ſtrange wives (8), for their oppreſſion of their poor brethren (9), and ſeveral other abuſes which were then rectified by *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*.

† *Vol.* I. *p.* 525. *ſub fin. note H.* (4) *Connect. ubi ſupra.* * *Ch.* xii. 10, 22. (5) *Comment. in Malach. & alib. plur.* (6) *Haggai* i. 13. *Malach.* iii. 1. *& alib.* (7) *Clem. Alexand. Strom. l.* i. *Tertul. cont. Judæos, c.* 5. *Orig. in Joan. & al.* (8) *Ch.* ii. 11. (9) *Ibid. v.* 10. *& alib. paſſ.*

Jews required ſuch a collection and reviſal of the ſacred writings, and ſome ſuch a
thing we find done ſoon after *Nehemiah*'s arrival in *Judæa*, when *Ezra* brought forth
the ſacred volume, and read and expounded it to all the people from morning till
noon, during the whole ſeven days of the feaſt of tabernacles[r]. Laſtly, the whole
current of *Talmudiſt* writers, and all the ancient and modern *Jews*[s], (except the *Sa-*
maritans, who reject all but the pentateuch, as ſhall be ſeen in due time; and *Joſe-*
phus, who perhaps did not think proper to tell the world that the ſacred writings
ſtood in need of ſuch a reviſal and amendment) aſcribe this work to *Ezra*, as preſi-
dent of the ſanhedrin, and chief director and overſeer of the whole, in which they
have been followed by no ſmall number of ancient fathers[t], and by far the greateſt
part of modern writers. We may further add, that there is no other way of juſti- b
fying that great and zealous man, for leaving the city and outworks of the temple in
that deſolate ſtate in which *Nehemiah* found them at his coming[u], conſidering, that
he met with no other obſtacles, that we read of, from the *Samaritans*, but all poſſible
encouragement from the *Perſian* court; but the ſuppoſition, that he thought it of
greater moment to beſtow his time and care in this new and correct edition of the ſa-
cred code, than to buſy himſelf in repairing the outworks of the city and temple. It
is in the time of this reviſal that he is ſuppoſed to have exchanged the old *Hebrew*
character, for the more beautiful and commodious *Chaldee* now in uſe, and to have
invented the *Maſſorah* (Z), vowel, and other points, concerning which we have given
a full account in a former volume †.

Another

[r] Nehem. viii. 2 & ſeq. ad fin. [s] Vid. Seld. de ſynedr. Buxtorf. Tiberiad. & Auct. ab eis citat. [t] Clem. Alexandr. Strom. l. i. Iren. l. iii. Basil. epiſt. ad Chilon. Isidor. Orig. l. vi. & al. mult. [u] Nehem. i. 2. ii. 14. & ſeq. † Vol. I. p. 720. & note 725. & ſeq.

(Z) By the term *Maſſorah* or *Maſſoreth*, which ſignifies *tradition*, is meant the unwritten rule or canon by which the reading and writing of the ſacred books was fixed. We have already ſeen elſewhere, that the *Jews* affirm it to have been given by God himſelf to *Moſes*, who delivered it to *Joſhua*, *Aaron*, &c. by whom it was tranſmitted by oral tradition, through a long ſucceſſion of holy and inſpired men, down quite to *Rabbi Judah*, ſirnamed *Hakkadoſh*, or *the holy*, who wrote it in the book which they call the *Miſhna*; all which we have formerly confuted †, as a ſeries of *Rabbinic* fictions.

Others, with more probability, attribute it to this *Ezra*, who, in the comparing of the ſeveral copies, out of which he was to compile his new authentic one, found himſelf under a neceſſity of correcting ſeveral errors which had crept in, through the ignorance and careleſsneſs of the tranſcribers, and obſerving likewiſe here and there a different reading, which might be well enough preſerved, he put the one, perhaps that which he thought the beſt, in the text; and this the *Jews* call *Keri*; the other he put in the margin, to intimate, that it was otherwiſe written in ſome copies; and thoſe marginals were called *Cetib*. It were, however, abſurd to ſuppoſe, that they were all inſerted by him, ſince, as we hinted in a former note, we find ſome of them, not only in the book that goes by his name, and is juſtly attributed to him, but in ſome of a later date; beſides, many of thoſe marginals are really trifling, and ſome of them far beneath the dignity of ſuch an author. Thoſe who underſtand the *Hebrew* tongue may ſee an inſtance of this in the places quoted in the margin (11).

As for the vowel points, which are ſaid to have been invented by him, in order to fix the true ſenſe of words, we have heretofore ſhewn them to be of much more modern date †. But as to the gramatical ones, eſpecially the *athnach* and *ſilluc*, or *ſophpaſuk*, ſo called, becauſe this laſt concluded every period, called by the *Jews paſſuk*, it is moſt likely, they were deviſed either by, or very ſoon after, him; for, the *Hebrew* being almoſt forgotten during their captivity, and the *Chaldee* being become the current tongue, there was a neceſſity that thoſe *paraſhas* or *portions* of ſcripture that were read in the temple and other ſynagogues, ſhould be expounded to them by proper interpreters; and this the *Talmudiſts* (12) tell us was done verſe by verſe in the law, which gave occaſion to the invention of thoſe points, in order to direct the readers when to ſtop; but when they were afterwards forbid by *Antiochus Epiphanes* to read the law (13), and had ſubſtituted the lecture of the prophets inſtead of it; the ſenſe in theſe generally running a a greater length, they were obliged to read and expound three whole verſes at a time.

However, when the *Maccabees* had by recovering their liberty reſtored the ancient reading of the law, they continued ſtill reading alſo the prophets, and expounded the former verſe by verſe, and the latter every third verſe; in proceſs of time they added likewiſe the other books called by them כתובים *Cetubim*, or *hagiographa*; and this probably gave riſe to the diſtinction of legal, prophetical, and hagiographical books, often mentioned in the goſpel (14), and by *Joſephus* (15).

How theſe periods or verſes were marked in their books, is not eaſy to gueſs. If the *Jews* were then as ſuperſtitious as they have proved ſince, it is certain they could never ſuffer them to be inſerted in any ſhape into the text, which they look upon as polluted by every adventitious point or dot, though ever ſo accidental. It is indeed a queſtion whether they were ſo ſcrupulous in ancient times; but then, if *Ezra*, or any of his ſucceſſors, ever admitted thoſe ſtops, lines, points, or in any other form, it will be a wonder how they came afterwards to be expunged; for it is plain there are none ſuch admitted in their ſynagogues.

But the difficulty may be eaſily removed, by ſuppoſing, that they only left a blank ſpace between period

(10) *Vid. ubi ſupra.* † *Vol.* I. *p.* 569, *note B. & alib.* (11) 2 *Kings* xviii. 27. *Iſaiah* xxxvi. 12. ‡ *Vol.* I. *p.* 725. *& note.* (12) *Miſhna tract. Megill, c.* 4. *Vide & Valton. prolegom. c.* 3 *& auct. ab eis citat.* (13) *El. Levit. Tiſhbit.* (14) *Luke c. ult. v.* 44. *Acts* xiii. 15. *& alib.* (15) *Cont. Apion. l. i.*

a ANOTHER, and very uſeful, improvement which he and his inſpired aſſociates are generally, and with great probability, believed to have made to this new edition of the ſacred books, is the interſperſing here and there an explanatory clauſe by way of parentheſis, and making ſuch other additions to the text, as were neceſſary to explain, illuſtrate, or confirm it. Of this nature ſome ſuppoſe the account of *Moſes*'s death, and the excellent character given to that great lawgiver in the laſt chapter of *Deuteronomy*, to have been; but it ſeems to us more probable, that this was inſerted much earlier, namely by *Joſhua*, or ſome of his cotemporary writers, in order to inſpire the people with a ſingular reſpect and credit both to him and his writings. However that be, we meet with a great number, that, being manifeſtly inſerted long after the b facts, cannot well be aſcribed to any but *Ezra*, or ſome of thoſe prophets that aſſiſted him in the work; thus we find in ſeveral of the hiſtorical books concerning ſome ancient monuments, ſuch-like words as theſe added by way of teſtimony, *which remain unto this day*[w]; nay, many others of the like nature the reader may ſee in the margin (A). To the ſame end he is ſuppoſed likewiſe to have added ſome new names of places to the old ones, which were become obſelete. Thus *Abraham* is ſaid to have purſued the confederate king as far as *Dan*, the name which the *Danites* gave long afterwards to *Laiſh*[x]. The ſame was done to *Bethel*, anciently called *Luz*, to *Hebron*, whoſe original name was *Kiriath-Arba*, and to many more, by the help of whoſe new names we come to the knowledge of the places there mentioned, c which we could never have known by their old ones. *Corrects them.*

THE laſt work of this great man was the reſtoring of the worſhip of the temple, according to its ancient form before the captivity; to reviſe and amend the *Jewiſh* liturgy, and to add particular prayers and thankſgivings, proper for the feſtivals that were ſuperadded after their return from their captivity; ſuch as the dedication of the new temple[y], of *Purim*[z], and the like; and as the pſalms entered into almoſt every part of their worſhip, and were to be ſung alternately (B), as we have ſeen in a former volume, it is not to be doubted, but he took the ſame pains in collecting the whole book, and giving it the ſame reviſal which he had to the reſt. Whether he digeſted them in the ſame order we have them now in, as is generally believed by *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, d and whether he was the author of thoſe which were manifeſtly compoſed during the captivity[a] and after their return from it[b], ſuch as we take thoſe which are ſtyled *gradual* *Reſtores the divine worſhip.*

[w] DEUT. iii. 14. JOSHUA x. 27. & alib. [x] Conf. GEN. xiv. 14. & Jos. xix. 47. JUDG. xviii. 29. [y] EZRA vi. 16. [z] ESTHER ix. 29. ad fin. Vol. I. p. 715. & ſeq. [a] Pſalm cxxxvii. [b] cxxvi.

period and period; or, as *Maimon* imagines (16), that they finiſhed every verſe or period with a break, and began the next line with a new verſe. But as they found theſe breaks to run to too great a length in many places, and cauſed their books, thoſe we mean which they had for their private uſe, to ſwell to too great a bulk, they invented the two grammatical points, which are now in uſe, and which the reader may find in all their pointed books.

But this was not the ſole uſe of theſe grammatical points. Thoſe who are acquainted with that tongue need not be told how neceſſary they are in fixing the ſenſe in many places, nor how it may be, and is often rendered obſcure, unintelligible, or even contrary by the miſplacing of them. We have formerly given a notable inſtance of it **, from which the reader may gueſs of the reſt; and ſhall dwell no longer upon it.

(A) Thus it is ſaid in *Geneſis* (17), that *the* Canaanites *did then dwell in the land*; which words could not be inſerted till they had actually been extirpated out of it; and in another place of the ſame book (18), it is ſaid, *theſe are the kings that reigned in the land of* Edom, *before there reigned any king in* Iſrael, which laſt words muſt of neceſſity have been inſerted long after *Moſes*'s time. The large iron bed of *Og* king of *Baſan*, ſaid in *Deuteronomy* to have been ſtill to be ſeen in the metropolis of the *Ammonites* (19), plainly intimates, that that prince had been killed long before this laſt clauſe was added. Laſtly, and to mention no more, the twenty-fifth chapter of the *Proverbs*, which begins with theſe words, *The proverbs of* Solomon, *which the men of* Hezekiah *king of* Judah *copied out*, plainly ſhews, the words were added ſome conſiderable time after this laſt named king, who was twelve generations off *Solomon*.

(B) That is, not by *hemiſtics*, as *Meibonius* and ſome others ſeem to have imagined, but by whole verſes, as they are now ſung in our cathedrals; for, firſt, ſome of thoſe verſes there are, which, as a learned prelate has lately obſerved againſt him (20), manifeſtly conſiſt of three members, and ſo are incompatible with the method of ſinging by *hemiſtic*.

But what ſeems to us more deciſive is, that in ſome other acroſtics (21), whoſe verſes are conſequently determined, the letter ו *vau* not being admitted to begin the ſixth verſe, but being thruſt in the middle of the fifth, juſt after the *athnach*, they ſubſtituted a verſe after the laſt alphabetical one, which begins in them with the letter פ, which can hardly be ſuppoſed to have been done, but to make the number of verſes even, that the ſame ſide of the choir might not begin and end the ſame pſalm, which addition would have been needleſs, had they been ſung by *hemiſtics*.

(16) *Ex Talmude in Bava Batra, cap.* 7, & 9. (17) xii. 6. (18) *Ch.* xxxvi. 3. (19) *Deut.* iii. 11. ** *Vol.* I. *p.* 725, *b. and note D.* (20) *Hare prolegom. page* 4 *and* 5 (21) *Pſalm* xxv. & xxxiv.

gradual to have been (C); and laſtly, whether he lived to finiſh all theſe things, or a
left them to be compleated by his ſucceſſors, we will not pretend to determine. One
thing the ſecond book of *Maccabees* informs us, that *Nehemiah* founded a library at
Jeruſalem, in which he depoſited the acts of the kings, of the prophets, and of
David, which ſeems to intimate, as if the reviſion of them had been compleated
before that time.

It is no leſs uncertain, whether this reviſion of the ſacred books reached ſo far as
the reſtoring of the poetical parts to their ancient metre, or whether they contented
themſelves with ſuch a punctuation and diviſion of verſes as would beſt fit them for
the ſervice of the temple. The generality of writers is for the latter; but there is
one reaſon which ſeems to us very ſtrong for the former, namely, that thoſe pſalms, b
which were compoſed after the captivity, appear to us to run much in the ſame cadence
with thoſe which had been written before it, and many of them, whatever ſome diffi-
cult critics may fancy to the contrary, ſeem to be in no caſe inferior to them; which
ſeems a plain intimation, either that the rules of *Hebrew* poetry were not loſt at
Babylon, or that they were recovered after their return, though they have been in vain
ſought for ever ſince the total diſperſion of that nation, as we have fully ſhewn in the
place laſt quoted out of the firſt volume of this hiſtory. However, ſince that time the
reverend prelate above quoted has favoured the learned world with his metrical
edition of the pſalms, by which he has at leaſt convinced us, that the *Hebrew* metre
is not ſo irrecoverably loſt as we then imagined. It is true, we are far from think- c
ing that he has actually diſcovered it; we ſhall hereafter give our reaſons for it in the
margin; but this we are bound to ſay in juſtice to his extenſive learning, the inde-
fatigable pains he has taken in that work, and the irrefragable arguments with which
he has exploded the greateſt part of the *Maſſoretic* traſh, which has been hitherto an
inſurmountable impediment to ſuch a diſcovery, to ſay nothing of the many ſagacious
rules and judicious criticiſms, which the reader will find in that edition; that if his
lordſhip has not quite paved the way to it, he has at leaſt blown up thoſe diſcou-
raging obſtacles that obſtructed it; ſo that we may now hope, that, by the help of
this elaborate piece, thoſe who have both time and genius for ſuch an enterpriſe,
will be now encouraged to follow ſo noble an example, from the preſent proſpect of d
ſucceſs, which they muſt have deſpaired of without it. Having ſaid thus much in
juſtice to that excellent piece and its learned author, we ſhall now, with his lord-
ſhip's good leave, and with that honeſt freedom which the dignity the ſubject demands
of us, offer our reaſons, why we think that his new-found metre comes infinitely ſhort
of what it appears to us to have originally been, and conſequently, that the greateſt
part of the alterations and corrections made for the ſake of it, and which are to be
found in every page, are ſo many deviations from the original. And ſince we find that
many of our readers expect we ſhould give our opinion of this learned performance,
we doubt not, but if we clear the ſacred text from the corruptions which our learned
prelate thinks he had corrected in it; and the *Hebrew* poetry from being ſuch a low, e
crawl-

[a] Chap. ii. 13.

(C) Concerning the title of theſe, which are fif-
teen in number, beginning at the hundred and
twentieth, various have been the conjectures of
the learned; its original import is a *ſong of de-
grees* or *ſteps*, which ſome interpreters miſtaking,
have rendered a *ſong of excellences*, or *a moſt excel-
lent ſong* (22). The *Chaldee* paraphraſt turns it, *a
ſong of the ſteps of the abyſs*, alluding to an old *Jewiſh*
tradition; that when they came to lay the founda-
tions of the ſecond temple, ſuch a ſtream of water
guſhed out, as roſe fifteen cubits, and would in all
probability have overflowed the country, had it not
been quelled by virtue of the ineffable name of God,
written upon the fifteen ſteps of the temple.

Hence interpreters have imagined, that theſe
pſalms had their names from the fifteen ſteps on
which they were ſung; but in what part of the
temple, whether within or without, they can by
no means agree. Others took the hint from thence,
that they were ſung on ſome high deſk, or raiſed
place, to which the ſingers went by ſteps; but
where is there any foundation for this?

But if we conſider, that the whole tenor of thoſe
pſalms conſiſts chiefly either in fervent prayers for
their return from their captivity, or thankſgiving
for having obtained it; and that the terms, aſcent,
and to aſcend, are frequently uſed to expreſs their
return into their own land (23); as it was indeed a
high hilly ground, is it not more natural to ſup-
poſe thoſe pſalms to have been compoſed ſome a
little before, and ſome preſently after, and all upon
the ſubject of this happy מעלות, *aſcent* or *re-
turn* from *Babylon* to *Jeruſalem* (24)? So *Shir
Hammealath* will properly ſignify *the ſong of the
return*, or *of thoſe that returned*.

(22) *Jon. Targ. Maſ. & al.* (23) *Vid. int. al. Ezra* i. 3, 5. & *ſeq.* ii. 2: vii. 9. *Nehem.* vii. 5, 6. *Pſal.* cxxii. *Jerem.* xxvii. 22. & *alib. Ezek.* xxxix. 2. & *alib.* (24) *Vid. Calmet. præfat. in Pſ. Graec.*

a crawling, and imperfect thing as this edition makes it, not only they, but much more his good lordſhip, will be pleaſed with it; and that merit of the cauſe will plead for the length of the following note, into which we ſhall for order and brevity's ſake inſert all that we have to ſay upon that ſubject (D).

We

(D) In ſpeaking of the ſacred *Hebrew* poetry in a former volume *, we ventured to affirm, that it was unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that an art, which, with reſpect to its nobleſt part, the ſtrength of expreſſion, loftineſs of thought, beauty of metaphors, and imagery, was almoſt at its height in *Moſes*'s time; and had been ſo excellently well cultivated during ſo many centuries after, ſhould yet be ſo uncouth and imperfect with reſpect to the metre, as *Le Clerc* and ſome other critics have made it; the latter being but a mere jingle, and within the compaſs of a much more ordinary genius. And this argument we think will hold much ſtronger againſt that even heavy and inelegant bitony, which our learned prelate has given us for it; and eſpecially,

2dly, If we take in another part of his lordſhip's affirmation, namely, that it admitted of no diſtinction of long and ſhort ſyllables, but uſed them all indifferently, as the nature of the verſe, which is there affirmed to conſiſt of no other variety than *trochaic* and *iambic*, required. For this once allowed, we may ſafely ſay with the poet, that *Nil non erit verſus*, and that there is no period in the *Old Teſtament* from *Geneſis* to *Malachi*, that may not be thus verſified, not to ſay, any other book in any other language; for proof of which, if the reader will but be at the ſmall pains we have been induced to take, he may with eaſe reduce the whole common prayer book, either *Engliſh*, *Latin*, or *Greek*, into the ſame kind of verſe, and without thoſe frequent alterations, which his lordſhip is forced to make in the *Hebrew* text.

We may add, that quantity is in many caſes ſo neceſſary and obvious to fix the ſenſe of what is ſaid or ſung, that it is abſolutely impoſſible the ſacred poets ſhould have been thus totally negligent of it.

But, thirdly, That neither poets nor muſicians, from *Moſes* to *David*, ſhould have ſtumbled upon a variety of metres, anſwerable to the variety of ſubjects treated of in the pſalms; but that the penitential ones, than which nothing can be more grave or ſolemn, as to the expreſſion, ſhould run on in the ſame merry pace with the euchariſtical, encœnical, epithalamical, and others of a more chearful nature; or that *David*, bewailing and begging pardon for his ſecret ſins, ſhould expreſs himſelf in the ſame leaping anacreontic ſtrain, as when he ſpeaks of the mountains ſkipping like rams, and the little hills like young ſheep (25), *credat quicunque vult*.

Laſtly, If the book of pſalms, a book ſo highly eſteemed, and in ſuch conſtant uſe among all the *Jews*, can be once ſuppoſed to have been ſo mutilated, as to ſtand in need, not only of all that vaſt quantity of corrections which are here introduced for the ſake of that metre, but of a great many more, which that learned prelate owns he could not reſtore; it is to be feared, whatever his lordſhip may think to the contrary, its authority will ſoon dwindle into nothing, eſpecially, if that be admitted, which his lordſhip affirms in ſeveral places of that work, that a great number of thoſe corruptions have been introduced into the text, not by the inadvertency and ignorance of tranſcribers, but by the ſuperſtition, or even malicious intent, of the *Jews* themſelves. But ſuch a ſevere charge againſt a people, who, for ought appears to the contrary, have rather ran into the other extreme, ought to have been backed by ſome ſtronger proofs, than the bare ſtructure of this new-found metre, which is at beſt built upon a tottering foundation, and in many caſes upon a wrong one, as will, we hope, appear by what follows.

Theſe were ſome of the main reaſons that induced us to inquire further into the grounds of this new metre; and here we own, that his lordſhip could not have fallen upon a better way to come at his intended diſcovery, than that of framing his rules from the acroſtic pſalms, whoſe verſes, being confined within their alphabetical limits, take away at once all occaſion of expatiating. But the misfortune was, that he made choice of ſo ſhort a one for his ground and pattern, which conſiſting but of ten verſes, and by its ſtructure appearing to have been deſigned, like ſome others of the like nature, to be committed to memory for frequent uſe, could not afford that variety of meaſure, *&c.* which is to be found in acroſtics of a greater length, ſuch as the 25th, 34th, 37th, and eſpecially the 119th.

This laſt, his lordſhip juſtly obſerves, comes indeed vaſtly ſhort of the poetic elegancy of the reſt, with reſpect to the diction; but as to the metre, it affords ſuch a beautiful variety of it, that it ſeems to contain an epitome of the whole *Hebrew* metre; and we doubt not, but if his lordſhip had beſtowed the ſame pains in framing his rules from it, he might not only have given us a more noble idea of the ſacred poetry, but likewiſe ſaved himſelf the endleſs trouble of diſtorting the text, to make it ſquare with his own. All which put together gave us juſt cauſe to think, that his fondneſs for this new diſcovery had made him overlook ſeveral great beauties and excellencies in the *Hebrew* metre, which a cloſer and leſs partial examination might eaſily bring to light.

We had not gone far in this inquiry, before ſome of his metrical emendations gave us a manifeſt proof of it, and ſet us upon a much better ſcent. We obſerved, that his lordſhip was often forced, for the ſake of the verſe, to curtail a triſyllable into a biſyllable, or to ſtretch the latter into the former; but more particularly the names of God, *Jah*, *Jahvoh*, and *Elohim*, by exchanging them *ad libitum*, and contrary to the text, according as the verſe required one, two, or three ſyllables, even as far as eighteen times in one pſalm (26).

This, we obſerved, was conſtantly done in verſes whoſe hemiſtics ran either in the ſame number of ſyllables, except only in theſe names of God, as in the following;

באלוהים	אהלל רבר (27)	
ביהוה	אהלל רבר	

or in parallel verſes of different pſalms; in the one of which the word *Javoh*, and the other *Elohim*, and ſometimes *Adonai*, did occur (28), *cæteris paribus*. This made us apprehend at firſt, that if there was really any ſuch metre in the pſalms, his lordſhip was miſtaken in reading the word יהוה *Jahvoh*, which ought to have been a triſyllable, in order to anſwer to *Elohim* and *Adonai*.

But finding upon further examination, that *Elohim* was in ſeveral places ſet to anſwer to other words, which were certainly biſyllable, as in the following (29),

Joduca	*hammim*	*Elohim*
Joduca	*hammim*	*Cullam*

What

* *Vol.* I. *p.* 709, *& ſeq.*

(25) *Compare in this new edition, Pſalm* xix. 14, *with* cxiv. 3, *& ſeq.*

(26) *In Pſalm* lxviii. cviii. 3, *& alib. pluries.*

(27) *Pſalm* lvi. 11.

(28) *Conf. Pſalm* xiv, 3, *&* liii. 3. lvii. 10, *&*

(29) *Pſ.* lxviii 3.

We return to *Ezra*, who, having been succeeded by *Nehemiah*, after he had governed the *Jewish* church and nation thirteen years, assisted him in some parts of his office some few years, after which we hear no more of him. *Josephus* tells us [d], that he died and was buried at *Jerusalem*; but the rest of the *Jews* affirm, that he returned into *Persia*, and died there in the hundred and twentieth year of his age. They bear so great a veneration for him, that they look upon him as a second *Moses*, a restorer of the sacred books and *Massarah*, and, in a word, one every way worthy to have been their law-giver, had not that honour been bestowed on *Moses* [e]. They join the books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* into one, and make him the author of it: and he was certainly so of the first, since he speaks of nothing in it, but what was done in his time and under his eye, and almost every-where speaks of himself in the first person; but if he wrote the second, some additions must have been made to it since his death; but the difference of style seems to prove it of another hand, as well as that of the two books of *Chronicles*, which it is not, however, improbable, he might have had the revisal of; as for the other two books falsely attributed to him, and known by

Ezra's death and character.

[d] Antiq. l. xi. [e] Vid. Sed. Hol. Cabbal. R. Abr. Levit. Seph. Juchas. Shalsheleth, & al plur.

What could be a stronger proof than this, that *Elohim*, consisting of two shorts and a long, was equivalent to the two long ones in *Cullam*, and consequently that the *Hebrew* metre admitted not only of long and short syllables, two of the last of which were equal to one of the former; but also, that it consisted of trisyllables, bisyllables, and monosyllables, or what the prosodiasts call *cesures*? Such as are in the *Latin* pentameters, and in the *Hebrew* iambics. We have not room in a note to multiply examples; the reader may, by comparing the following ones, which are exactly according to the text, with those of our learned author, as he has been forced to distort them from it to reduce them to his metre, easily guess, to what a vast number of needless emendations this one single error of the *Hebrew* poetry consisting only of bisyllables, without distinction of quantity (30), has given birth, which might otherwise have been happily avoided.

Ezkòr Màhlè-lè iàh
Ezkeràh mikedem philekà
raukà Màjìm Elohìm
raukà Majìm jakilù (31)
Hùshàh lèhèz ratì
Adonài tèshù hati (32)
B'elohìm ahàl-lèl dà-bar
B'jahvoh ahal-lel da bar (33).

Nòdàh Bihudàh Elohim
Bisshraèl gadòl Shemò
asshiràh lihvòh bekhajài
azamràh lelohàh behodi
Elohim berob Khasdeca
honneni beemeth jisheca

Those that are conversant with the *Hebrew* tongue and sacred poets, will easily feel the advantage of admitting this variety of feet, not only with regard to its superior elegance to a dull constant bitony, but also towards the further discovery of the *Hebrew* metre in verses of unequal hemistics; some of which run to such lengths above others, even in those acrostics abovementioned, that they contain often double, and sometimes treble, the number of syllables.

This indeed our author looks upon as such a disgrace to the *Hebrew* poetry, that, right or wrong, he endeavours to avoid it every where, as much as possible; sometimes by the addition of one or more words, at other times by striking them out (34), by elisions, paragogies, and sometimes by splitting a long word between two hemistics, or sometimes by splitting an hemistic into two, contrary to the constant structure of the psalm (35); and yet if we were to frame a judgment from the three last quoted psalms, xxxvii. cxix. and cxxxvi. one would be apt to think, that the sacred poets thought these transitions, from a long to a very short hemistic, an ornament; and such it is thought by all, in odes, epitaphs, and such like, which seem therefore to us to come nearest to the *Hebrew* genius and metre, not only of the psalms, but of the other poetic pieces of the *Old Testament* *.

Now this kind being so opposite to the *trochaic* and *iambic*, which his lordship had pitched upon for his standard, we need not wonder, that he has succeeded no better in his endeavours to bring it to it, since that could not be done but by constant stretching, dislocating, amputation, and other such-like violent methods, which his lordship, among many other learned men, hath justly objected against *Le Clerc* and others, who have attempted this discovery.

It is not the design of this note to recover the ancient *Hebrew* poetry, a task for which we have neither time nor abilities; but to rescue it from that contempt into which both it and the *Hebrew* text must unavoidably fall, if it should once be supposed, that the former consisted only in a dull, sleepy, and uncertain bipedality, and that the latter has been so corrupted and mutilated, partly by *Jewish* superstition and malice, and partly by the ignorance and inadvertency of transcribers. And therefore, though what has been said seem to us sufficient to vindicate it in both cases, yet, as the last is a matter of such great moment, we shall take the liberty to animadvert upon some few more of his lordship's metrical emendations, that the reader may see how little reason he had to say, *Ex metro liquidò apparet; frustra ergo sunt omnes hic interpretes* (36). We shall begin with the fiftieth psalm, out of the first verse of which he has struck the two names of God, *El* and *Elohim*, into the title, upon no other authority than the last-mentioned. Could his lordship indeed have backed it with one single instance of a psalm, intitled, *Mizmor El Elohim*, or shewn that there was any absurdity or inelegancy in the expression, *El*, *Elohim*, *Jahvoh*, or *Jehovah*, the

(30) *Vid. Prolegom. p.* 4. & 27. (31) *Psalm* lxxvii. 12, & 17. (32) xxxviii. *ult.*
(33) lvi. 11. (34) *Psalm* xxxvii. 20, 25, & *seq.* cxix. *pass.* (35) *Psalm* cxxxvi. 9.
* *Vid. int. al Exod.* 15, & *Lament.* c. 3 (36) *Note in* ϖ, 1. *Psalm* l.

the God of gods, or *the Mighty God*; ſuch a change might have paſt for an amendment; but to reject ſo noble an expreſſion for the ſake of a metre, which is at beſt as yet but in embryo, is a criticiſm which few of his readers will digeſt.

But were it really for the ſake of the metre, that his lordſhip rejects this triplicate name of God, how eaſily might it have been remedied by lengthening the verſe without any violence to the text! As,

El Elohim Jahvoh dibber vajicra,
Erets mimiſrah ſhemeſh had meboo

or by any other way, rather than ſtripping the original of ſo lofty an expreſſion. But if his lordſhip, or the reader, is by this time reconciled to that variety of metre we have endeavoured to eſtabliſh above, the whole verſe may be ſtill made to run more elegantly, and conformably to the reſt of the pſalms, thus:

El elo-hìm Jàh-vòh dìb ber
Vàjicra èretz mìmmìz rah
Shèmèſh vè hàd meboo

But his lordſhip ſeems to be fond of ſpying out difficulties in the original, that he may have an opportunity of exerciſing his critical talent. We ſhall give three pregnant inſtances of it; the firſt is in the eighth and ninth verſes of the fortieth pſalm; this place, obſcure and intricate as his lordſhip calls it, after ſome additional words and a new diſpoſition of the original ones, he leaves much more dark and unintelligible, and leſs elegant and grammatical than he found it, as the reader may ſee by comparing it with the text.

Now all this trouble might have been ſaved, and the text not only cleared, but exactly adjuſted, to the place, where the epiſtle to the *Hebrews* quotes it (37) by the ſingle addition of the letter כ *caph* before the word כמגלת *bimgillath*, and which may eaſily be ſuppoſed to have been omitted by reaſon of its ſimilitude to the ב *beth*, or even by the bare changing the one for the other, and reducing *cemgillath* inſtead of *bemgillath*; and then the verſes will run thus, and in the biſhop's own metre,

As a-marti hinneh bati
then ſaid I lo I come
(kebim-gillath Sepher Catub
(as in the volume of the book it is written
halai) lahſoth rezo-neka
of me) to do thy will
Elo-haikha-phaſti
O my God, I am well pleaſed with it
Vetho-rathca betoc Mehai
And thy law is within my heart.

The altering the points in the verb *khaphazti*, and making it the ſubſtantive *khephzati*, will render it ſtill more elegant; and the ſenſe will be, *O my God, and my delight*; or, *O God, thou art my delight, and thy law is within my heart.*

The next is in the ſixty-eighth pſalm, verſe 14; where the author not being able to light upon a better ſenſe than that which the vulgate and our verſion gives it, *Though ye have lain among the pots, yet ſhall ye be as the wings of a dove*, &c. has been forced to inſert the words *tehiu* and *ce*, and to double that of *Jonah* with the addition of the כ in the firſt. Now all this might have been ſaved, and the ſenſe made not only much plainer, but more elegant, by reading ינפח inſtead of כנפי, which is but a ſmall alteration in compariſon of his; and then the ſenſe will be plainly this; *Though ye have lain among the pots* or rather, according to the parallel in *Geneſis* xlix. 15. *Though ye ſink between two burthens, yet ſhall the dove* (emblem of innocence) *eſcape with her wings covered with ſilver, and her feathers with the pureſt gold.*

The laſt is in pſalm cxxxviii. v, 2. the latter part of which running thus in the text,

Ki higdalta hal col Shemca imratheca;

which not being altogether ſo intelligible, his lordſhip rectifies by adding the word *Shem* before *Shemka*, and caſting out the laſt word, as abſurdly added and without ſenſe, and for a proof of it ſends us to the parallel of St. *Paul* (37).

I hope his lordſhip will not think *imratheca, thy word*, to have been here maliciouſly added by the *Jews*, ſince, if we underſtand the apoſtle right, he ſpeaks there of Chriſt the word, the *loges* made fleſh, and crucified, and for which God has given him a name above every name. If, therefore, inſtead of ſtriking it out, his lordſhip had only expunged the pronoun ך after *Shem*, without any farther alteration, the ſenſe would have much better tallied with St. *Paul*'s quotation thus: *For thou haſt magnified thy word above every name.* His lordſhip could not be ignorant, what is univerſally underſtood by the *Hebrews Imrah*, the *Chaldee Mamre*, the *Greek Logos*, and the *Latin Verbum*, when applied to that divine Perſon.

It is true, if we admit the original word *imratheca*, the verſe will be one ſyllable too long for the foregoing; a misfortune which often happens in the text, but which his lordſhip is never at a loſs to obviate, either by an eliſion or a paragogic, though, for our part, we ſhould rather chuſe to remedy it by the rule heretofore given of making two ſhort ſyllables equal to a long one.

Much of the ſame nature is the correction of *Pſalm* lxxiv. *v.* 3. where his lordſhip ſtrikes out of the verſe the words *lemaſſhuoth netzakh, perpetual deſolations*, as abſurd and contrary to the context, (in which the pſalmiſt begs of God to put an end to them) and fills up the chaſm with the word *Calleh*, which he fetches out of the eleventh verſe, where he pretends it to be redundant.

His lordſhip, we believe, is the firſt that thinks it nonſenſe for a man to pray to God to put an end to his perpetual, that is, conſtant, and hitherto uninterrupted, misfortunes; beſides, the word נצח *netzach*, it is well known, doth not always imply the duration, but often ſtrength, greatneſs, violence, and inſurmountableneſs of a thing; and therefore not only very applicable to the then dreadful deſolations of the ſanctuary, but alſo very fit to be humbly repreſented to that God whoſe hand alone could remedy them.

But there is ſtill another and much more natural way of clearing the original, than that of his lordſhip's, by ſuppoſing the verb to have been originally נצה *netzah, fly*, which the tranſcribers, not underſtanding, changed it for the other, which was more known to them. The expreſſion of lift up thy feet, which alludes to a bird juſt going to take flight, confirms this ſenſe, which will run thus, lift up thy feet, and fly to thoſe dreadful devaſtations which thy enemies perpetually commit in thy holy place.

But this not being perceived by the tranſcribers, in order to make their *netzakh* run ſmooth with the reſt, they changed the order of the words, which probably ran thus:

Harimah pahameka
Netzah lecol Malſhuoth
Herah ojeb bakkodeſh.

As for the word כלה, which his lordſhip fetches from the eleventh verſe, we think it fully as well where it is, and where it is properly the participle *pakul* of the verb כלא, *to ſhut*, or *incloſe*, the א elided by reaſon of the feminine, *the hand*, there ſaid to be ſhut up in the boſom. See a parallel in *Pſalm* lxxxvii. *v.* 9.

From

(37) *Philip.* ii. 6.

by the names of the firſt and ſecond books of *Eſdras*, they are juſtly rejected; a however, we ſhall ſubjoin a ſhort account of each in the margin (E).

Nehemiah

From theſe few examples the reader may ſee the ill conſequence of too great an attachment to a favourite ſyſtem: but the miſchief has not ſtopt here; and the notion, that the text was ſo corrupt, that nothing But theſe violent means could poſſibly recover it, has ſpread itſelf to other places, where the metre did not want thoſe emendations. Thus his lordſhip tells us, in his notes on *Pſalm* cvii. *v.* 25 and 29, that the words *jahmed* and *jakem* had manifeſtly changed places. We had indeed long before ſuſpected ſome error in the laſt verb, but never dreamt of this way of rectifying it. However, it appeared ſo plauſible to us at the firſt reading, that we readily jumped over the difficulty of accounting how two ſuch words, that ſtood at the diſtance of four verſes, or eight hemiſtics, aſunder, ſhould, contrary to the plain ſenſe of the text, be jumbled into each other's place; and we tranſpoſed them according to his correction in our manuſcript pſalter.

But we had not often read over the expreſſion *jahmed ruakh ſeharah lidmamah*, before we obſerved a manifeſt abſurdity in it, ſince that verb in this conjugation doth not ſignify *to make to ſtand ſtill*, but *to cauſe to ſtand, to act*; and could not conſequently belong to the latter, but to the former of the verſes, where it was raiſed to cauſe the ſtorm there ſpoken of; and we accordingly replaced it where it ought to be.

The difficulty then was how to rectify the word *jakem*, which, as it is there written, muſt be owned to be nonſenſe, unleſs we take it in the ſame figurative meaning, which it is known to have in 1 *Sam.* iv. 15. and 1 *Kings* xiv. 4. and elſewhere. But here the thirty third and thirty-fifth verſes of the ſame pſalm furniſhed us with a much more plauſible ſalvo than his lordſhip's improbable tranſpoſition, it being much more likely that a tranſcriber ſhould miſtake or overlook one letter for another, than that he ſhould thus tranſpoſe two diſtant words againſt all ſenſe; and thus we writ יָשֵׂם *jaſhem*, *to turn*, inſtead of יָקֵם *jakem*, *to raiſe*, *Jaſhem Seharah Lidmamah turneth the tempeſt into a calm*, will then anſwer to *Jaſhem Neharoth l'Midbar*, verſe 33. *he turneth the rivers into a dry wilderneſs*, and *Jaſhem Midbar l'agam Majim*, verſe 33, *a dry wilderneſs into a ſtanding water*.

If our readers, however, ſhould miſlike this verb, either on account of its occurring three times within ſo ſmall a diſtance from each other, or becauſe it is not elegant enough to anſwer the context, he may find ſome more noble ones in the verbs יקס, *to break*, יקה, *to blunt*, יקט, *to tire*, whoſe laſt letters being ſo near like the ם, might eaſily be miſtaken for it, the verb קים being more familiar to them, than the others, which occur but ſeldom.

But after all, we very much queſtion, whether any other change need to be made than the bare tranſpoſition of the particle ל from *demamah* to *ſeharah*, and ſo יקם לסערה דממה will properly ſignify, He *makes the calm to ſucceed the ſtorm*, an expreſſion no ways irregular or inelegant. The reader, however, may ſee by this one inſtance, how many eaſier ways that text might be rectified, than that which the learned author has pitched upon.

We ſhall end this note with one animadverſion more on that learned prelate's edition, by which the reader will plainly ſee, that his lordſhip is not always ſo happy as to take the beſt ſenſe of the pſalmiſt. We obſerved in a former volume *, that ſome of the figures in that ſacred book are ſo high and compound, that they were not eaſily perceived by every reader.

Our learned biſhop's ſingular opinion of the rudeneſs of the *Hebrew* poetry, hath made him not only overlook many of them, but even quarrel with ſome, which, had he been otherwiſe prejudiced, might have challenged his admiration. One of them, for inſtance, is in *Pſalm* lxxii. *v.* 16. This noble pſalm is intitled *to Solomon*; but what is contained in it is generally underſtood to regard the reign of the Meſſiah: but be that reign whoſe it will, here is foretold, among other great bleſſings, ſuch an uncommon plenty, that *Piſſath bar*, a *little handful of corn*, ſown on the tops of the mountains, naturally the moſt barren, ſhould outvie the fertile *Libanus* for increaſe. One would wonder how a perſon of his profound judgment could be diſſatisfied with ſo elegant a phraſe; and yet he tells us in his note, that unleſs the word *piſſath* be allowed here to have a contrary ſenſe, that is, to ſignify *a great abundance*, he ſhall ſuſpect it to have crept in inſtead of ſome word of the like import; which would be in fact loſing all the beauty of the expreſſion, as much as if his lordſhip had ſaid, that the fertile vallies ought to be inſerted inſtead of the barren mountain tops; for where would be the wonder, that a great heap of corn, or a fertile ground, ſhould bring forth a plentiful crop?

Of the ſame nature is that noble expreſſion of the pſalmiſt †, where he compares himſelf to *bammetim khopſhi*, *to a corpſe ſecluded even from among the dead*, alluding to the *Jewiſh* way of burying; for as the graves of the dead polluted the living, who came near them, ſo thoſe who died a violent death, or under the anathema, were to have a grave ſeparate from the reſt, leſt they ſhould pollute even their fellow dead; and that this is the alluſion here intended, is plain by the verſes immediately following, and implied in the word *khalalim*, which ſhould properly be rendered, not *wounded*, but *profane, abominable*, and which, *mijadeca nigzaru, are cut off from thy hand*, plainly ſhews ‡; but his lordſhip, having overlooked this beautiful figure, has ſtruck off the word *bammetim*, as ſpoiling the ſenſe as well as the verſe; how rightly, let the reader judge.

Thus much we thought incumbent upon us to ſay of that learned and elaborate work, which, if it has not anſwered the end which its noble author propoſed, may yet be read, as it was by us, with great pleaſure and profit, not only on account of numberleſs judicious criticiſms and obſervations which the reader will find in it, but as it will adminiſter the greateſt helps that ever were, as yet, thought on, by any of the learned, towards the recovering of the ancient *Hebrew* poetry. As to the reſt, we dare believe, it will be no ſmall pleaſure to that learned and pious prelate, to find the diſcovery of his miſtakes turn ſo much to the credit and vindication of the ſacred text and of its inſpired penmen.

(E) The firſt book of *Eſdras* is no other than the firſt book of *Ezra*, with a variety of fabulous circumſtances, particularly that of the three young men of *Darius*'s guard, who, for their exquiſite wiſdom in anſwering his queſtions, are there pretended to have obtained, among other marks of his favour, the liberty of returning to *Jeruſalem* and of rebuilding the temple (29). The *Greek* church is the only one that holds it among the canonical books.

The ſecond book is acknowledged by neither *Jews* nor *Chriſtians*, being a work which carries the manifeſt marks of impoſture. It is falſely pretended to have been written by *Ezra* himſelf, though filled partly with rabbinic fables, ſuch as the account of the ſix days creation, particularly of *Behemoth* and *Leviathan*, two monſtrous creatures, deſigned for a feaſt to the elect after the reſurrection (30), and partly

* *Vol.* I. *p.* 710, *ſub fin. note I.* † *Pſalm* lxxxvii. 6. ‡ *Concerning thoſe burials, ſee before, Vol.* I. *p.* 673, *c, & ſeq.* (29) *Ch.* iii. *& ſeq.* (30) *Ch.* vi. 40, *& ſeq.*

a *Nehemiah*, cup-bearer to the king of *Persia*, a *Jew* (F) of great learning and piety, had heard by some of his nation lately come from *Jerusalem*, of the ruinous condition which that city still stood in, notwithstanding the favours which that monarch had heaped on the returned *Jews*; being therefore backed by the queen, who is expressly said to have been at the table, when he made his petition to him[f], he obtained a commission from him to succeed *Ezra* in the government of *Judæa*, with full power to rebuild and adorn both city and temple, and with fresh orders to *Sanballat* and others of his officers on this side of *Euphrates*, to furnish him with all necessary materials out of the king's treasury. *Nehemiah*, having gathered a fresh supply of men and women to return with him into *Judea*, departed under an escorte which the king had b granted, and arrived at *Jerusalem*, where he kept himself in private three days, at the end of which he went in the night, accompanied with a few of his men, to take a full view of the city and walls, which he found to answer exactly the report that had been made to him of it at *Shushan*. On the morrow he sent for the heads of the people, and in the great assembly opened his commission, which he told them he would immediately put in force, and set about the finishing of the wall; he divided the work between a number of great families, each of which undertook a part of a stated extent, and was to build it at their own charges; and the new governor plied them so close, that in fifty-two days they had all compleated their task, notwithstanding the many discouragements which he met with, both from within and from c without[g].

Nehemiah *sent into* Judæa. *Year of the flood* 2554. *Before Christ* 445

The wall finished.

For while the work was going on, they were forced to bear with many a bitter sarcasm from *Sanballat*, a *Horonite* (G), governor of *Samaria*, and some others of his officers; but this was nothing to some of their underhand plots to obstruct it; for they went so far as to hire some treacherous *Jews* to dishearten both the governor and people, with the specious pretence that they were sent from God to put a stop to the enterprize. *Nehemiah* soon found out the cheat, but foreseeing that his enemies would not fail to use force, if their subdolous practices failed, ordered the people to arm themselves even while they were at work, placed strong guards to defend them, and trumpeters at convenient distances from each other, that at what quarter soever they d should chance to be attacked, the rest, upon hearing the alarm, might come immediately to their assistance. But the greatest obstacle of all was, that the poorer sort, who

[f] Nehem. ii. 6. [g] Ibid. iii. & seq.

partly with some gospel notions, corrupted and fitted to the author's taste. Of this nature are the nearness of the day of judgment, the appearance of the Son of God to him, and many more not worth repeating.

Mohammed has also stuffed his *Koran* with some monstrous fables; he not only owns him to have recovered the sacred books, which had been in a great measure lost, but affirms that he wrote them with five pens at once. He adds, that this miracle not convincing the incredulous *Jews* that he had rightly performed the task, one of the company told the rest, that one of his ancestors had formerly hid a fair copy of them in the cleft of a rock; which being fetched and compared with this new one of *Ezra*, they found such an exact agreement between them, as convinced them that he had been supernaturally assisted in it; some other fables he adds, which the reader may find in *D'Herbelot* (31).

The eastern christians believe, that *Ezra*, having swallowed down some of the mud of the well, wherein the sacred fire had been hid before the captivity, was immediately inspired, and enabled to write all the sacred books afresh (32). This seems to be partly taken out of the second book of *Esdras*, where that fabulous author tells us, that having begged of God to direct him how to recover those lost volumes, God gave him to drink of a liquor of a fiery colour; by the help of which he was enabled to dictate them to five scribes at the same time, who were forty days in writing two hundred and four volumes (33).

(F) The text calls him barely the son of *Hachaliah* (34), without informing us of what tribe he was. Some therefore from a passage in the *Maccabees* (35), where he is said to have offered sacrifices, and from his being reckoned at the head of the priests that signed the new covenant with God (36), have affirmed him to have been of the family of *Aaron*.

But as there is nothing conclusive in all this, and seems expressly contradicted by his saying in another place, that he was not a fit person to shelter himself in the temple (37); the far greater part suppose him to have been of the royal family of *Judah* (38); and this is so much the more probable, because we find none but such promoted to those high stations about the king's person; but never read of a priest that was so, till a long time after, and upon a quite different account, as the sequel will shew.

(G) Probably so called, because he was a native of *Horonaim*, a city of *Moab*; their other two principal enemies were *Tobias* the *Ammonite*, and *Geshem* the *Arabian*; all consequently ill-affected to the *Jews*, but now doubly so, since they were likely to be dispossest by them of many a good estate, which they had seized on during their captivity.

(31) *Biblioth. Orient. sub voce Ozair. Ben. Seraiah. Vid & Koran. cap. Bacra.* (32) *D'Herbel. ubi supra.* (33) *Ch.* xiv. 22, *& seq.* (34) *Nehem.* i. 1. (35) *Lib.* ii. *c.* i. 18. 21. (36) *Nehem.* x. 1. (37) *Ibid. c.* vi. 11. (38) *R. Abrah. in Cabbal. Euseb. Isid. & Genebr. & al.*

who were to bear the greater ſhare of the labour, had been ſo impoveriſhed by continual extortions from the rich, even long before his arrival, that they had already been forced to mortgage their lands, ſell their ſons and daughters, and ſubmit to ſo many other hardſhips, that they were quite diſabled from purſuing it. *Nehemiah*, who expected nothing leſs than to hear of ſuch horrid cruelties being committed by the *Jewiſh* rulers, upbraided them in the ſevereſt terms; and partly by perſuaſions, and partly by his own authority, obliged them to reſtore all their ill-gotten wealth to the poor owners, and at the ſame time took care, that they ſhould be ſupplied with all neceſſary ſuſtenance while they continued in the work [h]; by theſe means he defeated the meaſures of the *Samaritans*. As ſoon as the wall was finiſhed, he cauſed the dedication of it to be celebrated with the uſual ſolemnities by the prieſts and levites (H) [i], and left the government of the city to his two brothers, *Hanani* and *Hananiah* [k], whilſt himſelf returned, as is reaſonably ſuppoſed, into *Perſia* (I), to obtain a new commiſſion, the old one extending no farther than the rebuilding of the city wall, which was now actually done.

Conſecrated. a b

Hitherto *Jeruſalem*, large and ſpacious as it was, remained ſtill but thinly peopled, the far greater part having ſettled themſelves in the country round about; and whenever any buſineſs called them into the city, they ſeldom failed returning at night to their habitations. This *Nehemiah* had indeed forbidden while the wall was building; but after it was finiſhed, they returned to their uſual courſe. This therefore obliged him to provide for its ſafety, by cauſing a greater number of people to come and ſettle in it. He perſuaded at firſt the nobler and richer to build them houſes there, which they the more gladly complied with, becauſe their country ſeats were very much infeſted with thieves and banditti, who made frequent excurſions againſt them. After this they took in all that willingly offered themſelves to come and ſettle there; but theſe not proving ſufficient, he was obliged to take every tenth family by lot; ſo that by this time the city being well built, peopled, guarded, and fortified, it began to reſume ſomething of its former luſtre [l]: and *Herodotus*, who ſaw it ſoon after this time, compares it to *Sardis*, the metropolis of *Aſia Minor* [m] (K).

The city peopled. c

Whilst *Nehemiah* was thus employed in peopling and fortifying the city, adorning the temple, and rectifying the genealogies both of prieſts and people (L), *Ezra*, who had by that time finiſhed his collection of the ſacred books, was preparing himſelf, and ſome other learned prieſts, to make a ſolemn lecture of them to the whole nation, on the next approaching feſtival, which was that of the trumpets, uſhering in the new year. To this end a capacious ſcaffold or deſk was raiſed in one of the largeſt ſtreets of the city, that the people, who came from all parts of the land to the feaſt, might conveniently hear it. *Ezra* was ſeated in the midſt with the ſacred volume before him, and on each ſide ſtood ſix prieſts, well verſed in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee*, who

d

I. Introduced. II. Read and explained.

[h] Ch. v. paſſ. [i] Ch. xii. [k] Ch. vii. [l] Nehem. xi. [m] l. iii.

(H) This noble ceremony, which is deſcribed in the chapter above quoted, conſiſted in the purification of the prieſts and people, that they might partake of the ſacrifices that were to be offered on that ſolemnity. After this they aſſembled themſelves at one of the gates, whence dividing themſelves into two bands, the one of them took to the right, and the other to the left, and marched in a ſolemn proceſſion round the wall, till they met each other at the temple; they were followed by the prieſts blowing their trumpets, and with other ſingers and muſicians.

As ſoon as they were come to the temple, the two choirs placed themſelves oppoſite to each other; and while they were ſinging ſome pſalms proper to the occaſion, the prieſts offered a great number of ſacrifices, eſpecially of oxen, after which they ſpent the remainder of the Day in feaſting and mirth.

(I) This is indeed the moſt probable of the two, as the learned *Prideaux* obſerves (39); for as his commiſſion was only to repair the wall of the city, the only thing he had begged of the king, it is likely he went to have it inlarged, before he undertook any thing new; beſides, it is not very likely, that he would have committed the government of the city to any one, whilſt himſelf was there preſent.

His great intereſt at the *Perſian* court might then give ſuch a diſpatch to his buſineſs, and his return to *Jeruſalem* might be ſo ſudden, that he did not think it material to mention it in hiſtory.

(K) *Herodotus* calls it *Cadytis*; but whoever reads what the learned *Prideaux* has ſaid on that ſubject (40), will eaſily think with him, that it could be no other than *Jeruſalem*.

(L) This had been done once before ſoon after the return, as we have heretofore hinted; but not ſo clearly, but that there were ſtill many families of prieſts, levites, and of the people who could not make out their claim to their tribes, and were then ſuſpended. It is therefore likely, that ſome of them were ſince enabled to make out their title, and were then inſerted in this new regiſter, together with thoſe who came up with *Nehemiah*. Several of the old families, that came up upon the firſt edict, might be by this time extinct; all which is probably the cauſe of the difference we find in the genealogies of the books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*.

(39) *Connect. lib.* vi. *ſub. an. A. Chr.* 445. (40) *Sub an.* 610. & 445.

a who did interpret in the latter what he read in the former; and this was done, as we obſerved before, verſe by verſe, and was continued from morning till mid-day. *Nehemiah* then, reminding them of the joyful feſtival they were then celebrating, diſmiſſed them for that day, charging them to ſpend the remainder of it in feaſting and mirth, and to make their poor brethren partake of their joy. This caution was ſo much the more neceſſary, becauſe he obſerved, that the people ſhed abundance of tears at the hearing of the law, which he interpreted to proceed from ſuch a remorſe of their paſt deviations from it, as was likely to damp the mirth of that ſolemnity [n]. As the people ſhewed a more than common deſire to have this lecture and expoſition continued to them, *Ezra* complied with their requeſt, until he and his aſſiſtants had

b gone through the whole pentateuch. The grand feſtival of tabernacles being likewiſe near at hand, it opportunely happened, that that part of *Leviticus*, in which it is injoined, was read ſome days before; by which they were made ſenſible, how ſhort they had been till then of its due obſervation, ſo that the next they kept was obſerved with greater ſtrictneſs and ſolemnity, than it had been ſince the time of *Joſhua* (M) [o]. *Feaſt of tabernacles.*

But this was not all the advantage which *Nehemiah* reaped from this lecture of the law to ſuch a great concourſe of people; there appeared ſuch a lively concern in them whenever any point of the law was read, of which they knew themſelves tranſgreſſors, that he made uſe of that happy diſpoſition to extort from them a general confeſſion of all their ſins, and a ſolemn promiſe and vow to rectify all that was amiſs

c for the future; and this was accordingly complied with by all the people, eſpecially with reſpect to the four following heads; namely, 1. Not to make any intermarriages with the *Gentiles*, and to diſannul the old ones (N): 2. The obſervation of ſabbaths, ſabbatic years, and thoſe divine commands which related to them, ſuch as letting their land reſt, releaſe of ſervants, and the like: 3. The punctual payment of their yearly tribute to the temple, both for the repairs and the maintenance of the divine ſervices in it; and 4. The exact payment of their tythes, firſt-fruits, vows, *&c.* to the prieſts and levites [p]. The ſolemnity concluded with a generous collection, which he cauſed to be made among them for the ſervice of the temple; in which, to ſhew a noble example to the reſt, he gave himſelf a thouſand drachms of gold, fifty

d diſhes, and five hundred and thirty-two prieſtly veſtments. *Joſephus* adds, that he built ſeveral houſes for the prieſts, in order to oblige them to reſide at *Jeruſalem* [q]. Sure it is, that, whether his place of cupbearer had raiſed his fortune to ſuch a height, which is not improbable, or whether he had a conſiderable patrimony, to enable him, he did many generous and public-ſpirited things in *Judæa*; among which that of maintaining a noble table and ſplendid equipage, at his own coſt, without exacting the tribute aſſigned for the maintenance of a governor, was none of the leaſt. Having thus with great credit and honour compleated the tenor of his commiſſion, he returned into *Perſia*, according to his promiſe to the king [r], after having enjoyed the government of *Judæa* twelve years. *Year of the flood* 2557. *Before Chriſt* 442.

During

[n] Nehem. viii. paſſ. [o] Ibid. verſ. 12, & ſeq. [p] Ibid. c. ix, & x. [q] Antiq. l. xi. c. 5. [r] Nehem. ii. 6.

(M) It is ſuppoſed to have been at this ſolemnity, that the notable diſcovery happened of the ſacred fire related in the book of *Maccabees* (41), and which we have hinted in a former volume. The *Jews* affirm, that *Jeremiah*, or ſome other prophet, had cauſed it to be hid in a dry well a little before the taking of *Jeruſalem* (42); the memory of it having been ſtill preſerved to that time, *Nehemiah* cauſed it to be fetched out for the divine ſervice.

But when they came to uncover the well, they found no fire there, but only a thick mud, which being brought, however, and poured upon the wood of the altar, and victims that were laid on it, all on the ſudden the ſun, which had hitherto been overcaſt, began to ſhine upon it, ſet the wood on fire, and conſumed the burnt-offerings. *Nehemiah* cauſed the reſt of the mud to be fetched, and poured upon ſome large ſtones, which were immediately covered with flames, but theſe were preſently abſorbed by thoſe that flew from the altar thither.

This wonderful accident being afterwards related to the king of *Perſia*, he ordered the place where the fire had been kept to be ſurrounded, and to be looked upon as ſacred and inviolable. It raiſed ſtill more his eſteem of the *Jewiſh* nation and religion, and his reſpect ſhewed itſelf in the conſiderable preſents which he made to the prieſts and temple. In memory of this wonderful diſcovery, the *Jews* inſtituted a feaſt, which they called the feaſt of the new fire.

(N) Either thoſe which they had contracted ſince the general repudiation, which had been made under *Ezra*, or perhaps had been contracted before it, but the offenders had refuſed or neglected to perform that covenant; for ſure it is, that, as ſoon as this feaſt was over, they ſet about this work afreſh, and obliged as many of thoſe offenders, as were found to have ſtrange wives (43), to repudiate them.

(41) 2 *Macc.* i. 18, *& ſeq.* (42) *Ibid. verſ.* 19, *& cap.* ii. 1, *& ſeq.* (43) *Nehem.* x. *paſſ.*

During his abſence, which laſted but five years, it is almoſt incredible, what abuſes were crept into the *Jewiſh* church and commonwealth; ſo ſoon were that perverſe nation liable to forget their moſt ſolemn vows, and the miſeries which their breach of them conſtantly brought upon them. *Eliaſhib*, whether the then high-prieſt, or ſome other of the ſame name, who was overſeer of the temple chambers[s], had married his grandſon to the daughter of *Sanballat* the profeſſed enemy of the *Jews* (O), and had had ſo much baſe complaiſance for him, as to allow his friend *Tobias* the *Ammonite*, another ſworn enemy, a large apartment in that ſacred place, from which even the *Iſraelites*, who were not of the tribe of *Levi*, were excluded. *The temple profaned.* To this end, he cauſed thoſe chambers, wherein the tythes of corn, wine, and oyl, meat-offerings, *&c.* uſed to be repoſited, to be emptied for his accommodation. b This miſchief was followed by another: The prieſts, ſeeing the temple profaned by that ſtranger, their apartments given to his retinue, and gutted of that which was laid up for their maintenance, forſook the place, and went to live elſewhere, where they could; and this cauſed an intermiſſion of the divine worſhip. It is not improbable, that *Nehemiah*, who, even at that diſtance he was then from *Jeruſalem*, kept ſtill a watchful eye over it, was ſoon informed of theſe abuſes; ſo that having procured a freſh commiſſion from *Artaxerxes*, he returned to *Jeruſalem* at the end of five years from his departure. A leſs authority than his, or a man of leſs zeal, could hardly have ventured to reform an abuſe, in which ſome of the greateſt perſons were concerned; but the baſe cowardice of the prieſt and the impudence of the *Ammonite* c were too flagrant and impious to be ſuffered by a man of his character. As ſoon therefore as he was come to *Jeruſalem*, and had been a witneſs of the fact, he expelled the gentile ſtranger out of his apartment, cauſed all his furniture to be thrown out, the place to be purified, and the prieſts and holy things to be reimplaced as formerly.

The ſabbath profaned. Another ſhameful abuſe, which had crept in during his abſence, was an almoſt total diſregard of the ſabbath; they threſhed their corn, preſſed their wine and oyl, bought and ſold from the *Tyrians* and other ſtrangers, who affected to bring their mercantile wares into that city on that day, rather than on any other of the week; and were baſely ſuffered to do ſo by thoſe magiſtrates, whoſe buſineſs it was to have d hindered it. To prevent this practice for the future, *Nehemiah*, having reproved thoſe magiſtrates in the ſevereſt terms, ordered the gates of the city to be ſhut every *Friday* night about ſun-ſet, and not to be opened again till the ſabbath was quite over; by which means thoſe ſtrangers, having been diſappointed twice or thrice, and been threatened from the walls with ſome further puniſhment, deſiſted from coming any more on that day. What aggravated the folly and baſeneſs of the *Jews* is, that they had among them three conſiderable prophets, who rebuked them ſeverely for their crimes, and warned them of the dreadful puniſhments which their ſhameful neglect of God's laws would bring upon them.

The worſhip reſtored. These were *Zechariah*, *Haggai*, and *Malachi*, of whoſe remarkable prophecies the e reader will find a ſhort ſummary in the margin (P); but what the authority of the prophet

[s] De hoc vid. Commentat. & Prid. ubi ſupra, ſub an. 428.

(O) The text ſeems to intimate at leaſt a double alliance between the *Jews* and this *Ammonite*, beſides that mentioned above; for *Tobias* had married the daughter of *Shecaniah* the ſon of *Arach*, one of the chiefs of the *Jews*, and his ſon had married the daughter of *Meſhullam* the ſon of *Berachiah* (44), one of the chief overſeers in the rebuilding of the temple (45). All which, being expreſsly forbid by the *Moſaic* law, and contrary to the ſolemn covenant they had ſo lately taken againſt ſuch unlawful marriages, plainly ſhews their inſincerity, and that it was not the fear of God, but of their governors, whether judges, kings, or deputies, that kept them within bounds, no wonder then, if God did ſo often ſuffer them to fall under the heavy hand of thoſe very enemies, and to be ſo ſeverely puniſhed by means of thoſe very alliances which they contracted, contrary to his expreſs commands, as the ſequel will ſhortly ſhew.

(44) *Ibid.* vi. 18.

(P) *Zechariah*, for the number, excellency, and preciſeneſs of his prophecies, is emphatically termed *Sol inter prophetas minores*; he was cotemporary with *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Haggai*, and *Malachi*, if this laſt be not the ſame with *Ezra*. He began to propheſy about two months after *Haggai*, and with him to encourage the rebuilding of the temple, by aſſuring them of the divine protection and bleſſing on the work.

But theſe prophecies are inconſiderable, in compariſon of thoſe which foretel the coming of the Meſſiah in the plaineſt terms; the cruel war which *Antiochus Epiphanes* waged againſt the *Jews*, and God's ſevere judgments againſt that tyrant; the *Jewiſh* war with the *Romans*, and the death of the Meſſiah; the annulling of the old *Moſaic* covenant, and the new one ſubſtituted by and under Chriſt; the thirty pieces of ſilver; the ſiege of *Babylon* by *Darius*, as *Jeremy* and *Iſaiah* had done long before him;

(45) *Ibid.* iii. 4.

a prophet could not do, that of the governor's preſence ſoon brought about; ſo that beſides thoſe abuſes we have already obſerved, he rectified a number of others, which were no leſs enormous; one of which was the ceaſing of the divine worſhip through the avarice of the people, who refuſing to pay the prieſts and levites their tithes and other dues, had forced them to ſeek their living out of the temple and city. All theſe *Nehemiah* reſtored to their former regularity, and reformed every thing that was amiſs, not probably all at once, as one might be apt to think from their being mentioned together in one chapter [t], but at ſeveral times, and as opportunity ſerved.

All theſe enormities, introduced within the ſhort interval of his abſence, being manifeſtly owing to their ignorance or forgetfulneſs of the *Moſaic* law, did ſoon point
b out to him, that the only way to remedy them, was to inforce the frequent lecture and expoſition of it, not only in *Jeruſalem*, but alſo in all other cities and places of *Judæa*, as it had been formerly done with good ſucceſs by ſome of the pious kings of *Judah*. Theſe lectures were probably read at firſt in ſome great ſtreet or market-place, ſince we read of no buildings erected for that purpoſe before this time (Q); but

t NEHEM. c. ult.

him; from which it is ſuppoſed the *Jews* took timely warning, and retired out of it. Laſtly, he ſpeaks glorioufly of the ſtate of the chriſtian church; of the converſion of the gentiles to it; of the perſecutions which the chriſtians ſhould endure; and the ſevere puniſhment of their perſecutors, and other ſuch-like events contained in the ninth and following chapters of his prophecies.

Some learned critics of our church (46) have indeed ſuſpected the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters, which are a continued diſcourſe or prophecy of the ſame events, to have been of *Jeremiah*, becauſe a formal paſſage out of it is quoted by St. *Matthew* under his name (47). Some other reaſons they give for this their conjecture, which the curious may read in thoſe authors.

But the general opinion is, that the name of *Jeremy* has crept into that place of the evangeliſt, inſtead of that of *Zechariah*. How long he prophefied, and what death he died, is no-where ſaid, the *Mohammedans* confound him with *Zecharias* the father of *John the Baptiſt*.

As for *Malachi*, of whom we have had occaſion to ſpeak before, the current of his prophecies runs intirely againſt the vile abuſes that were crept into the *Jewiſh* church and ſtate, ſuch as mixed marriages, breach of the ſabbaths and ſabbatic years, oppreſſing the poor, defrauding the prieſts and levites of their tithes, and ſuch other enormities, which were afterwards reformed by *Nehemiah*.

(Q) We have formerly ſhewn †, that before the captivity, they uſed to aſſemble themſelves at the ſchools of the prophets on the ſabbaths, new moons, and other feſtivals, to have the ſcriptures explained to them; but as to ſynagogues, we read nothing preciſe concerning them.

Thoſe that think they had them before the captivity, do indeed object a paſſage out of the pſalms (48), in which it is ſaid, that the heathen had deſtroyed *col mohadde el*, or, as our verſion renders it, *all the ſynagogues of God*; but the word *mohed* ſignifies properly *a congregation*, ſo that the place here mentioned, might ſignify no more than oratories, or what the *Greeks* called *proſeuchia* (49), or any of thoſe places where the prophets read or made lectures to them. However that be, it doth not appear, that if they had any ſuch places for the reading and expounding of the ſcriptures, they were under ſuch ſtrict regulations, and in ſuch numbers, as we find them after *Nehemiah*'s time.

As to the regulations of theſe new ſynagogues, they may be reduced to the three following heads; 1. They were to be under the inſpection of certain rulers, called from thence *rulers of the ſynagogue*, and by the *Greek Jews archiſynagogoi*. 2. They had their ſtated times for coming to them, *viz.* on the ſabbaths, and other feaſt and faſt-days, and on *Mondays* and *Thurſdays*; they had alſo their ſtated hours for each day. 3. They had proper miniſters appointed, ſome to read and expound the current ſection out of the ſacred books, others to read the liturgy, others to ſing, *&c.* and theſe, provided they were in every reſpect elſe qualified for thoſe offices, might be choſen out of any tribe; only they took care to have always one or more of the prieſtly order to preſide and take care, that the ſervice was performed with due order and decency.

The perſon who was appointed to read the liturgy, was called *ſheliach zibbor*, that is, *the angel* or *meſſenger of the congregation*, becauſe he offered up the prayers of the people to God, or was the mouth or repreſentative of the congregation to Godward; and as a meſſenger from God to men was called *an angel of God*, ſo one from men to God was ſtyled *an angel of the people*; in this ſenſe the chriſtian biſhops were called *the angels of the churches*; this perſon was always one of the rulers of the ſynagogue; he was alſo called *khakam*, or *wiſe-learned*, as were alſo the other rulers, and preſided in their aſſemblies, and ſome in their courts of judicature.

Next to him was the *khazan*, who either read or looked over thoſe who offered themſelves to read the ſections of the day, and corrected them when they read wrong; this officer had the ſacred books, and other utenſils, under his care, and had a *ſciamas* or *ſervant* under him, who had the keys and overſeeing of the ſynagogue, but the *khazan*'s chief buſineſs was to expound the portions of ſcripture that were read on that day, or to appoint or permit any other to do it for him, or to preach a ſermon on ſome proper ſubject.

Thus, when Chriſt was entered into the ſynagogue, we read that the book of *Iſaiah* was preſented to him, which he read, and expounded to the congregation (50); the like was alſo done by the apoſtles (1). This *khazan* was likewiſe the perſon who gave out and began thoſe pſalms and hymns that uſed to be ſung by the whole congregation.

2. As to the number of theſe ſynagogues, they muſt have far exceeded thoſe before the captivity, if any ſuch then were; ſince *Maimon* tells us, the rule

(46) *Hammond. in. Matth.* xxvii. *Mede, l.* iv. *epiſt.* 31. (47) *Matth.* xxvii. 9, 10. † *Vol.* I. *p.* 730, *d.* (48) *Pſalm* lxxiv. 8. (49) *De his vid. int. al Selden. de Synedr. Sigon. Rep. Hebr. l.* ii. *c.* 8. *Cunæ. Baſnag. repub. Prid. Connect. an.* 444, *& auct. ab eo citat.* (50) *Mat.* xiii. 54. *Luke* iv 16, *& ſeq.* (1) *Acts* xiii. 15.

but as they quickly found the inconveniēnce of it in cold and rainy weather, it is not a without good reaſon ſuppoſed, that this obliged them to build ſome convenient places to aſſemble in, which have been ſince known by the name of ſynagogues and ſchools. For the ſame purpoſe the *Chaldee* paraphraſes, known by the name of *targums*, were alſo introduced much about the ſame time, to facilitate the knowledge of the *Moſaic* law and of the other ſacred volumes, among thoſe who were unacquainted with the original; but as theſe were not finiſhed till a conſiderable time after *Nehemiah*'s death, we ſhall take a more proper time to ſpeak of them. Thus far had this great man carried on the reformation of the *Jewiſh* church and ſtate. As for the unworthy ſon of *Joiada*, whom *Joſephus* calls *Manaſſeh*, inſtead of complying with the governor's orders of parting with his ſtrange wife, he retired with her to b *Samaria* to his father-in-law, and drew a great many other rebellious *Jews* after him, who had been guilty either of the ſame, or any of thoſe enormous crimes which were then reforming at *Jeruſalem*, and went and ſettled themſelves under the protection of *Sanballat* the *Samaritan* governor (R).

Nehemiah's *death.*

How long *Nehemiah* lived after he had made this reformation, whether he continued in his place of governor, and whether he died in *Judæa* or in *Perſia*, neither the text nor *Joſephus* informs us; only the latter ſays, that he died in an advanced age [u]; and indeed even at the time where his book ends, he muſt have been at leaſt ſeventy years of age. In his days, and about the eleventh year of *Darius Nothus*, died the high-prieſt *Eliaſhib*, after he had enjoyed the pontifical dignity forty years; c he was ſucceeded by his ſon *Joiada*, called by *Joſephus Judas* [w], the unworthy father of that *Manaſſes* whom *Nehemiah* had forced to retire into *Samaria* for the ſake of his beloved wife (S). Whilſt that governor lived, he ſupported his character by the

[u] Antiq. l. xi. ſub fin. ult. cap. 5.

[w] Id. ibid. c. 6. vid. NEHEM. xii. 10.

rule was, that where-ever there were ten *Batelnim*, or *Iſraelites of full age*, there was to be a ſynagogue (2); and theſe were ſo multiplied in our Saviour's time, that the city of *Tiberias* had no leſs than twelve, and in *Jeruſalem* the *Jews* affirm them to have amounted to four hundred and eighty (3); if theſe laſt are not ſomewhat inlarged, as *Lightfoot* ſuſpects, who thinks that theſe ten *Batelnim* were the elders and miniſters of that ſynagogue (4). 'Tis plain, however, that they were in great number, not only in *Jeruſalem* and *Paleſtine*, but alſo in all other places of their diſperſion. And even in that metropolis, we find the *Alexandrians*, *Cilicians*, *Cyrenæans*, *Aſiatics*, *Libertines*, who had their own ſeparate ſynagogues (5); from which we may infer, that there were many others which belonged to *Jews* of other nations; and the *Jews* tell us, that every handicraft had alſo their ſeparate ones (6); but this we will not vouch for.

We ſhould ſtretch this note too far, were we to give an account of the liturgy, ceremonies, and other particulars relating to thoſe ſynagogues; the reader may ſee them in the authors quoted in this note; and eſpecially in dean *Prideaux*, who has collected all that is worth knowing concerning them, and to whom we refer thoſe who want a fuller account of them (7):

(R) The long interval between the *Sanballat*, who obſtructed *Ezra* in the rebuilding of the temple, and this, whoſe daughter was married to *Manaſſes*, has made ſome writers ſplit him into two; the one called by *Ezra* the *Horonite*, and not mentioned by *Joſephus*; and this, whom the latter calleth a *Cuthean*, who went over to *Alexander*, eſpecially becauſe he is there affirmed to have come over to his father-in-law in the reign of *Darius Codomanus* †.

This is indeed too glaring an anachroniſm to be admitted; for whoever compares the time in which *Nehemiah* returned from *Jeruſalem* into *Perſia*, viz. in the thirty-ſecond year of *Artaxerxes*, or before Chriſt four hundred and forty-two, and the reign of *Darius Codomanus*, *An* 336, muſt ſee that he could never have reached to this laſt; ſo that either we muſt admit two *Sanballats*, and two ſons-in-law of the prieſtly race, or ſuppoſe, that *Joſephus* has miſplaced him in the reign of *Darius Codomanus* inſtead of *Darius Nothus*, and in the high-prieſthood of *Jaddua* inſtead of that of *Joiada*, where the text places him (8).

This is what the learned *Prideaux* (9) has taken a great deal of pains to prove; we ſhall refer the reader to him, becauſe the argument would carry us too far. We ſhall only obſerve by the by, that upon his ſuppoſition, the *Manaſſes*, whom the ſame *Joſephus* makes to ſucceed his nephew *Eleazar* (10), will not be the *Manaſſes*, who married *Sanballat*'s daughter, and was expelled by *Nehemiah* (11).

As for *Sanballat* being called *Cuthean* by *Joſephus*, and *Horonite* by *Ezra*, the latter we have ſhewn to have been given him from *Horonaim* the place of his birth, and that of *Cuthean* was a name of reproach, by which not only that hiſtorian, but all the *Jews*, called the *Samaritans*.

(S) *Joſephus* adds (12), that *Sanballat*, to compenſate him for the loſs of his right to the *Jewiſh* prieſthood, which his birth intitled him to, promiſed to make him high-prieſt of *Samaria*, and to beſtow on him the higheſt place in the whole province. In order to which, he would cauſe a temple to be built on mount *Gerizim* like unto that of *Jeruſalem*, of which he ſhould have the high-prieſthood.

Accordingly, as our author goes on, that governor having gone over from the *Perſians* to *Alexander*

(2) *Tract. Tephil. c.* 2. *ſect.* 1. (3) *Gemar. Moggill. c.* 3. *Ketuboth, c.* 13. *Beracoth, & alib. Vid. Maim, ubi ſupra. Buxtorf. Lexic. Rabb. ſub. voce* בטלן. (4) *Centur. Geogr. c.* 36. (5) *Acts* vi. 9. (6) *Gemar. ubi ſupra.* (7) *Connect. l.* vi. *ſub. an.* 444. (8) *Nehem.* xiii. 28. † *Ant. l.* xi. *c.* 7. (9) *ubi ſupra, ſub. an.* 410. (10) *Ant. l.* xii. *c.* 3. *ad. fin.* (11) *Nehem.* xiii. 28. (12) *Ant. l.* xi. *c.* 7, 8, *&c.*

a the moſt exemplary zeal for religion, juſtice, and the good of his nation; and the dignity of his office by a magnificent hoſpitality. The uſual proviſion of his table was an ox, ſix fat ſheep, with fowl, fiſh, wine, and other things in proportion; at which he entertained, beſides an hundred and fifty of the head rulers, who eat conſtantly with him, all the ſtrangers of any diſtinction, who came from other countries to *Jeruſalem*; all which he ſupported at his own private charge, and without receiving any of the allowance which was uſually paid to the governors of that province, which had preceded him. After his death, the face of that government was wholly changed. We hear no more of any governors of *Judæa*, but the country ſeems to have been joined and ſubject to the prefecture of *Syria*, from which the
b high-prieſts received their authority, as ſhall be ſeen in the next ſection. All that need be added to this is, that dean *Prideaux* concludes the ſeven firſt weeks of the ſeventy of *Daniel*'s prophecy with this laſt reformation of *Nehemiah* abovementioned, which was finiſhed, according to him, in the fifteenth year of *Darius Nothus*. The reader may ſee his proofs for it in that learned author [x]. *Year of the flood* 2590. *Year before Chriſt* 409.

[x] Connect. l. vi. ſub. an. 409.

der the Great, obtained of him, as a reward for his ſervices, leave to build that temple, and made his ſon-in-law high-prieſt of it, ſo that all the apoſtate *Jews* repaired to it; which ſtill more increaſed the hatred of thoſe of *Judæa*, who from that time looked upon them as ſchiſmatics.

This ſtory carries as flagrant an anachroniſm (unleſs we ſuppoſe two *Sanballats*) as that we ſpoke of in the laſt note; that author tells us farther, that *Manaſſes* ſucceeding afterwards to the high-prieſthood of *Jeruſalem*, in right of his great uncle (or, as others read it, nephew) came and took poſſeſſion of it; but he doth not inform us how or whether he renounced his ſchiſm, nor how he was received by thoſe of *Judæa* (13). We ſhall give a further account of the building of this *Samaritan* temple in the next ſection.

(13) *Lib.* xii. *c.* 3.

SECT. II.

The ſtate of the Jews *under the high-prieſts and* Maccabees.

a HITHERTO we have had *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* for our guides; after them we have no canonical books concerning the *Jewiſh* nation, ſo that we ſhall be forced to fetch all our intelligence from thoſe of the *Maccabees*, and to fill up all the chaſms out of *Joſephus*; for as for prophane authors, they were ſo little acquainted with the *Jews*, that we have little or nothing from them, but what falls in occaſionally with other parts of their hiſtory. *Judæa* being now become more ſtrictly a province of *Syria*, and under the prefecture of it, the governors committed the adminiſtration of the *Jewiſh* ſtate to their high-prieſts, ſo that from this time we may aſcribe the greateſt part of thoſe misfortunes that befel their nation, to a ſet of men, who aſpired to that high dignity more through ambition and avarice, than any real
b zeal for their religion, or the welfare of their country. This epocha begins with a ſignal inſtance of it, which is the more remarkable, becauſe we have it from *Joſephus* [a], who is not often apt to turn accuſer of his brethren. *Year of the flood* 2626. *Before Chriſt* 373.

Johanan ſucceeded his father *Joiada* in the high-prieſthood [b], about the thirty-fourth year of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. *Bagoſes* was then governor of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and had contracted an intimate friendſhip with *Jeſhua* the brother of the pontiff, and had promiſed him a grant of the high-prieſthood, ſome few years after *Johanan*'s inveſtiture. *Jeſhua*, whom our hiſtorian calls *Jeſus*, came immediately to *Jeruſalem*, and acquainted his brother with it; their interview was in the inner
c court of the temple, where the diſpute aroſe to ſuch a height, that *Johanan*, in ſtriving to throw him out of that holy place, gave him a mortal wound. *Bagoſes*, being informed of it, repaired immediately to the place, and upbraided the *Jews* in the ſevereſt terms for thus making a ſhambles of the temple of their God; he next offered to enter into that holy place, but being obſtructed by the prieſts, he aſked them angrily, whether they thought his living body more impure than the dead carcaſs which did lie there; and without ſtaying for an anſwer, he forcibly entered

[a] Ant. l. xi. c. 7. [b] NEHEM. xii. 11, & 22.

entered in; and being fully informed of the fact, he impoſed a heavy mulct upon the temple (A), which was not taken off, till the death of *Artaxerxes*, which happened about ſeven years after, had changed the face of affairs. However, they were not altogether free from troubles in the reign of his ſucceſſor; for *Ochus* having conquered the greateſt part of *Phœnicia*, as we have ſeen in a former volume †, marched directly towards *Judæa*, beſieged and took *Jericho*, and carried off a great number of *Jews* captives, part of which he ſent into *Egypt*, and part into *Hyrcania*, along the *Caſpian* ſea [c]. Whether they had engaged with the *Phœnicians* againſt that prince, or by what other way they had diſobliged him, our authors do not tell us, nor whether his reſentment ſtopped here, or was felt in any other part of *Judæa*. About ten years after, that is, in the eighteenth year of that monarch's reign, died *Johanan* their high-prieſt in the thirty-ſecond year of his high-prieſthood, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Jaddua*; and three years after *Ochus* was poiſoned by *Bagoas*, who ſet up his youngeſt ſon *Arſaces* on the *Perſian* throne, who was ſoon after ſucceeded by *Darius* III.*

Year of the flood 2648. *Before Chriſt* 351.

Johanan *ſucceeded by* Jaddua.

In the fourth year of this prince's reign, the *Jews* gave him ſuch an inſtance of their loyalty, as plainly ſhewed they had not forgot what they had ſuffered from *Ochus* for ſiding with his enemies. *Alexander the Great* having reſolved upon the ſiege of *Tyre*, and being informed that the *Tyrians*, a nation wholly given to trade, received all their proviſions from *Judæa*, *Samaria*, and *Galilee*, ſent to *Jaddua* the then high-prieſt, to demand that ſupply of them, which they were wont to pay to the *Perſians*. *Jaddua* modeſtly excuſed himſelf from complying with his demand, alledging, that his oath of fidelity to *Darius* did not permit him to transfer that tribute to an enemy. *Alexander*, provoked at this refuſal, had no ſooner completed the ſiege of *Tyre*, than he marched ſtrait to *Jeruſalem*, reſolved to puniſh the *Jews* with as great ſeverity as he had done the *Tyrians*. He was advancing with full ſpeed towards their metropolis, when the high-prieſt and the reſt of the people, ſenſible of their imminent danger, had recourſe to God, and by their prayers, ſacrifices, and other acts of humiliation, obtained a gracious promiſe from him, that he would protect his temple and people from the approaching calamity. It was communicated to *Jaddua* in a dream, in which he was commanded to go and meet the threatening conqueror, in his pontifical robes, at the head of all his prieſts, in their proper habits, and attended with the reſt of the people dreſſed in white garments. *Jaddua* obeyed on the next morning, and having cauſed the gates of the city to be opened, marched in ſolemn proceſſion at the head of his attendance, to an eminence called *Sapha*, or rather *Tzaphah*, becauſe it commanded the proſpect of the whole city and temple.

As ſoon as the venerable prelate was got near enough for *Alexander* to view the magnificence of his dreſs, eſpecially the ſacred name of God engraven on the front of his mitre, he was ſeized with ſuch an awful reſpect, that, to the great ſurprize of his retinue, who were already glutting their eyes with the proſpect of a rich plunder, and a dreadful ſlaughter, the monarch advanced towards him, and with a religious kind of veneration bowed to him, embraced him, and paid an adoration to the ſacred inſcription on his forehead. Whilſt the *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, and others that were preſent, ſtood amazed at the ſight, *Parmenio*, with his uſual familiarity, ventured to aſk him the reaſon of his unexpected behaviour, and was anſwered by the king, that this reſpect, which was not paid to the prieſt, but to his God, was an acknowledgment for a viſion of the like nature, which he had favoured him with at

† Vol. II. p. 151, & ſeq.
* See before, Vol. II p. 154.
[c] Joseph. ex Hecat. contr. Appion. l. i. Solin. Syncel. & al.

(A) This fine, which our hiſtorian ſays, was fifty drachms, to be paid out of the ſacred treaſury for every lamb that was offered in the temple, can hardly be thought conſiderable enough to extort ſuch a complaint from him, if it was only confined to thoſe two lambs that were offered in the daily ſacrifice. For fifty drachms amounting but to a little above thirty-one ſhillings of our money, ſeven hundred and thirty lambs, the number offered every year, would amount but to eleven hundred and forty pounds twelve ſhillings.

Some therefore have thought there was an error in *Joſephus*, and that the fine was five hundred inſtead of fifty drachms, though all the copies have it fifty; but even this would be ſtill too inconſiderable, conſidering how he inveighs againſt it as a great oppreſſion; beſides, thoſe governors were ſeldom ſo moderate in their fines, eſpecially where the crime was ſo enormous.

We may therefore more reaſonably ſuppoſe, that it was to be levied on all the lambs, not only of the daily ſacrifices, but on thoſe of all the other feſtivals, which amounted to a much greater number, as the reader may ſee by what has been ſaid in a former volume, and on all thoſe that were offered by private perſons, whether by way of free-will offering, or upon any other caſes, wherein the law required it †.

† *See before, Vol.* I. *p.* 602, *& ſeq.* 621, *& ſeq.*

a at *Dio*, in which he promiſed to him the conqueſt of *Perſia*, and encouraged him in this expedition by a perſon with much the ſame aſpect, and the ſame venerable dreſs with the pontiff now before him. He then gave orders to march on to *Jeruſalem*, and was attended thither by the high-prieſt and his retinue, and conducted to the temple, where he cauſed a great number of victims to be offered to the God of the *Jews*. Here the prieſts ſhewed him the book of *Daniel*, wherein it was foretold, that a *Greek* ſhould in time conquer the *Perſian* empire; and *Alexander*, underſtanding it of himſelf, went away highly ſatisfied with what he had ſeen and heard. On the next day he called the *Jews* together, and aſked them what requeſt they had to make to him, and was anſwered by the high-prieſt, that they only begged of him, the liberty
b of living according to their laws, to have the free exerciſe of their religion, and to be exempt from tribute every ſabbatic or ſeventh year, ſeeing they were forbidden by their law to ſow or reap in thoſe years. The ſame favour they likewiſe begged of him in the behalf of their brethren, who dwelt in *Babylon* and *Media*; all which being readily granted by the conqueror, he offered the *Jews* to receive into his army all that were willing to liſt under his ſtandards, and to grant them the free exerciſe of their religion, which drew a great number of them into his ſervice[d].

Samaritans *addreſs* Alexander.

THE *Samaritans* on the other hand, leſs ſcrupulous about their oath of fidelity, had ſhewed themſelves more complying to that monarch's demands; and, beſides other ſupplies, had ſent him eight thouſand men to aſſiſt him at the ſiege of *Tyre*. As
c ſoon therefore as they were informed of the king's diſpoſition towards the *Jews*, they began to entertain ſome hopes, that this was a proper time to apply to him for ſome ſuch-like grants for themſelves, to which their late ſervices, they thought, did better intitle them, than the *Jews* diſobedience to his orders. Beſides, they were always ready to claim kindred with them, whenever matters went well on their ſide; but as ready to drop, or even renounce it, whenever they ſaw them in any danger or diſgrace. Scarce therefore was the king got out of *Jeruſalem*, before they came in great pomp to invite him to honour their city and temple (B). *Alexander* did ſeemingly give them a gracious reception, but put off the deſired viſit till his return from *Egypt*. They then petitioned that they might, like their brethren of *Judæa*, be ex-
d empted from the tribute of every ſeventh year, ſince, like them, they neither ſowed nor reaped in thoſe years. They were thereupon aſked, what country they were of? and upon their anſwering that they were *Hebrews*, but called *Sichemites* by the *Sidonians*, the queſtion was put peremptorily to them, whether they were *Jews*? But they,

[d] Antiq. l. xi. cap. ult. and ſee before, Vol. III. p. 343, & ſeq.

(B) *Joſephus* expreſsly mentioning this temple, doth plainly ſhew, that it was built long before *Alexander*; and not, as he elſewhere tells us, by leave of that monarch obtained by *Sanballat*, whilſt he was with him at the ſiege of *Tyre*; for that ſiege laſted but ſeven months; and ſuppoſing that he had ſtopt another two months at the ſiege of *Gaza*, as the ſame author pretends, yet all this put together would ſcarce have ſufficed to lay the foundations of ſuch a great building, much leſs for finiſhing it.

But, as the learned *Uſher* obſerves, it is not likely, that he ſhould take *Gaza* in his way from *Tyre* to *Jeruſalem*, becauſe this laſt did lie at ſome days journey's diſtance on this ſide of *Gaza*, ſo that in that caſe he muſt be ſuppoſed to have paſt it by, and then returned to it again with his army; and who can believe, that he would penetrate ſo far into *Judæa*, and leave *Jeruſalem* untaken, eſpecially when he breathed nothing but revenge againſt that metropolis (14)?

Add to this, that all other writers of *Alexander*'s wars tell us, that he went directly into *Egypt* after the taking of *Gaza*. However, granting he ſpent thoſe two months in that ſiege, what are nine months towards rearing ſuch a building? For this and ſome other reaſons, there have not been wanting thoſe who have looked upon this conteſt between the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, as an invention of the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian, trumpt up to give a kind of preference to his own nation.

But this is perhaps ſaying too much; however, a temple there was built upon mount *Garizzim*, which if finiſhed in *Alexander*'s time, muſt have been began long before his coming into *Judæa*, let the *Samaritans* have their permiſſion from which ſoever of the *Perſian* monarchs; though, if we were to venture our conjecture, might it not have been obtained from *Ochus*, and about the time when the *Jews* had incurred his diſpleaſure, either for ſiding with the *Phœnicians*, or for ſome other miſdemeanor; and might not the *Samaritans*, who watched all opportunities to get the better of them, have ſo far ingratiated themſelves into that exaſperated prince's favour, by renouncing, as uſual, all kindred with them, as to obtain a grant to build a temple for themſelves?

This once ſuppoſed, there will be time enough for that work to be finiſhed by or even before *Alexander*'s time, and the *Sanballat* of *Nehemiah* may have probably lived to have laid the foundation of it. This will likewiſe in ſome meaſure account for *Joſephus*'s anachroniſm, which may be no other than a wilful overſight, it being a leſs diſgrace to his nation to repreſent this grant as obtained, not for any miſbehaviour of theirs, but for the ſervices done by the *Samaritans*.

(14) *Vid. Uſſer. ſub A. M.* 3673. *Prid. ſub anno* 332.

they, afraid, perhaps, to answer in the affirmative, in a place where they could be so easily confuted, did then disown the title; and the king, who had not leisure then to inquire further about it, dismissed them with a promise, that he would examine their claim after his return. He did so accordingly, and granted them the same exemption as he had the *Jews*; for those *Samaritans* who had assisted him at the siege of *Tyre*, having likewise signalized themselves in *Egypt*, which that prince conquered with a surprizing quickness; it is not improbable, this immunity was granted to them as a reward for their services. In the mean time the temple at mount *Garizzim* proved the source of continual evils to the *Jews*, and the constant asylum of their apostate brethren, who never failed to go over to the *Samaritans*, as soon as they found themselves in danger of punishment for any enormous crimes [e]. a

Jews *settled at* Alexandria.

Alexander at the same time was no less kind to the *Jews*, a great number of whom, at his return into *Alexandria*, he settled there among other nations, and endowed with many privileges and immunities, allowing them the free exercise of their religion, and admitting them to the same franchises and liberties with his own *Macedonians* [f]. But what gave them the greatest advantage over their *Samaritan* rivals was, an insurrection made in their capital against his favourite *Andromachus*, whom he had made governor of *Syria* and *Palestine*. The *Samaritans*, upon some discontent against him, ran in a tumultuous manner to his palace, set it on fire, and burnt him in it; which so exasperated that monarch, that he caused all that had had a hand in that atrocious deed to be put to death, and the rest to be driven out of the city, which he repeopled with his own *Macedonians*, and granted the rest of their territories to the *Jews* [g]. From this time, those that survived the slaughter having settled themselves at *Shechem*, that city became the metropolis of the *Samaritan* sect [h]. As for those eight thousand, who had served under him, he sent and settled them in *Thebais*, the remotest part of *Egypt*, to prevent their raising any fresh insurrection among their countrymen. As for the *Jews*, they continued still in his favour both in *Palestine* and out of it, only those that were in his army were like to have forfeited it, by their stiff refusal to assist at the rebuilding of the temple of *Belus*, which that monarch had began. They urged in vain, that their law, of which they were promised the free exercise, forbad them to have a hand in such an idolatrous work; they were made to undergo some severe punishments, but, to his surprise, they bore them with such invincible constancy, that being more overcome by it than by their other pleas, he discharged them from his service, and sent them into their own country [i]; and he himself dying soon after, left his empire in the confused state we have seen in a former volume *. Four years after him died also *Jaddua* the *Jewish* high-priest, in the twentieth year of his pontificate, and was succeeded by his son *Onias*, who enjoyed that dignity about one-and-twenty years. b c d

Samaritans *expelled. Year of the World* 2668. *Before Christ* 334.

Jaddua *succeeded by* Onias.

With *Alexander* died the prosperous state of the *Jews*, and their country, being situate between *Syria* and *Egypt*, became subject to all the revolutions and wars, which his ambitious successors waged against each other; being successively invaded and captivated by the *Syrians* and *Egyptians*, and constantly oppressed under either government. At first it was, as we have seen elsewhere, given, together with *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, to *Leomedon* the *Mitylenian*, one of *Alexander*'s generals [k], and confirmed to him by a second partition treaty; but he being soon after stripped of the other two by *Ptolemy*, *Judæa* was the only one which stood firm to him from a sense of their oath of allegiance; so that the *Egyptian* king was forced to invade it with a powerful army, and accordingly did lay close siege to *Jerusalem*. The place, being strongly fortified by art and nature, might have found him work enough, had not a superstitious fear of breaking the sabbath prevented the besieged making any defence on that day; which being understood by the king, he caused it to be stormed on the sabbath, and took the city accordingly without any opposition [l] (C). This did not, however, e f

Jerusalem *taken by* Ptolemy.

[e] Hecatæus Abder. ap. Joseph. cont. Apion. l. ii. [f] Id. ibid. & bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 36. Vid. & Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 8. [g] Id. ibid. Euseb. Chronic. [h] Joseph. contr. Apion. l. ii. [i] Joseph. ex Hecat. lib. i. cont. Apion. * Vol. III. p. 411. & seq. 417, & 423. [k] Chron. Alex. Euseb. in Chron. Joseph. Ant. l. xi. c. ult. See also Vol. III. ubi supra. [l] Agathar. ap. Joseph. cont. Apion. l. i. Arist. in libel. de 70 interp.

(C) This is the account we have from the authors quoted above; and we shall meet in the sequel with some other instances of the *Jews* chusing to be all massacred, rather than fight or fly on the sabbath; but *Josephus*, loath to expose this weakness of theirs, has given this transaction another turn, and pretends, that *Ptolemy* having been peaceably admitted into the city, under pretence of offering some sacrifices

a however, prevent his treating them with great ſeverity; he carried near a hundred thouſand of them captives into *Egypt*, but reflecting ſoon after on their known loyalty to their former conquerors, and the ſacred regard they paid to their oaths, and being by the taking of *Jeruſalem* become maſter of *Judæa* and *Samaria*, he committed the keeping of ſeveral conſiderable gariſons both here and in *Egypt* to them; and having made them ſwear allegiance to him, and to his heirs and ſucceſſors, he endowed them with the ſame privileges they had enjoyed under the *Macedonians*. Of thoſe whom he carried away into *Egypt*, he choſe about thirty thouſand of the ſtouteſt to fill his gariſons, the reſt he ſent, ſome to aſſiſt them with proviſions, others into *Libya* and *Cyrene* (D), which he had lately ſubdued [m]. *Appian* adds, that he de-
b moliſhed the walls of *Jeruſalem* before he returned home [n]. However, he ſhewed ſuch kindneſs to thoſe *Jews* that came to ſettle in *Egypt*, that great numbers of them, being attracted, partly by the fertility of the country, and partly by the great privileges they enjoyed, flocked thither from other parts [o].

By this time the *Samaritans*, who daily increaſed in number, ſtrength, and wealth, by the continual concourſe of apoſtate *Jews*, made *Shechem* their metropolis, inlarged and beautified it, and, as we hinted before, made it the head of their ſchiſmatic ſect; and as they were neither ſo ſcrupulous about their oaths of allegiance, nor ſo tenacious of the precepts of the *Moſaic* law, as their rivals of *Judæa* were, they ſeldom made any ſcruple to ſide with the ſtrongeſt, and, if occaſion required, to com-
c ply with the will of their princes, even in things which were abſolutely forbidden by their law. This policy, which they never loſt ſight of, as the ſequel will ſoon ſhew, not only freed them from the many perſecutions which the *Jews* underwent, but made them fare much better under every government than they, ſo that from this time, not only thoſe who fled from puniſhment from *Judæa*, but a much greater number came over to them to avoid, either perſecution on account of their law, or the tyranny and oppreſſion of their governors. As therefore this ſect became ſo numerous and powerful, as to make a conſiderable figure in the *Jewiſh* hiſtory, our readers will doubtleſs expect to be informed how far their religion agreed or differed from that of the *Jews*; and by what ſtrange arguments they have, ever ſince their
d ſeparation, endeavoured to prove their claim of precedence to, and to retort the imputation of ſchiſm upon, them, ſince we have already ſeen that they were originally a mixture of *Cutheans* and other foreign nations, ſent thither by the *Aſſyrian* kings inſtead of the ten tribes carried away captive by them, and now become a more mixed and mongrel nation, by the conſtant reſort and incorporation of all the renegate *Jews*. This digreſſion, if it be really ſuch, is ſo much the more neceſſary here, becauſe it will be impoſſible without it to dive into thoſe perpetual jars and diſputes that have been ever ſince, and are ſtill carried on, between thoſe two nations with the utmoſt irreconcileable hatred. However, that we may contract as much as poſſible, we ſhall only give here what is moſt material concerning their tenets, and throw all
e their fabulous authorities and pretences, as well as thoſe of the *Jews* againſt them, in the margin (E). The following articles therefore are a ſhort ſummary of their faith in common with, and in oppoſition to, that of the *Jews*.

An account of the Samaritans.

1ſt, They

[m] Id. ibid. [n] Appian. Syriac. p. 119, & ſeq. [o] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1.

ſacrifices there, did immediately break his articles, and poſſeſs himſelf of it.

There is indeed nothing in that prince's character, but what ſhews him to have been capable enough of ſuch perfidy; but it is not ſo probable, that the *Jews*, ſo ſtrongly attached to his enemy, could be weak enough to admit him into their city, eſpecially with an eſcort ſufficient to ſubdue it; beſides, it is plain, that he treated them, not like friends that had given him an amicable entrance, but like a victor that ſubdued them by force of arms.

(D) From the latter of theſe were deſcended the *Cyrenean Jews*, among whom was *Jaſon*, author of the hiſtory of the *Maccabees* in five books now loſt, but of which the ſecond book of the *Maccabees* is an epitome (15); of the ſame country were thoſe *Cyrenean Jews* mentioned by St *Luke* (16), and that *Simon* who helped to bear the croſs of Chriſt (17).

This *Jewiſh* colony grew in time ſo numerous, as to have a thouſand of them put to death for one mutiny in *Veſpaſian*'s time; and yet in a ſucceeding reign, they proved ſtrong enough to maſſer the whole province, and, as *Xiphilinus* tells us in the life of *Trajan*, to maſſacre two hundred thouſand inhabitants of other nations.

(E) We ſhall begin with the account which the *Samaritans* give of their origin, in oppoſition to that which we have from the ſacred books, concerning them: 1ſt, They boaſt themſelves deſcended from *Joſeph* by *Ephraim*; they pretend, that when *Joſhua* entered into the promiſed land, he cauſed a temple to be built upon mount *Garizzim*, and appointed *Raz* of the ſeed of *Aaron* to officiate as high-prieſt, from whom they boaſt to have an exact genealogy and uninterrupted ſucceſſion, down to this very time. They neither own *Jeroboam*'s ſchiſm (18), nor

(15) *Vid.* 2 *Maccab.* ii. 23. (16) *Acts* ii. 10. vi. 9. (17) *Matth.* xxvii. 32, & *alib.*
(18) 1 *Kings*, ch. xii, & *ſeq.*

Their religion.

1ſt, They believe in one God, and in his ſervant *Moſes*, and that *Garizzim* is the only a place of God's worſhip. The *Jews*, ſay they, follow other teachers, other precepts, taken from their other books, traditions, and expoſitions; we ſtick cloſe to the five books of *Moſes*, and reject all other writings, all other authority and interpretation, and guide our faith and practice ſolely by the precepts of our law-giver. Accordingly they never admitted any other books but the pentateuch (F).

2dly, They always circumciſe their males on the eighth day, never deferring it upon any account, as the *Jews* do, ſome of them till the hour of death (G).

3dly, They never allow themſelves to have two wives, or to marry their nieces; but the *Jews* do both.

4thly, They are bound to waſh themſelves every morning, after either matrimo- b nial converſe, or any accidental defilement, ſo that they look upon every veſſel and houſhold-ſtuff, they touch before ſuch an ablution, to be polluted.

5thly,

nor the tranſmigration of the ten tribes (19), but give the following account of their going out, and returning into the land.

The kings of *Jeruſalem* and *Syria*, ſay they, having revolted againſt *Bachtnezzar* (ſo they call *Nebuchadnezzar*), he came and took *Jeruſalem*, and went from thence to the *Shechemites*, whom he ordered to leave that country in ſeven days under pain of being all maſſacred, which they did accordingly. The ſtrangers whom he ſettled in *Judæa* and *Shechem* ſoon after could not live there, becauſe the faireſt fruits of the land were tainted with a mortal poiſon; the king of *Babylon* having thereupon conſulted ſome of the ancient inhabitants, was anſwered, that the only remedy to that evil, was to ſend the *Hebrews* thither again; which that prince having agreed to, a place of rendezvous was appointed for the *Jews* and *Shechemites*, to return together each into his own land.

Here a diſpute aroſe between them, whether they ſhould go and rebuild the temple of *Jeruſalem*, or that of *Garizzim*. *Zerubbabel* was for the former, and *Sanballat* for the latter, and each pleaded the ſanction of the pentateuch, and each pretended that the copy of his antagoniſt was corrupted, that of the former being expreſsly for *Jeruſalem*, and the other for *Garizzim*.

To end the diſpute, they agreed that that copy, which withſtood the fiery trial, ſhould be the authentic one; upon which *Zerubbabel* having flung his own into the fire, it was immediately conſumed, whereas that of the *Samaritan* chief came three times untouched out of the flames.

This miracle, they add, having determined the controverſy in their favour, the king honoured them with rich preſents, and ſent *Sanballat* at the head of his ten tribes, to take poſſeſſion of mount *Garizzim*, where he rebuilt the temple in diſpute. This account they give us out of an old *Samaritan* chronicle, which they pretend to be of great antiquity and authority; but thoſe who have examined it, tell us, that it was written in the reign of ſome of the chriſtian emperors, and after *Conſtantine* (20), unleſs we ſuppoſe it to have been continued from time to time. However, let the chronicle bear what date it will, it is plain by the *Samaritan* woman's queſtion to our Saviour (21), *Our fathers worſhipped on this mountain, and ye ſay, that* Jeruſalem *is the place*, that they claimed this authority long before; and accordingly, their pentateuch, of which we ſhall ſpeak by-and-by, among other interpolations, has changed the word *Ebal* for that of *Garizzim*, where-ever thoſe two mountains come in competition.

The *Jews*, on their ſide, have not been ſparing of their fictions, as if they had choſen to confute their antagoniſts by this way, rather than by the authority of the ſacred books. *Joſephus* tells us of much ſuch another conteſt that happened in *Egypt*, between thoſe of his nation and the *Samaritans* about theſe two temples; and which aroſe to ſuch a height, that it was like to end in a ſedition, had not *Ptolemy Philometor* put an end to it in the following manner (22).

He ordered the contending parties to bring their cauſe before him, and to have it pleaded by proper perſons, with this condition, that thoſe who were caſt ſhould loſe their heads. There appeared but one advocate for the *Jews*, viz. *Andronicus* the ſon of *Meſſalami*; but he pleaded his cauſe ſo well againſt his two antagoniſts, whom our author names *Sabbæus* and *Theodore*, that he gained his point, and they loſt their lives (23).

Another ancient author (24), whom the *Jews* pretend to have lived before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, but by his mentioning of the *Saracen* empire, muſt have wrote at leaſt ſix hundred years after (25); tells us, that when *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* were rebuilding the temple, the *Samaritans* came with an army of a hundred and eighty thouſand men to beſiege *Jeruſalem*; but that thoſe two chiefs, having aſſembled three hundred prieſts, did pronounce the higher excommunication againſt them †. Theſe prieſts were followed by three hundred young men, who held each a copy of the *Moſaic* law in one hand, and a trumpet in the other, which they blew whilſt the prieſts were excommunicating them, upon which they were immediately put to flight.

(F) In conſequence of this, they reject all the prophetical and hiſtorical books, as written in favour of the *Jews*, and eſpecially of the houſe of *David*; they deſpiſe the *Jewiſh* pretence of oral tradition, and all their targums and talmuds.

They value themſelves for having preſerved the ancient *Hebrew* character, and curſe the new one, which was ſince introduced by *Ezra*, whom they brand with the name of impoſtor, and who, they pretend, ſubſtituted it to the *Moſaic* one, for the ſake of thoſe other books which he foiſted into the *Jewiſh* canon (26).

(G) Eſpecially in countries where they are not tolerated, ſuch as *France*, *Portugal*, *Spain*, &c. and where, for fear of being diſcovered by the ſcar of circumciſion, they wholly neglect it, and outwardly conform with the religion of the country for the ſake of trade. Some of them, however, when they are grown either rich enough, or old and qualmiſh, will come over into *England*, *Holland*, &c, to be circumciſed. As for thoſe that die without circumciſion, ſome of their friends generally come and circumciſe them in their coffin, and lay the prepuce by them, after which the coffin is immediately nailed, and carried to the grave.

(19) 2 *Kings*, *ch.* xvii. (20) *De hac, vid. int. al. Hottinger. lib. Joſue, ſeu chron. Samarit. in exercitat. Antimorin.* (21) *John* iv. 20. (22) *Antiq. l.* xiii. *c.* 6. (23) *Vid. Baſnage hiſtoir. des Juifs, tom.* 2. *part* 1, *c.* 1, *& ſeq.* (24) *Rab. Eliezer, Pirke Abboth, c.* 38. *Vid. Prid. lib.* vi. *ſub an.* 409, *& auct. ab eo citat.* † *De hac vid. ſup. Vol.* I. *p.* 674, *& ſeq. & note* E. (26) *Vid. Baſnag. ubi ſupra, cap.* 3 *&* 4. *l.* vii. *c.* 25.

a 5thly, They obſerve the ſabbath with the greateſt ſtrictneſs, never meddling with their wives on that night, lighting no fires, nor ſtirring from their houſes, unleſs to go to the ſynagogue, where they read ſome portion of the pentateuch, offer up their prayers to, and ſing the praiſes of, God.

6thly, Of all their ſolemn feſtivals, the paſſover is by them eſteemed the chief; they likewiſe obſerve the other two of pentecoſt and of tabernacles with great exactneſs, and the grand faſt of expiation with uncommon ſtrictneſs.

7thly, They never offer any ſacrifice but on mount *Garizzim* [P].

8thly, They boaſt a continued ſucceſſion of prieſts from *Ruz* the ſon of *Phineas*, the catalogue of which is preſerved by them with utmoſt ſtrictneſs; and their high-

b prieſt always makes his reſidence at *Shechem*, now called *Naplouſe*, from whence he iſſues out his directions to the whole ſect for keeping their feſtivals, and whatever relates to the *Moſaic* obſervances (H). From this ſhort ſcantling of their faith and practice, one would be apt to conclude, that, except thoſe points which related to their ſchiſm, they had been much ſtricter obſervers of the *Moſaic* law, than the *Jews*; but, whatever they may have proved in later times, we ſhall meet with ſuch flagrant inſtances of the contrary in the ſequel of this and the next ſection, as will eaſily convince how ready they were, upon the leaſt danger of perſecution or ſevere uſage from their governors, to ſacrifice their religion to their intereſt and ſafety. However, even in this one point of their ſchiſm, it is manifeſt, they were guilty of

c moſt flagrant forgery in corrupting their pentateuch in many places, in order to colour their ſetting up a new temple with ſome ſhew of divine authority. It is true, all the variations of this book are not of the ſame heinous nature, ſome of them ſeem even imputable to the ignorance of the tranſcribers from the new *Chaldee* of *Ezra* to the old *Samaritan* character, ſuch as their often miſtaking of letters, in the former by reaſon of their ſimilitude, as the *beth* for the *caph*, the *daleth* for the *reſh*, which in the *Samaritan* are very unlike. Others again may be looked upon as explanatory interpolations, ſuch as we have obſerved, *Joſhua* and his ſucceſſors, down to *Ezra* and beyond, have thought neceſſary to add to the text. But there are certainly ſeveral notorious ones, which could not but be deſignedly made to ſupport their cauſe againſt their

d *Jewiſh* antagoniſts. The reader may ſee ſome few of them in the margin (I), enough, however, to convince him that this *Samaritan* is not the only true authentic copy, becauſe in the old *Hebrew* character, and that of *Ezra* only a tranſcript of it, becauſe in the new introduced *Chaldee*, as ſome learned men have thought, and particularly a modern

Corrupt their pentateuch.

[P] Vid. int. al. Basnag. ubi ſupra.

(H) This ſect is ſtill very numerous, not only in their metropolis, but in *Damaſcus*, *Gaza*, *Cairo*, and other parts of the *Ottoman* empire, beſides thoſe which are diſperſed into the northern parts of *Europe* and *Aſia*. But ſo ignorant are thoſe of *Turky*, eſpecially of coſmography, whatever they may be as to their religion, that they took the *Engliſh Jews* to be of their ſect, and *England* to be only a conſiderable city (27), as appears by a letter they wrote to them ſome time ſince, and mentioned by the author laſt quoted; but if they really held thoſe tenets which the *Jews* attribute to them, they muſt have been no leſs ignorant in point of their religion. Among other errors they charge them with, that of believing the godhead to be a corporeal being would be ſufficient to ſhew their ſtupidity, but *Credat Judæus*.

Epiphanius, who ranks them in the catalogue of his heretics (28), tells us, that they worſhipped the *Teraphims*, which *Rachel* had ſtolen from her father *Laban*, and which they digged up from under the oak, where *Jacob* had buried them; but, it is likely, he took up this calumny upon ſome *Jewiſh* authority. He adds, that they were, like the *Jews*, divided into four ſects (28), and gives us there the different tenets of each, but they are not worth dwelling upon.

A modern traveller informs us, that in a letter they wrote to him (29), they acknowledged the book of *Joſhua*; but they meant moſt probably their chronicle we have lately mentioned, and which they ſtyle the book of *Joſhua*. However, a more righteous judge than the *Jewiſh* rabbies has ſummed up their character in few words, when he told them, that they worſhipped they knew not what, and that ſalvation was of the *Jews* (30).

(I) We have already taken notice of their ſubſtituting the word *Garizzim* to that of *Ebal*, in that place of *Deuteronomy*, where God commands the *Iſraelites* to build an altar (31); according to which corruption, they pretend that *Joſhua* actually built the ſaid altar on *Garizzim*, and that it is the ſame they have ſacrificed upon ever ſince.

2dly, They have interpolated, between the twenty-fifth and twenty-ſixth verſes of the eighteenth chapter of *Exodus*, all that we read in the firſt of *Deuteronomy* from the ninth to the fourteenth verſe incluſive; and in the tenth of *Numbers* are inſerted the ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth verſes of the firſt of *Deuteronomy*, between the tenth and eleventh verſes. All which are doubtleſs wilful corruptions to ſerve their cauſe. Theſe and all the other alterations in that pentateuch, the reader may ſee carefully collected by the learned *Hottinger* (32), and in the collations made in the laſt volume of *Walton*'s polyglot.

(27) *Id. loc. ult. citat.* (28) *Hæreſ.* 9. (29) *Ludolph's letter printed an.* 1688. (30) *John* iv. 22. (31) *Deut.* xxvii. 4 & 5. (32) *Exercit. cont. Morin.*

a modern one [q], who has given it by far the preference above the *Jewish*; those a who are acquainted with his notions, need not be told what induced him to this unaccountable partiality.

How and when this manuscript came into the hands of the *Samaritans*, is hard to guess; the general opinion is, that it was brought into *Samaria* by the priest, whom *Ezarhaddon* sent to instruct the new inhabitants of that country. The book was not unknown to several ancient fathers, particularly *Origen* and St. *Jerom*, who both understood the *Hebrew* tongue; but they have given us no light about it. The opinion of some learned moderns [r] is, that it was brought to *Samaria* by *Manasses*, *Sanballat*'s son-in-law lately mentioned, and that it was transcribed from that of *Ezra*, since we find in it all the emendations and explanations which that inspired scribe is b supposed to have made to those five books; and consequently could be of no older date, much less have been brought by that *Hebrew* priest above-mentioned (K). However, each system has its difficulties, which are not easily solved; all that we shall add concerning this book is, that besides this copy written in their old character in the *Hebrew* tongue, they had another written in the vulgar language spoken among them, because, like the *Jews*, they had forgot the old *Hebrew*, and were accustomed to a mongrel mixture of *Assyrian*, *Babylonish*, and *Chaldee*. Besides this, they had a *Greek* version of it for the sake of their hellenistical brethren, as the *Jews* had the septuagint; and it is probable, that this was the version which is men- c tioned by several ancient fathers [s], since they cannot be supposed to have understood either the original one, or the vulgar version of it. The old *Hebrew* copy did afterwards remain unknown to the christians during near ten centuries. *Scaliger* was the first modern who got intelligence of it; after which it was brought over into *Europe*, and printed in the polyglots of *Paris* and *London*, the latter of which is by far the best and most correct, as well as the *Latin* version of it [t]; the further particulars of it we refer to the margin (L).

Two versions of it.

How brought into Europe.

We

[q] Whiston. [r] F. Simon. hist. crit. V. T. l. i. c. 10. Prid. ubi supra. [s] African. Euseb. Diod. Tarsens. & al. ap. Prid. ubi supra. [t] Vid. Scalig. de emend. temp. c. 7. Usser. epist. ad L. Cappel. Walton. proleg. in Polygl. Morin. Prid. & al.

(K) If it be asked, how he could instruct those strangers in the worship of God, unless he had brought some such a book along with him from the place of his captivity? some answer, that he taught them no more than he knew by tradition (33); others distinguish between the whole pentateuch and an epitome of the law contained in some of the chapters of *Deuteronomy* (34), which is that which they suppose he brought with him to *Samaria*, since both kings and priests were bound to keep a copy of it written with their own hand. Their reason for so thinking is, that if they had had the whole pentateuch, it is hardly to be supposed they would have continued so long in their idolatry. But here they forget that even this epitome contains as strong and severe prohibitions and threatenings against it, as can be found in any other part of the *Mosaic* books; so that it is more likely their attachment to their country gods, rather than the want of proper books to instruct them, was the cause of their so long dividing their worship between the God of *Israel* and their own.

A late critic has made a bold, but strange, push to reconcile all these difficulties, by absurdly supposing the pentateuch to have been written on the other side of *Euphrates*, by the priest, who was sent from thence into *Samaria*, for the instruction of those strangers. To this end, he, it seems, thought fit to give them a short sketch of the creation, flood, and other occurrences, that happened before the giving of the *Mosaic* law; and that he wrote it in the old *Hebrew*, because he was unacquainted with the *Chaldee*; and that this happening precisely at the time, when the *Jewish* volume of the law was found out by the high-priest and brought to *Josiah*, he got a copy of it, and inserted it at the end of his own work, as very proper to bring men to the knowledge of the one true God; and, lastly, that the *Jews*, finding nothing to object against the author or his work, have adopted the latter as conformable to their law and history. This critic has not ventured to set his name to his book, but sent it abroad under a fictitious title (35); however, *Ex ungue leonem*, he was not long undiscovered or unconfuted.

Upon the whole, the general opinion is, that this pentateuch was brought by the priest sent by *Ezarhaddon* into *Samaria*, and that after the rupture of the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, the latter wilfully corrupted those places of it which made against them, and consequently, that the *Jewish* one is by far the more authentic of the two.

(L) *Scaliger*, having received from the *Shechemites* an account of this pentateuch, by a letter which he published anno 1676, acquainting him among other things with this pentateuch, did in another work (36) complain, that none of the learned of *Europe* had endeavoured to procure some copies of it, seeing it might probably be of great service in adjusting the scripture chronology. This awaked the curiosity of archbishop *Usher*, who, as he tells us in his letter to *L. Capellus*, had observed, that this book had been quoted by several ancient fathers and other writers, down to *Gaza* and *Syncellus*, and particularly by the learned *Origen* in his book against *Celsus*. From that time this great prelate spared neither pains nor cost, till he had procured five or six copies of it from *Syria* and *Palestine*, and compared them with the *Jewish*; and here he thought he had found out the person who had corrupted them, namely, one *Dositheus*,

(33) *Vid. Prid. ubi supra.* (34) *Vandal. epist. ad Morin. in Tractat. de Idololat.* (35) *Sentiments de quelque Theolog. de Hollande.* (36) *De emendat. temp. l.* vii. (37) *Proleg.* 11. *ad Polyglot.*

a We return to *Judea*, which we left in the poſſeſſion of the king of *Egypt*, but which he was, about five years after, forced to abandon to *Antigonus* and his ſon, who came againſt him with a ſuperior army. *Ptolemy* contented himſelf with demanding the cities of *Acre*, *Samaria*, *Joppa*, and *Gaza*, and to carry off an immenſe booty, as well as a great number of inhabitants, whom he ſettled in *Alexandria*, and endowed with conſiderable privileges and immunities, as *Alexander* had done before him. He was then deſigning to make that city the metropolis of *Egypt*, and was ſo well ſatisfied with the faithfulneſs and uſefulneſs of the *Jews*, that he ſpared no encouragement to allure them thither; inſomuch, that vaſt numbers flocked continually to it from *Judæa* and *Samaria*, chuſing to live under ſo generous and friendly a prince in a b foreign country, rather than in their own, under the tyrannical government of *Antiochus* (M) [u]. Thus was *Judæa* become the ſubject of the diſputes of, and ſcene of war between *Antigonus* king of *Upper Aſia*, *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, and *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*. The partiſans of this laſt pretended, that he had not undertaken to put *Aſia* under the government of *Seleucus*, but upon condition that *Cœle-Syria* and *Phœnicia* ſhould be relinquiſhed to him. Thoſe of *Seleucus* on the contrary maintained that *Ptolemy* was no further concerned in the war, then to help him to conquer thoſe provinces allotted to him; in proof whereof they urged, that, after the defeat of *Antigonus*, *Lyſimachus* and *Caſſander* had aſſigned thoſe provinces to *Seleucus* [w]. Accordingly we find, that this laſt enjoyed that of *Judæa* ſome while, with a tax of three hundred c talents of ſilver, upon condition that the *Jews* ſhould be governed by their own laws, and that their high-prieſts ſhould be their only governors [x].

Year of the Rod 2687. *Before Chriſt* 312.

Jews *flock to* Alexandria.

THIS prince very much imitated the clemency and generoſity of the *Egyptian* king, a character which was quite oppoſite to that of *Antigonus*, who was of ſuch fierce nature, that he ſtuck at no cruelty, falſhood, or tyranny, that ſerved his turn. This made great numbers of the *Jews* to fall away likewiſe from that tyrant to *Seleucus*, who gave them much the ſame privileges and franchiſes that his competitor did in *Egypt*. He built ſixteen cities in *Leſſer Aſia*, which he, from his father, called *Antioch*, nine he called by his own name, and ſix by that of his mother *Laodicea*; three from his firſt wife *Apamea*, and one from *Stratonice* his laſt wife; in all theſe he ſettled d ſuch conſiderable colonies of the *Jews*, eſpecially at *Antioch* in *Syria*, that they became almoſt as conſiderable a part of thoſe cities, as they were at *Alexandria*. Hence that nation came to ſpread themſelves over *Syria* and *Leſſer Aſia*, whilſt *Judæa* became ſtill thinner of its own inhabitants, till it was again recovered by *Ptolemy*; after which they came ſtill over to him from the provinces of *Antiochus*, and ſtill increaſed the number of thoſe whom he found in *Babylon*; from all whom he received ſuch conſider-

[u] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. & cont. Apion. l. i. & ii. [w] Vid. USSER. ſub A. M. 3721. [x] Vid. SULPIT. SEVER. hiſt. ſacr. l. ii.

Doſitheus, mentioned by *Origen* againſt *Celſus*; but this diſcovery has not been univerſally received. However, it is from his copies that *Walton* printed that pentateuch in his polyglot, ſince then ſeveral other copies were procured from the ſame place by other learned perſons in *Europe* (38). Thoſe who are willing to know more of the *Samaritans* and their pentateuch, may conſult, beſides the letters of *Scaliger*, *Leudolph*, and *Uſher* abovementioned, the authors quoted in the margin (39).

(M) Among thoſe *Jews* whom *Ptolemy*'s kindneſs drew into *Egypt*, *Joſephus* (40) mentions *Hezechias*, one of the chief prieſts, a man of learning and probity, and about ſixty years of age, who became acquainted with *Hecatæus* the *Abderite*, a perſon trained up under *Alexander the Great*, and now in great credit at the *Egyptian* court. Him *Hezechias* did ſo well inform of the religion, laws, and cuſtoms of the *Jews*, that he wrote a hiſtory of that nation down from *Abraham* to his time. The book is now loſt; but *Joſephus* quotes ſo many paſſages out of him in favour of the *Jews*, that a heathen writer, who lived in *Trajan*'s time, did very much queſtion either the genuineneſs of the book, or the ſincerity of the author (41). Had he been better acquainted with them, he would never have called either in queſtion; and it is more than probable, that *Hecatæus*'s great opinion of them procured the nation greater favours from *Ptolemy*, than they might have otherwiſe met with.

The *Jewiſh* hiſtorian quotes another ſtory out of the ſame author, to ſhew how far his nation was averſe to the ſuperſtitions of the heathens. It is of one *Moſollam* a *Jew*, who was ſuch an excellent markſman, that he ſhot a bird dead with his bow, whilſt a ſoothſayer in their company was perſuadeing them to obſerve its motion, and ſteer their courſe by that of the bird. This action having drawn ſome bitter invectives againſt our *Jew*, from his ſuperſtitious fellow-travellers, he only laughed at their folly, for expecting to learn their fortune from a bird, that was ſo palpably ignorant of its own. Whether *Moſollam* was more minded to diſplay his ſkill in ſhooting, or exploding the ſuperſtition of other nations, 'tis but too plain, thoſe of his own were generally of another mind, with reſpect to ſoothſaying, aſtrology, divinations, and ſuch like ſuperſtitious traſh.

(38) *Vid. Morin. exerc.* 1. *in Pentat. Samar. Calmet. Prid. & al.* (39) *Hottinger, ubi ſupra, Cellar. Lightfoot Cur. Hæbr. Prid. ubi ſupra. Baſnag, tom.* 2. *p.* 1. *c.* 1. *& ſeq. & al.* (40) *Lib.* i. *cont. Apion.* (41) *Hieron. Phil. apud Origen. cont. Celſ. lib.* 1.

considerable services, that he spared no favours nor encouragement to fasten them to a his interest.

Year of the flood 2707. Before Christ 292.

Soon after the recovery of *Judæa* by *Ptolemy Soter*, died *Simon* the *Jewish* high-priest in the ninth year of his pontificate [y]. He had succeeded his father *Onias*, and had been so eminent for his sanctity and integrity, which shone in all his actions, that he was surnamed *the just*. He was the first pontiff of that name, and the excellent character which the author of *Ecclesiasticus* gives of him [z], shews how highly he deserved the surname which his nation had given him. But he was no less remarkable for his other virtues, as a *Jewish* prince and governor, witness his repairing and fortifying the temple and the city with high and strong walls, his famous cistern covered with brass, which he caused to be made in *Jerusalem*, as a reservoir for water, and which b was of such capacious circumference, that the author compares it to a sea; but his most considerable work was the finishing of the canon of the *Old Testament*, of which we have already spoken (N). He left a son named *Onias*, but he being then but an infant, *Eleazar*, *Simon*'s brother was substituted high-priest in his stead. He executed this office fifteen years, but with this difference; that whereas all the high priests before had set as presidents of the synagogue, or grand council of the *Jews*, *Simon* was succeeded in this last dignity by one *Antigonus* of *Socho*, a man of great learning and piety [a]. This man, who, the *Jews* tell us, was the master of *Saddoc*, the chief of the *Sadducean* sect, taught, that our serving of God ought to be free either from slavish fear of punishment, or from selfish hope of reward; and be wholly disinterested, and c flow from the pure love and fear of that Supreme Being. Hence his disciple being unable to relish such a spiritual doctrine, took it into his head, that his master meant

Rise of the Sadducees.

no more by it, than that there were neither rewards nor punishments, nor even life after this; which notion became in time so rife among the richer sort of *Jews*, that they monopolised all the great places in church and state, as we shall see in due time.

Antigonus by this became the head of a new kind of synagogue, which continued from this time to that of *Jehudah Hakkodesh*, the compiler of the *Mishna*, as the old one had from *Ezra* to *Simon the just*; the difference between them was, that the old one had bestowed their time and labour in collecting, revising, and completing the d canon of the *Old Testament*; the latter was wholly employed in expounding and commenting upon it. These, therefore, whom the authors of the *New Testament* call by

Of the Tannaim *or* Mithnical *doctors.*

[y] Euseb. chron. Cabbala, & al.

[z] Ch. l. 1, & seq.

[a] De hoc vid. lib. Juchasin, Shalshel. el. Levita. in

(N) It has been already observed, that the books of *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and of the chronicles, could not have been inserted into the canon by those two inspired writers; first, because there are in them some marginal corrections, which must have been inserted by some of their successors; and, secondly, because some genealogies are carried down vastly beyond their time, some even down to that of *Alexander the Great*.

The book of *Esther* likewise seems to have been written after their time, and, as some think, the prophecies of *Malachy*. As therefore this *Simon the Just* is by all the *Jews* mentioned as the last of the great synagogue we have elsewhere spoken of, and was a man of such eminent piety and learning, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that he put the finishing stroke to the sacred code, either by inserting the books above-mentioned, or, if they had been received before, by revising and giving a final sanction to them.

As for the genealogies, whoever continued them, that work seems to have been done before him. Had he been the author of them, it is likely he would have brought them down nearer his time.

However, from his pontificate is dated the completing of the sacred canon of the *Old Testament*, which was thence-forward received and conveyed without revisal or correction; from this time the *Jewish* doctors applied themselves wholly to study, explain, and comment upon them, and their expositions were in time received with as great submission as the sacred books themselves.

This is that *Simon* of whom the *Talmudists* tell us so many wonders, some of which we have formerly mentioned †, such as that during his priesthood the scape-goat was always broken in pieces down the precipice, which was an omen of God's acceptance; but after his death the *Saracens* used to catch and eat it; that the ribbon tied about the neck of it always appeared white, another good omen, but after him, it appeared oftener red; they tell us likewise (42), that during his time the western branch of the sacred candlestic never went out; that the shew-bread, and two loaves of the first-fruits, used to be multiplied to such a degree, as to suffice all the priests who were then upon duty; that two sticks thrown on the fire of the altar kept it burning and clear all the whole day; with some other such tokens of the divine favour, which ended with his death. All which, those who are acquainted with the allegorical language of the *Talmudists*, are so far from understanding either as literal truths, or as fictions of those writers, that they rightly look upon them as so many figurative phrases to express the flourishing condition of the *Jewish* religion and commonwealth, which from that time began to go from bad to worse, till the brave *Maccabees* raised it again to its ancient lustre.

† *Vol.* I. *p.* 619. *sub. fin. note* T.

(42) *Mishna in Joma. Maimon. in jom. kakphur.*

a by different names, ſuch as doctors, ſcribes, lawyers, rulers, and ſuch-like, affected to call themſelves *Tannaim*, or *traditionaliſts* [b], becauſe they handed down their expoſitions and doctrines by oral tradition to their diſciples; and their authority once quoted in any of their ſchools upon any point, either put an end to the controverſy, or the recuſant was looked upon as an apoſtate from his maſter; and as all other diſputes in political affairs were to be decided by the law of God, of which theſe *Tannaim* were the interpreters, ſo they were choſen alſo to aſſiſt, and ſome of the moſt conſiderable for learning, zeal, *&c.* to preſide in all the courts of judicature, from the *ſanhedrin* or *great council of the nation*, conſiſting of ſeventy-two, down to the more inferior ones, which they had in every city; and upon this account they were b alſo called counſellors [c].

Ptolemy, ſurnamed *Philadelphus*, having ſucceeded his father in *Egypt*, the *Jews* found in him as great a protector, as they had in *Ptolemy Soter*; and with this advantage, that the ſon, being a great lover of learning, and upon the point of rearing his noble library at *Alexandria*, as we have elſewhere deſcribed *, did ſtrive to oblige them with greater favours than any of his predeceſſors had done, in order to obtain from them a copy of the ſacred books, to be tranſlated into *Greek*, and depoſited there among that immenſe number of volumes which he had procured from all parts of the world. This verſion is that which is commonly known by the name of ſeptuagint; our great *Uſher* places the making of it in the ſeventh year of that mo- c narch's reign; we have already mentioned ſomething of it in the place above quoted, where we promiſed to ſpeak more fully of it in this chapter. And indeed, when we conſider how much this performance has been celebrated, not only by the moſt learned *Jewiſh* writers, but alſo by the ancient fathers as well as many celebrated moderns; how much it has been cried up, as a work manifeſtly conducted by a miraculous providence, and as ſuch referred to and quoted both by our Saviour and his apoſtles, and by all the primitive writers of the chriſtian church; it will perhaps be expected, that we ſhould be ſomewhat copious upon it. But when we reflect on the other hand, that all thoſe eminent writers have not only blindly followed their romantic leader, but have in many caſes embelliſhed his ſurprizing account of this tranſaction; that *Ari-* d *ſteas*, the firſt broacher of this hiſtory, has only covered himſelf with the perſonage, if not with the name, of a heathen writer and an officer of *Ptolemy*'s guards, that he might be the more liberal of his incenſe to the *Jewiſh* nation; that he is guilty of ſeveral flagrant anachroniſms and of a manifeſt falſhood, at the very threſhold of his account, in making *Demetrius Phalereus*, the pretended promoter of this great work, a great favourite of the king, when the contrary plainly appears from what we have formerly ſaid on that head in our third volume †; when we conſider that *Joſephus*, *Ariſtobulus*, a *Jewiſh* peripatetic philoſopher, *Philo*, the *Talmudiſts*, and other rabbies, either only copied, or in ſome caſes improved upon, him; and laſtly, that thoſe ancient fathers, *Juſtin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Cyril*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Auſtin*, *Epipha-* e *nius*, and others, have too greedily ſwallowed up the *Jewiſh* account of this pretended miraculous verſion, by reaſon of the preference which Chriſt and his apoſtles ſeem to have given it either to the original, or to the other verſions then extant, not perhaps ſo much upon its being more authentic than any of them, much leſs than the original, as becauſe it was the moſt in vogue, and beſt underſtood by the generality of the *Jews*; we hope, upon all theſe conſiderations, our readers will eaſily excuſe our not entering into ſo ſpacious a field, and be content with the ſuccinct account we ſhall now give them of it in the margin (O).

Year of the flood 2715
Year before Chriſt 284.

ALL

[b] Vid. BUXTORF, Lexic. Rabb. ſub voc. חנן. ACTS v. 34.

* Vol. III. p. 638, d.

[c] Vide MARK xv. 43. LUKE xxiii. 50.

† Ibid. p. 633, d, e.

(O) The account we have of this verſion, out of the book which goes under the name of *Ariſteas*, and out of thoſe other authors who have followed him, is in ſubſtance as follows: *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, a great lover of learning, was inriching the noble library which had been begun by his father, when *Demetrius Phalereus*, who had the inſpection of that work, acquainted him, that there were certain books held ſacred among the *Jews*, which highly deſerved a place in his collection, if they could by any means be procured. He adviſed him at the ſame time of a method, in all likelihood the moſt effectual, to prevail upon the *Jewiſh* ſanhedrin to ſend thoſe volumes, together with a ſufficient number of learned men to *Alexandria*, to tranſlate them into *Greek*, namely by a general redemption of all the *Jewiſh* captives that had been taken during the late wars.

Upon inquiry, the number of them was found to amount to about a hundred thouſand; at which *Ptolemy* was ſo far from being diſcouraged, that he cauſed an edict to be iſſued out for a total releaſe, and the ſum of twenty drachms *per* head to be paid for their redemption out of his own treaſury; ſo that

All that we ſhall add here will be two or three remarks concerning this work; a
the firſt is, that there was near that time a verſion made of the ſacred *Hebrew* books into *Greek*, and with which the *Helleniſt Jews* were ſo highly delighted, that *Philo* tells us [a], they inſtituted an annual feaſt in memory of it, and made a yearly viſit, in ſolemn proceſſion to the iſle of *Pharos*, where it had been made by the ſeventy-two *Iſraelitiſh* elders: whereas the more zealous *Hebraiſing Jews*, who looked upon it as a vile profanation of their holy religion, conceived ſuch horror againſt it, that they inſtituted a faſt in memory of it. Theſe even add, that the day on which it was began, proved as fatal to the *Iſraelites*, as that on which *Jeroboam* ſet up the golden calves at *Dan* and *Bethel*, and that the ſky was covered with thick darkneſs three days ſucceſſively [b]. The *Samaritans* have likewiſe laid claim to the glory of b
this

a In vit. Moſis. b. In lib. Sopherim. Vid. & Scaliger. not. in Chronic. Euseb. ſub ann. 1134.

that the whole amounted to ſix hundred and ſixty talents, *Joſephus*, who has only abridged that author, doth yet differ from him, in that he makes the price of every redeemed ſlave to have been a hundred and twenty drachms, and yet the ſum total to have amounted but to four hundred and ſixty talents, though there were, according to him, a hundred and twenty thouſand perſons releaſed (1).

After this ſignal favour to the *Jewiſh* nation, the king ſent a ſplendid embaſſy laden with preſents to *Eleazar*, the then *Jewiſh* high-prieſt; who on his ſide readily complied with the king's requeſt, and ſent him, with the copy of the ſacred books, written in letters of gold, ſeventy-two *Jews*, well ſkilled in the *Hebrew* and *Greek* tongues, and a letter of thanks for his noble preſents, in which he congratulated him on his glorious undertaking, and wiſhed him good ſucceſs in it.

Ptolemy received the interpreters with uncommon reſpect, and paid ſuch a regard to the ſacred volume, that he bowed himſelf ſeven times down to the ground before it; after which he entertained his gueſts with ſuitable magnificence ſeven days ſucceſſively, aſſuring them, that he ſhould eſteem the day of their arrival as an addition to the glory of his reign. They were conducted three days after into the iſland of *Pharos*, which ſtood about ſeven furlongs from *Alexandria*, where *Demetrius* placed them in a ſumptuous edifice, conveniently ſituated near the ſhore, and where they ſet immediately about the work.

Their method, according to *Ariſteas*, was to ſet at it from ſix in the morning to three in the afternoon; after which they returned into the city, where they had their victuals and other neceſſaries prepared for them at the king's expence. Whenever any difficulty was ſtarted, they debated it in a full aſſembly; and when the point was ſettled, a fair tranſcript was made, and ſent to *Demetrius*, till the whole verſion was finiſhed, which took up only ſeventy or ſeventy-two days.

Philo, an *Alexandrian Jew*, who was ſent on an embaſſy to *Caius Cæſar*, ſoon after our Saviour's death, has greatly improved the ſtory of *Ariſteas*, and ſpeaks of this verſion as altogether miraculous (2); for he adds, that upon comparing the ſeveral interpretations of thoſe ſeventy men, which, according to him, had been carried on by each of them ſeparately, there was not found ſo much as the difference of a word between them all; but that they had rendered every period, not only in the ſame ſenſe, but in the ſame phraſe, word, and order, throughout the whole; from whence he infers, that they were all divinely inſpired. He mentions nothing either of *Ariſteas* or *Demetrius Phalereus*, probably, becauſe he would not be ſuſpected of having copied and inlarged the former.

Juſtin Martyr, who has adopted this extraordinary addition of *Philo*, tells us (3), that *Ptolomy* had cauſed the interpreters to be ſhut up, each in a ſeparate cell, to prevent their communicating their thoughts to one another; that by the conformity of their ſeveral tranſlations, he might the more eaſily judge of the faithfulneſs of the whole verſion. He adds, that when they came to be compared together, there was ſuch an exact conformity between them all, that the king, who looked upon it as altogether miraculous, ſent the interpreters home laden with honour and with the richeſt preſents; and received their writings with that veneration which was due to books divinely inſpired. And as a further confirmation of the whole, he tells the *Grecks*, to whom he writes, that he had ſeen thoſe very cells, whilſt he was at *Alexandria*, and that thoſe that ſhewed them to him aſſured him, that they had the whole ſtory from undoubted tradition.

His account of this verſion is ſomewhat different, in another work of his (4), where he tells us, that *Ptolemy* ſent to *Herod* king of the *Jews*, for thoſe ſacred books; and that upon their being ſent in their original tongue and character, which were unknown in *Egypt*, he had been forced to ſend to him for ſome interpreters to tranſlate them into *Greek*; which being likewiſe complied with, copies of that verſion were ſtill every-where to be ſeen in the hands of the *Helleniſt Jews* in his time.

After this ample teſtimony of the good and learned martyr, we need not wonder if ſo many ancient fathers (5) have embraced the ſtory, and looked upon that verſion as divinely inſpired; and ſome of them have given it even the preference to the original, in thoſe places where the difference between them could not be reconciled (6). *Epiphanius*, who lived about the middle of the third century, and pretends to have preſerved the letter which *Ptolemy* wrote to the *Jews* to obtain this verſion from them, has given us a copious account of it (7); and, to what has been ſaid by *Ariſteas* and the other authors abovementioned, has added ſome other circumſtances by way of improvement; ſuch as that there were but thirty-ſix cells, into which the interpreters were ſhut up by two in each; that they had no windows, but received their light from the top by ſky-lights; that each couple had a book given them to tranſlate, which when finiſhed, was conveyed to the next cell, and ſo on to the third, fourth,

(1) *Antiq. l.* xii. *c.* 2. (2) *In vit. Moſ. l.* ii. & *Legat. ad Cæſar.* (3) *Cohortat. ad gentes, p.* 14. & *dial. con. Tryphon.* (4) *Apolog.* 11. (5) *Iren. cont. Hæreſ. lib.* iii. *Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib.* 1. *Hilar. in Pſ.* ii. & cxxxi. *Cyril. Hieroſol. Cathec.* 4. *Auguſt. civit. Dei, l.* xviii. *c.* 35. *De conſenſ. Evangeliſt. c.* 66, & *alib. Philaſtr. Brixienſ. Hæreſ.* 90. *Vid. Prid. Connect. ſub ann.* 277. (6) *Vid. int. al. Hilar. in Pſ.* cxxxi. (7) *In lib. de Ponder.* & *Menſur. N.* 9, & *ſeq.*

a this verſion, and pretend that their high-prieſt, as well as that of the *Jews*, having been invited by *Ptolemy* to come at the head of a number of learned men to carry on the work, upon a review of both tranſlations, that of the *Samaritans* had been preferred to the *Jewiſh* one, and placed in the library of the *Egyptian* monarch †.

But whether all the books of the *Old Teſtament* were tranſlated at once, and by the ſame ſet of men, or, as ſome contend for, only the five books of *Moſes*, we have no ſufficient ground to affirm; the latter doth, however, appear the more probable of the two from the difference of ſtyle and exactneſs, which manifeſtly appears in them; for that of the pentateuch is not only more faithful and agreeable to the original, but ſeems ſomewhat more ancient, and in the *Alexandrian* dialect; whereas that of the b other books is more looſe and incorrect, and ſometimes renders the ſame *Hebrew* word differently from that of the *Moſaic* ones, which ſeems to intimate, that they had been done by different hands, and at ſome diſtance of time. Thus much, however, is more than probable upon the whole, that if the firſt verſion went no farther than the pentateuch, the *Helleniſt Jews*, who found ſo great a benefit from it, did not go long without having all the reſt of the ſacred volume tranſlated in the ſame tongue.

The ſecond is, that our learned *Uſher* has fixed the time of this verſion to this year, as he believed the main part of the hiſtory, which we have of it under the name of *Ariſteas*, to be true and genuine; for had he placed it later, it could not have coincided with the time of *Eleazar*, who is there mentioned as the *Jewiſh* high-

† Lib. Joſue. ſup. Citat.

&c. and ſo on to all the reſt, by which means each book was tranſlated thirty-ſix times; that they were confined to their work from morning to evening; after which each couple was conveyed in a ſeparate boat to the royal palace, where they ſupped with the king; after which they were ſhut up, each in their ſeparate chamber, till the next day, when they were again conveyed to their reſpective cells.

When the whole book of the *Old Teſtament* had gone through the thirty-ſix couples, their verſions were read before the king by thirty-ſix readers, whilſt a thirty-ſeventh held the original in his hand, with which they were compared; and at the end were found to agree in every reſpect, both with the *Hebrew* and with each other, to ſuch a degree of exactneſs, that *Ptolemy* looked upon thoſe interpreters as divinely inſpired, and cauſed their ſeveral works to be depoſited in his library of *Bruchium*, which, as we have obſerved in the hiſtory of *Egypt* (8), held the firſt, as that which was called *Serapium* held the ſecond rank.

The *Talmuds* of *Jeruſalem* and *Babylon* agree in moſt of theſe particulars abovementioned, but pretend that *Ptolemy* ſent for thoſe ſeventy-two *Jewiſh* elders, without acquainting them what work he deſigned to ſet them upon, till they were arrived at *Alexandria*, when he cauſed them to be all ſhut up, each in a ſeparate cell, and gave them the ſacred books to tranſlate. Some of thoſe ancient rabbies there quoted ſay indeed, that he ſent only for ſeven of them, which was indeed more than enough for the work; they all agree with the reſt, that God did ſo direct their pens, that all their verſions were exactly agreeable both to each other, and to the original.

Laſtly, and to name no more, St. *Clement* of *Alexandria* (9) and *Euſebius* (10) quote ſome fragments out of one *Ariſtobulus*, a peripatetic *Jew* of *Alexandria*, who is ſaid to have wrote a comment on the pentateuch, and to have dedicated it to *Ptolemy Philometor*, to whom he had been tutor. In which dedication he mentions this *Greek* verſion, which had been made by *Ptolemy*'s command, and under the direction of *Demetrius Phalereus*.

The two fathers abovementioned quote therefore this comment to prove the poſſibility of *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and other *Greek* philoſophers, having taken moſt of their philoſophy out of the ſacred volumes, ſince they had been tranſlated ſo long before in that known language.

The reader may ſee by what has been extracted out of all thoſe authors, both *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian*, that the ſtory of this verſion has gained conſiderably by every hand it has gone through; and this improvement, as well as ſome other variations which are found among thoſe writers, is one main argument why the far greater part of our modern critics reject it as a *Jewiſh* device, calculated to advance the glory of that nation.

But this is not the only plauſible argument againſt it. We have obſerved in the text above ſome material objections that are juſtly urged againſt the pretended *Ariſteas*, who is the firſt writer of this ſtory, particularly, that he was a *Jew* in diſguiſe, notwithſtanding his pretending to be a heathen and one of *Ptolemy*'s guards; and this appears firſt from his ſtyle, which is fraught both with hebraiſms and with panegyrics on the *Jewiſh* nation. 2. The praiſes he gives to the *Egyptian* king and court, are not only apparently falſe, but ſeem alſo calculated to advance the credit of the *Jews*.

The vaſt expence which he makes *Ptolemy* to have been at to get this verſion perfected, and which, put together and computed at the moſt moderate rate, muſt have amounted to near two millions ſterling; the ſending for ſeventy-two elders, that is, ſix out of each of the twelve tribes, at a time when the names and tribes of *Iſrael* were abſorbed into that of *Jews*, ſeems only a compliment on the ſanhedrin, which conſiſted of that number, eſpecially conſidering that a much ſmaller one would have ſufficed for the work; the extraordinary anſwers which thoſe interpreters are ſaid to have given extempore to the king's queſtions; and laſtly, the ſtory of *Demetrius Phalereus* being ſuch a great favourite with that monarch, and the victory which the latter is there affirmed to have gained at ſea over *Antigonus*, and which is mentioned by no other writer; all theſe put together, render the whole account very incredible. But our deſign is not here to confute it, but to direct our readers to thoſe authors who have wrote more copiouſly on that ſubject, and which he will find in the margin (11).

(8) *Vid. ſup. Vol.* III. *p.* 629, *d.* (9) *Stromat. lib.* i. & v. (10) *Canon. Chronol.* & *Præpar. Evang. l.* vii. *c.* 13. viii. *c.* 9, & *alib.* (11) *Dupin. Script. Eccleſiaſt. part.* 1. *c.* 6. *ſect.* iii. *Simon. hiſt. crit. V. T. l.* ii. *c.* 2. *Uſſer, Hoddy, Prid. Connect. ſub. a. A. C.* 277. *Calmet ſub voce Septante,* & *al.*

high-prieſt, who ſent the ſeventy-two tranſlators into *Egypt*, and who died about the beginning of the following year; and had he placed it earlier, it would have been before *Ptolemy* had married his ſiſter *Arſinoe*; whereas the *Jewiſh* pontiff is there introduced as complimenting that princeſs, in his letter to the king, as his ſiſter and queen. a

Our laſt and moſt material remark is, that whatever wonders and fables the *Jews* may have invented, and the *Chriſtians* ſwallowed, concerning this verſion, yet it was not without the conduct of a divine providence, that theſe ſacred books were tranſlated into a tongue ſo univerſally known and ſpoken, ſo many centuries before the completion of thoſe prophecies, which they contained, and which were in due time to be fulfilled by and under the promiſed Meſſiah. Had thoſe divine oracles been kept ſtill in the hands of the *Jews*, and in their original *Hebrew*, till the preaching of the goſpel, they muſt have loſt a very conſiderable part of their evidence; which by their being promulgated in ſo known a language, and diſperſed ſo far and wide, is now rendered unqueſtionable and irrefragable. Without ſuch a verſion and publication of that ſacred volume, it would have been extremely difficult, notwithſtanding the manifeſt impoſſibility of a combination between the *Jews* and the *Chriſtians*, to have perſuaded an unbelieving world, that thoſe prophecies had not been ſtamped, after their completion, as *Porphyry* and other enemies of chriſtianity abſurdly affirmed: whereas this verſion and univerſal diſperſion of them through ſo many diſtant parts of the known world put it beyond all queſtion, that they were previous to their completion, at leaſt by ſome centuries, and owe conſequently their origin to perſons divinely inſpired. We have had occaſion to ſpeak of ſeveral of them in our former volume[c]; thoſe that relate more particularly to the Meſſiah, will be beſt ſeen in the ſequel of this chapter. We ſhall only obſerve with reſpect to the latter, that when the primitive fathers, who were ignorant of the *Hebrew*, did quote thoſe prophecies from this ſeptuagint verſion, the *Helleniſt Jews* found themſelves ſo ſtreightly pinched by them, that they grew as much out of conceit with it, as they had before admired it. This diſlike produced thoſe *Latin* verſions of it, which were afterwards known by the names of their authors, *Aquila*, *Symmachus* and *Theodotion*, and, not unlikely alſo, that diſcordance, which is found in the various manuſcripts of the *Greek* one, the ancienteſt and moſt correct of all which, in the judgment of thoſe who have thoroughly examined it, is that which is known by the name of *Alexandrian*, and is now in the king's library at St. *James*'s. A further diſquiſition upon this head would doubtleſs be out of our province; and it is, we hope, ſufficient to have referred our readers in the foregoing note to thoſe critics who have treated of it more at large. b c d

We return now to the reign of *Ptolemy*, under whoſe benign influence the *Jews*, enjoying all the tranquillity they could wiſh, made uſe of that interval to ſtudy and explain the ſacred books. They kept open ſchools, and *Antigonus Sochæus* was at the head of them; he died in great eſteem of his nation, though *Sadoc* and another diſciple, named *Baithus*, forſook him and his doctrine to ſpread their own new-fangled epicuriſm. He had two ſucceſſors, namely *Joſeph* the ſon of *Joazer*, who took the title of *Naſſi* or *prince*, and *Joſeph* the ſon of *John*, who took that of *Ab-beth-din*, or *father* or *preſident of the ſanhedrin*; and theſe did jointly read their public lectures at *Jeruſalem*[d]; the *Jewiſh* chronologers, laſt-quoted, place *Antigonus*'s death about the end of the twentieth year of *Ptolemy*'s reign. e

Antigonus *dies.*

On the other hand, ſome other contending monarchs ſhewed no leſs a deſire to ingratiate themſelves to the *Jews*, particularly *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Theos*, or *the god*, and grandſon of *Seleucus*, granted to thoſe of *Ionia* the ſame privileges and franchiſes with the *Greeks*. This prince held out a long and bloody war againſt *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, which was at length terminated by a treaty of marriage, wherein the former was to marry *Berenice* the daughter of the latter, and to repudiate his firſt wife *Laodicea*; but he having broken his contract by a ſeries of enormous murders, as we have elſewhere related †, was become ſo odious to all his ſubjects every-where, that *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who had ſucceeded his father in *Egypt*, did eaſily diſpoſſeſs him of the provinces of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, beſides ſeveral other cities of *Aſia*; all which did readily open their gates to him upon his firſt appearing. *Euergetes*, in his return from all theſe conqueſts, paſt through *Judæa* in his way to *Egypt*; and coming to *Jeruſalem*, f

[c] Vid. int. al. Vol. I. p. 461, & note. 732, & ſeq. & O. Vol. II. p. 94, c, d. 208, note. See alſo the index to Vol. III. under the word *Daniel*.

[d] Pirke, Abboth, Juchaſin, & al. ſup. citat.

† See before, Vol. III. p. 525, e, f, & ſeq.

a *Jeruſalem*, offered a great number of ſacrifices at the temple there, as an acknowledgment for his late ſucceſſes [e]. It is thought, that this preference, which that prince ſhewed to the God of *Iſrael*, before the deities of *Egypt*, was owing to his having been ſhewed the prophecies of *Daniel*, in which thoſe great and ſwift conqueſts had been foretold. By this time, *Onias* II. the unworthy ſon of *Simon* the juſt, was entered into the pontifical office. During his minority, his uncle *Eleazar* the brother of *Simon*, had been inveſted with that dignity, and enjoyed it near thirty years; it is during his pontificate that the ſeptuagint verſion above-mentioned is ſuppoſed to have been made. When *Eleazar* died, *Onias*, though above thirty years of age, was, for ſome reaſon or other, ſet by from the high-prieſthood, to make way for his great
b uncle *Manaſſes*, the ſon of *Jaddua* the uncle of *Simon* the juſt; but *Manaſſes* being then very old and dying ſoon after, *Onias* aſcended the pontifical chair in the thirty-ſecond year of his age, and in the thirty-ſixth year of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, but in an unlucky hour for the *Jews*. *Onias*, who was of a baſe ſordid ſpirit, neglected every thing but hoarding up of treaſure, and was like to have ruined the *Jewiſh* ſtate by his avarice, had not a near relation of his found out a notable expedient to ſave it [f].

Onias *high-prieſt.* *Year of the flood* 2750. *Before Chriſt* 249.

Judæa had till then been taxed at the yearly tribute of twenty talents of ſilver, which ſum his predeceſſors had conſtantly paid to the kings of *Egypt*; but *Onias*, growing more covetous as he grew older, had ſunk that money into his own coffers,
c inſtead of ſending it to the king's treaſury. How long he had gone on in arrears, our author doth not tell us; but they were grown to ſuch a height, that *Ptolemy Euergetes* thought fit to ſend *Athenion*, one of the officers of his court, to demand them of that pontiff, threatening him at the ſame time, that, if they were not immediately payed, he would drive all the *Jews* out of their country, and repeople it with new colonies of his own. This threatening and unexpected demand put the whole city into the utmoſt conſternation, and *Onias*, who valued neither his dignity nor nation in compariſon of his money, was the only perſon who remained inſenſible of the danger; being reſolved to ſacrifice both to the reſentment of that prince, rather than refund any part of his ſtolen pelf. His ſiſter had then a ſon by her huſband *Tobias*, who,
d though young, was highly eſteemed for his piety, juſtice, and prudence; he was then at his country ſeat, where his mother ſent him word of the peril into which her brother's ſordidneſs was like to involve the whole nation. *Joſeph*, that was the noble youth's name, loſt no time to come and expoſtulate with his uncle. He upbraided him in the ſtrongeſt terms, for baſely preferring his ill-gotten riches to the ſacredneſs of his function, the ſafety of his country, and eſpecially of his friends and relations; and finding him deaf to all he urged, he adviſed him at leaſt to take a journey into *Egypt*, and endeavour to obtain a remiſſion, either of the whole, or part of the debt. All the anſwer he could get from the reſty old pontiff was, that he never coveted either his dignity or government, and that he was reſolved to forego them both, rather than
e take ſuch a long journey. There being no remedy left but to offer himſelf to go and apply to the *Egyptian* monarch, he eaſily obtained his uncle's conſent to it. He then convened the people into the temple, the then uſual place for holding their public aſſemblies, and there endeavoured to diſſipate their fears, by promiſing them, that he would ſhortly go down into *Egypt*, and find ſome effectual means, if they approved of his enterpriſe, to reconcile the king to them.

Joſeph's *policy to ſave his country.*

His propoſal having been received with univerſal applauſe, *Joſeph* went immediately to *Athenion*, invited him to his houſe, and entertained him in a ſumptuous, but obliging, manner, all the reſt of the time he ſtayed in *Jeruſalem*; and, upon his departure, made him ſeveral conſiderable preſents. This noble carriage failed not to have
f the deſired effect. The *Egyptian* deputy promiſed to ſet the whole matter in a favourable light before the king, and *Joſeph*, on the other hand, promiſed to follow him ſoon after, and to give that monarch full ſatisfaction for all that had paſſed during his uncle's government. Both theſe did punctually perform their promiſe; *Athenion*, upon his arrival at court, did loudly exclaim againſt *Onias*'s ſordidneſs, but ſaid at the ſame time ſo many things in praiſe of his nephew, that *Ptolemy* had already conceived a high eſteem for him; and *Joſeph*, on the other hand, having borrowed twenty thouſand marks from the bankers of *Samaria*, ſet out for *Alexandria* with a handſome equipage. How he was received, and what ſucceſs he met with at the *Egyptian*

[e] Joseph. cont. Apion. l. ii. [f] Id. antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

Egyptian court, we have seen elsewhere *. So that having by his address obtained a the farming of the provinces *Cœle-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judæa*, and *Samaria*, and borrowed a considerable sum of his *Egyptian* friends, he returned to *Jerusalem*, attended with an escort of two thousand men, to assist him in collecting the royal tribute, and to punish those who should refuse to pay it. The *Ascalonites* were the first who felt the severe effects of his authority. They had not only disobeyed his commands, but had even loaded him with bitter invectives, so that, to prevent the infection spreading further, he was forced to make a severe example of them to the rest. He caused twenty of the ring-leaders to be hanged, and confiscated their estates, out of which he sent a thousand talents to the king, with an account of what he had done. He treated the inhabitants of *Scythopolis* after the same manner; and these were the b only ones that ventured to follow those of *Ascalon*; the rest, being all over-awed, did willingly open their gates, and pay their taxes, and *Joseph* at the same time that he remitted them into *Egypt*, did from time to time send some presents to his friends there, to keep up his interest at court. As for the king, he was so pleased with such a considerable augmentation of his revenue, that he continued him in his office two and twenty years, during which time he gained an immense treasure, under the reigns of three *Ptolemies*, namely *Euergetes*, *Philopator*, and *Epiphanes* the son of *Philometor*, who was dispossest of those provinces by *Antiochus the Great*, as we have shewn in a former chapter g. After which, *Epiphanes* having again recovered them by a marriage with *Antiochus*'s daughter, he was again restored to his farms, and enjoyed them c many years after, even, as our *Jewish* historian tells us, to the day of his death. The reader may see what we said on this head in the place above quoted †.

His progeny. *Joseph* by this time had seven sons by one of his wives, and an eighth named *Hyrcan* by his brother *Selinus*'s daughter, whom he had made him marry, instead of a beautiful *Egyptian* dancer. *Joseph*, whilst in *Egypt*, had seen this fair woman at some of the public shows, and was fallen in love with her; he was ashamed to discover his weakness to any but his brother, who promised to procure her to him; but, instead of her, he converted his own daughter into his bed; and when the cheat was discovered, *Selinus* did so well expostulate the matter with him, that he easily convinced him, that he had acted a friendly part in preventing his exposing himself to the d contempt of the *Egyptians*, by marrying such a public actress. *Joseph*, satisfied with his reasons, took his new wife home, and had this *Hyrcan* by her, who proved such a promising youth, that he soon ingrossed his affection from all his other brethren, and the sequel will shew that he was really deserving of it h.

Ptolemy Philopator. In the interim, *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Philopator*, succeeded his father *Euergetes* in *Egypt*, not without strong suspicion of his having dispatched him by poison, as he was indeed profligate enough for such a deed; and *Simon* II. had succeeded his father *Onias* soon after in the high-priesthood at *Jerusalem*. This pontiff was of a quite different spirit from his father; he was a man of great piety and zeal, of singular conduct and courage; all which were put to a severe proof before he had passed the e first year of his pontificate. He was moreover free from that sordidness and avarice which had proved so detrimental to the *Jewish* state during his father's office; for, besides those dangers which his wise nephew had the address to avoid, they had suffered a constant series of evils from the *Samaritans*, ever since these last came to be aware of the baseness of the *Jewish* pontiff. Nothing less indeed could be expected from that exasperated nation, who watched all opportunities to vent their malice, than that they should take the advantage of their weak government to insidiate and oppress them. Accordingly, *Josephus* tells us, there was scarce a year in which they did not make some incursion, ravage the country, and carry away captives, during the whole time of that cowardly priest i. But to return to *Philopator*, we may remember he was like f to have lost *Palestine* by the treachery of *Theodore*, governor of *Phœnicia*, who had rebelled against him, and engaged to put that province, together with those of *Judæa* and *Cœle-Syria*, into *Antiochus*'s hands, who had always looked upon them as dismembered from his own kingdom. The plot having been timely discovered, *Antiochus* openly invaded *Galilee*, took a great many cities on both sides of *Jordan*, particularly *Philoteria*, on the north side of the sea of *Tiberias*, *Bethshan* or *Scythopolis*, on the south, and *Ittabyrium*, strongly situated on mount *Tabor*. From thence he took all the land that had formerly belonged to the two tribes and half on the other

Simon II. high-priest. Year of the flood 2778. Before Christ. 221.

* Vol. III. p. 640, & seq. g Ibid. p. 641, & seq. † Ibid. p. 642, a, b. h Joseph. antiq. l. xii. c. 4. i Id. ibid. c. 3.

a other ſide of *Jordan*; but winter drawing near, he left five thouſand men there under the command of *Hippolochus* and *Cheræas*, two other revolters from *Ptolemy*, to keep the country in awe till the next ſpring. By that time *Ptolemy* came with ſuch a powerful army againſt him, that he defeated him in a ſet battle, and forced him out of thoſe provinces; after which all the cities did readily open their gates to the conqueror, and ſent their embaſſadors to make their ſubmiſſion and preſents to him [k].

THE *Jews*, always attached to the *Egyptians*, were ſome of the forwardeſt to come and congratulate him upon his late ſucceſs. They were kindly received by him, and, among other marks of his favour, he told them, that he deſigned to go to *Jeruſalem*, and offer his ſacrifices to their God. He did ſo accordingly, and, beſides a great b number of victims which he there offered, he made ſome conſiderable preſents to the temple; but this munificence gave them but a ſhort-lived joy, which was ſoon after turned into the deepeſt mourning. The beauty of the temple, and the ſplendid order and decency of its worſhip, did unhappily raiſe in the king a curioſity of ſeeing the inſide; and *Simon* II. who then officiated as high-prieſt, failed not to repreſent to him the ſacredneſs of the place; the entrance of which was by their law forbid not only to ſtrangers, but even to the *Jews* themſelves, who were not of the ſacerdotal order; he even ventured to denounce ſome heavy puniſhment from God, in caſe he preſumed to profane his temple, whilſt the prieſts were humbly ſurrounding him to obſtruct his paſſage, and the people, in the utmoſt conſternation, ſending c up their cries to heaven to avert his deſign. All this oppoſition made that obſtinate monarch more reſolute, and having forced his way through the outward courts, he was going on to enter into the holy place itſelf, when God ſmote him with ſuch a dread and terror of mind, as put a full ſtop to his further progreſs. He was carried out half dead by his attendants, and as ſoon as he was come to himſelf, inſtead of adoreing the powerful hand that had ſmitten him, he breathed out the moſt dreadful threats, not only againſt thoſe who had dared to oppoſe his will, but againſt the whole nation. Soon after which he departed from *Jeruſalem*, full of the deepeſt reſentment, the ſad effects of which he was not long before he made them feel, by one of the dreadfulleſt perſecutions that that unhappy nation had ever ſuffered, but d which was happily ſtopped by the ſingular interpoſition of providence. We have given an account of this wonderful change in a former volume †; and all that we ſhall add here is, that as their conſtancy to their religion had obtained this miraculous deliverance, it drew as heavy a puniſhment on thoſe who through fear had apoſtatiſed from it. *Ptolemy*, now more than ever convinced that the *Jews* were protected by a divine power, and that men, who could be thus faithful to their God, could never turn rebels to their prince (P); among other marks of his favour and high eſteem, did at their earneſt requeſt grant them full power to inflict what puniſhment they thought fit on thoſe few apoſtates, who were ſoon put to death, to the number of three hundred, as a warning to future ages. The *Jews* thus happily de- e livered, erected a ſtately pillar, and inſtituted a feſtival in memory of it, which was obſerved during ſeveral centuries after. This remarkable hiſtory, however, has been omitted by *Joſephus*; he ſays nothing of it in his antiquities, and as for what we find of it in his book againſt *Apion*, beſides that it is only in the *Latin* verſion of *Rufinus*, and not in the original, it is there ſaid to have happened under *Ptolemy Phyſcon*, ſo that the book, out of which this perſecution and deliverance is taken, ſeems to have been unknown to the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian. We ſhall refer the reader to the margin for a further account of the book and its authority (Q).

Philopator profanes the temple.

Puniſhed.

Ptolemy

[k] Id. ibid. c. 4. 3 MACCAB. i. 1, & ſeq. † Vol. III. p. 644, & ſeq.

(P) They gave that prince ſoon after a noble inſtance of this, when he was forced to make war againſt his rebellious *Egyptians*, in which the *Jews* proved ſo faithful to him, that ſixty thouſand of them loſt their lives in one battle (44).

(Q) It is improperly called the third book of the *Maccabees*; for it is prior to the other two in point of time, and to the ſecond book in point of authority. As for the word *Maccabee*, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully in the ſequel, it was uſed by the *Jews* to ſignify thoſe brave heroes, who either ſtood up in defence of, or ſuffer for, their religion; and therefore that name is given to this book, as it contains the hiſtory of that perſecution which the *Jews* ſuffered at *Alexandria*, and were like to have ſuffered in all the dominions of *Philopator*. Who the author of it was, is not there ſaid; but he is ſuppoſed to have been an *Alexandrian Jew*, who has embelliſhed his hiſtory, after the manner of his nation, with ſome enlargements, and couched them in a romantic ſtyle, not very likely to raiſe the credit of it, though the main purport

(44) *Euſeb. Chron. Vid. Uſher. in anno* 3789.

Ptolemy Epiphanes. Year of the World 3795. Before Christ 209.

Ptolemy Philopater died some time after, and left the kingdom to his son, surnamed *Epiphanes*; who, being then but between four and five years old, gave a handle to his two competitors, *Antiochus the Great* and *Philip* of *Macedon*, to join their forces to divest the young monarch of his whole kingdom (R); the former was to invade the provinces *Palestine* and *Phœnicia*, and the latter *Egypt*, and each was to keep all he conquered. On this occasion the *Jews* wonted loyalty failed them, so that they took part with *Antiochus*, who made a quick progress in that province, but was again as quickly deprived of it by *Scopas* the *Egyptian* general, who reduced the *Jews* to their former obedience. This advantage, however, proved but short-lived, and the *Syrian* king soon recovered it all from him; and in this second expedition the *Jews* did do him such signal services, that he resolved to spare no favour to fix them to his interest; for when *Scopas* had only the citadel of *Jerusalem* left, into which he had thrown a strong garison, they received the *Syrian* troops and elephants into that city, and assisted them with all their power, to drive the *Egyptians* out of it, which was soon accomplished by their united strength (S).

Antiochus therefore, willing to gratify the *Jewish* nation for their so freely engaging in his interest against the *Egyptians*, sent a letter to *Ptolemy*, his then general, which has been preserved at length by *Josephus*[1], and in which, having related the great services which that people had done him, he acquaints him, that he designed to restore their

[1] Id. ibid. & seq.

purport of the story be nevertheless acknowledged to be true; for the *Jews* have undergone many such persecutions, and have been sometimes as wonderfully delivered.

The time in which this book was written, is thought to be after the other two of the *Maccabees* and that of the son of *Sirac*, called *Ecclesiasticus* (45). What is related in the beginning, concerning *Theodetus* and *Artisone*, seems taken out of *Polybius*, and therefore is supposed to have been written after this last (46); and yet both authors might have it from more ancient records, so that no sure inference can be made about it.

It was written originally in *Greek*, and is quoted by some ancient fathers (47) as canonical, but disputed by others, and was once received in the same apostolic canon with the other two; but the vulgate version has never admitted it, though the greatest part of the septuagint copies now extant have it, particularly our *Alexandrian* one; but this last not being in use in the western church at the time of the reformation, but the *Latin* only, that is the reason, why our *English* bibles have it not, though it may much better deserve a place in it, than some other apocryphal pieces that are in it.

There is still another book of the same name, commonly known by the name of the fourth book of *Maccabees*. We have often quoted it in the sequel of this chapter, though the author sometimes clashes with *Josephus* and other historians. Archbishop *Usher* quotes likewise sometimes an *Arabic* version of it, which has been printed in Mr. *Le Jay*'s polyglot; the book itself is very much unknown to the *Latin* fathers, and the *Greek* ones, by whom it is mentioned, differed much about its author. The reader may see all that is worth knowing concerning it in *Calmet*'s preface to it, and we shall here own once for all, that it is to him we owe all the following quotations out of that book.

(R) The second year of this young monarch's reign being according to the *Jewish* chronology the three thousand five hundred and sixtieth year of the world, those authors tell us, that *Joshua* the son of *Berachiah* was chosen *Nassi* or *president*, and *Nathan* the *Arbelite*, *Ab-beth-din* or *vice-president*, of the sanhedrin and of the divinity school at *Jerusalem*. They add, that when *Alexander*, the *Asmonean* king of *Judæa*, put the *Jewish* doctors to death, for having dared to rebuke him for taking upon him the high-priesthood, as well as the regal dignity, *Joshua* fled into *Egypt*, and that *Jesus* of *Nazareth* followed him thither, and became his disciple (48).

One may see by this what wretched chronologers the *Jews* are, since that *Jewish* year of the world was many years before that *Asmonean* king, and above two hundred years before the birth of Christ (49).

(S) Our author doth not tell us the reason of this defection; but it is likely, that *Epiphanes*'s minority had encouraged his governors in those provinces to load them with heavy taxes and such-like oppressions, especially *Scopas*, who was of such a rapacious temper, that he stuck at no rapine or cruelty to inrich himself.

On the other hand, *Antiochus* had shewed himself a great friend to the *Jews* that were in the provinces of *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia*, and had granted them such great privileges, as might easily induce those of *Judæa* to prefer his government to that of the *Egyptians*, by which they were now so much oppressed. *Josephus* tells us further, that the *Babylonish Jews* had shewed such an attachment to that prince, and done him such signal services, that he confided the guard of his strongest and most considerable garisons to them, and sent them into several provinces to quell his other seditious subjects. All which, being so many arguments of the great trust he put in them, could not but be highly pleasing to those of *Palestine*.

But, whatever was the cause of this change, the same author tells us, that *Antiochus* no sooner came with his army, than they chearfully surrendered themselves to him; and that, on his appearing before *Jerusalem*, the priests and elders went out in a solemn manner to meet him, and make their submission to him; they then received him into their city, and entertained both him and his army, his horses and elephants, and furnished him with arms and other necessaries for the war (50).

(45) *Grot. Colin. & al.* (46) *Prid. connect. sub an.* 216. (47) *Euseb. Chronic. Theodoret. in Dan.* xi. 7. *Athanas. synops. Nicephor. & al.* (48) *Abr. Zaccut. in Juchasin, David Gantz, in Zemakh. Dav. Shalshel. Haccubai.* (49) *Vid. Prid. ubi supra, an.* 202. *Scalig. de emend. temp. Usser. & al.* (50) *Joseph. ex Polyb. antiq. l.* xii *c.* 3.

a their metropolis to its ancient ſplendor, liberty, and privileges, and to recall all thoſe *Jews* who had been driven out of it: that, out of his ſingular reſpect to the temple of their God, he granted unto them twenty thouſand pieces of ſilver, towards the charges of victims, frankincenſe, wine, and oil; one thouſand four hundred meaſures of fine wheat, and three hundred ſeventy-five meaſures of ſalt, towards their uſual oblations: that the temple ſhould be thoroughly repaired at his own coſt: that they ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion, reſtore the public ſervice of the temple, and the prieſts, levites, ſingers, *&c.* to their uſual functions: that no ſtranger, or *Jew* that was unpurified, ſhould enter within the ſept (T) of that ſacred place: and that no fleſh of unclean beaſts ſhould be brought into *Jeruſalem*, not even their
b ſkins; all theſe under the penalty of paying three thouſand pieces of ſilver into the treaſury of the temple. He further granted an exemption from all taxes for three years to all the diſperſed *Jews* that ſhould come within a limited time to repeople that metropolis: and that all that had been ſold for ſlaves, within his dominion, ſhould be immediately ſet free. By all theſe extraordinary favours, *Antiochus* did ſo faſten the *Jews* in his intereſt, that not only *Judæa*, but all the other neighbouring provinces, readily ſubmitted to him, and that monarch, having in the ſpace of one campaign ſubdued and quieted them, returned to his capital, and paſſed the winter there.

Onias III. *Year of the flood* 2804. *Before Chriſt* 195.

ABOUT three years after this died the high-prieſt *Simon* II. and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Onias* III. a perſon of great piety, clemency [m], and worthy to have lived in
c better times, than thoſe of his pontificate proved, and of a better end than he met with, as the ſequel will ſhew. This is the pontiff, to whom our learned *Uſher* ſuppoſes *Aræus* king of *Lacedæmon* ſent a letter, of which an account has been given in a former volume *; but we have there ſhewn the impoſſibility of his being the perſon, and that it could be no other than *Onias* the firſt of that name. In the eighth year of *Onias* III. the *Jews* loſt their great friend and protector *Antiochus*, who was murdered by the people of *Elymais*, as has been related in a former volume †. They found as kind a one in his ſon *Seleucus* for ſome time. The *Jews* were then in ſuch high eſteem, that ſovereign princes courted their friendſhip, and made magnificent preſents to the temple; and *Seleucus* furniſhed out of his own treaſury all the expences
d of it. *Judæa* enjoyed a profound peace, and their laws were obſerved with great ſtrictneſs under their worthy high-prieſt [n], until a miſunderſtanding, which happened between him and *Simon* a *Benjamite*, brought a ſeries of evils on the *Jewiſh* ſtate.

Onias had then enjoyed the ſacerdotal dignity about ſixteen years; and *Simon* had been made governor of the temple [o]. Perhaps that place was devolved to him from *Joſeph*, the generous ſon of *Tobias* lately mentioned, whoſe ſon he is ſuppoſed to have been; when an uproar happening in the city, cauſed this fatal breach betwixt thoſe two great perſons in the eleventh year of *Seleucus*. The author doth not tell us upon what account this tumult was raiſed. We ſhall give the beſt conjecture we can about it in the margin (V), it being a ſequel of the hiſtory of *Joſeph* and his ſon *Hyrcan*, and in

[m] Antiq. l. xii. c. 4 & 5. EUSEB. Chron. & Chron. Alexand. * Vol. II. p. 624, f, & not.
† Vol. III. p. 544, a. 567, d. [n] 2 MACCAB. iii. 1, & ſeq. [o] Ibid. ver. 4, & ſeq.

(T) This incloſure, which the *Hebrews* called *Chel*, was that which ſeparated the circumciſed from the uncircumciſed, within which therefore it was unlawful for the latter to enter (51).

(V) We have lately taken notice of *Joſeph*'s progeny, and, among others, of his worthy ſon *Hyrcan*. The father being, before this time, grown ſo old, that he could not go down to congratulate the *Egyptian* king in perſon on the birth of his ſon, offered that office to all his other ſeven ſons; none of whom being willing to accept it, *Hyrcan* undertook the journey, having firſt obtained a letter of credit from his father on his *Alexandrian* agent, for what ſums he ſhould want to defray the charges of his commiſſion.

It being then the uſual cuſtom to make thoſe monarchs ſome conſiderable preſents upon ſuch occaſions, *Hyrcan* having drawn one thouſand talents from his father's banker, bought one hundred beautiful youths for the king, and the ſame number of the faireſt damſels for the queen, which were preſented to them, with the addition of a talent which each of them brought in their hands; ſo that this ſingle article amounted to four hundred talents. The reſt he either beſtowed in preſents to the great ones of the court, or ſpent it in making a ſuitable figure during his abode there; ſo that the whole expence of this expedition amounted to two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling; whereas his father ſuppoſed that the one hundredth part of that ſum would have defrayed the whole expence.

If *Hyrcan* therefore, by this uncommon munificence, ſecured to himſelf the favour of the *Egyptian* court, it did no leſs expoſe him to the anger and reſentment of his old father and brethren; inſomuch, that the latter way laid him in his return, with a deſign to murder him; but *Hyrcan*, who had obtained the reverſion of his father's farms, had provided himſelf with ſuch a ſtrong eſcort, that two of his brethren were killed on the ſpot, and the reſt put to flight.

This increaſed ſtill their enmity, eſpecially when, after his father's death, he went to levy the yearly tribute in his ſtead; and this raiſed him ſo many enemies, that he was forced to retire over *Jordan*, where he built himſelf a ſtrong and ſtately palace, which

(51) *Vide int. al. Lightfoot's proſpect of the temple*, c. 17.

in no case foreign to that of the *Jews* we are upon. This contest, whatever it was, a grew to such a height, that *Simon*, finding he could not get the better of the strenuous pontiff, went away to *Apollonius* the son of *Thraseas*, who was then governor of *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine*, the only two provinces the *Romans* had left untaken from *Seleucus* [P], and acquainted him, that there were immense treasures laid up in the temple of *Jerusalem*, which might, at his pleasure, be seized upon for the king's use. The governor sent to inform *Seleucus* (W) of it, who dispatched immediately *Heliodorus* to fetch it away to *Antioch*.

Simon's treachery.

Heliodorus, the better to conceal the purport of his commission, pretended that he was ordered to go and view all the cities of *Cœle-Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and only to take *Jerusalem* in his way; but when he came thither, where he was received by the *Jews* b with singular honours, he acquainted *Onias* with the orders he had received from the king, and made a more particular inquiry after those treasures. The high-priest told him, that there was indeed such a treasure in the temple, tho' nothing so large as he had been informed; that besides those things that had been consecrated to God, the rest had been deposited there by, or for, the widows and orphans for their security, whose property therefore they were; that a considerable sum had been likewise laid up there by *Hyrcan* the son of *Joseph*, a man of great dignity; and that he, being the guardian of this wealth, could never give his consent that it should be alienated from the right owners, to the disgrace of his dignity and of that sacred place, which was reverenced by all the world: but all this not being sufficient to outweigh the positive c orders which *Heliodorus* had received from the king, he marched directly towards the temple. The high-priest and the rest of the ministers of the place did in vain endeavour to obstruct his passage. Whilst the whole city was in the utmost confusion, the gates of the place were ordered to be broken down, and the *Syrians* were just going to enter, when God smote them with such a panic dread, that they fell down half-dead. *Heliodorus* among the rest, who saw a vision of a man on horseback sumptuously dressed, who flew upon him with the utmost speed and fury, and crushed him under his horse's feet, was forthwith carried out almost dead by his men, and continued some days in that condition. At length *Onias*, fearing lest this wonderful d accident should bring the *Jews* under the suspicion of having made some unlawful attempt

Heliodorus *endeavours to force the temple.*

Is punished by God.

P Liv. l. xxxv, & seq. Appian. in Syriac. & al. 2 Maccab. iii. per tot.

which he called *Tyre*, whence he continued to make inroads and depredations on the neighbouring *Arabs* (52).

During this time it is probable he had regained the high priest's favour, by sending into the treasury of the temple two hundred talents of gold and four hundred talents of silver (53), which *Simon*, the supposed eldest son of *Joseph*, seems to have challenged as his own, during *Hyrcan*'s abode on the other side of *Jordan*; but the strenuous *Onias* refusing to deliver it up, because consecrated to the maintenance of widows and orphans (as he himself confessed to *Apollonius*) this refusal might, in all probability, so exasperate the angry *Benjamite*, that he chose to have the whole treasure of that sacred place betrayed to that governor, rather than *Hyrcan* or *Onias* should reap the benefit of what the former had intrusted with the latter

As for *Hyrcan*, he found himself soon after in such danger of being called to a severe account for his depredations, by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who had succeeded *Seleucus Philopator*, that, to avoid the worst, he ran himself upon his own sword (54).

(W) It is plain from this whole story, which is taken from the record book of the *Maccabees* (55), and confirmed by *Josephus* (56), that *Seleucus* had enjoyed *Palestine*, *Cœle-Syria*, and *Phœnicia*, some time before his death; and how his father got these provinces from the king of *Egypt*, we have already seen; but how they reverted to that monarch, after they had been restored to *Ptolemy* upon his marriage with *Cleopatra*, we can no where find.

It is true, *Polybius* seems to intimate, that this restitution was never made to *Ptolemy* (57); but that both *Antiochus* and his son still kept those provinces in their hands after the marriage; and elsewhere he introduces *Antiochus Epiphanes* denying that his grandfather had ever promised to surrender them to *Ptolemy* the king of *Egypt* (58). Hence some have concluded, that they had never returned to the latter, but had been constantly kept by the three former.

But all this seems clearly contradicted by what *Josephus* affirms of *Hyrcan*'s being sent to *Egypt* to congratulate *Ptolemy* on the birth of a son by his queen *Cleopatra*. Shall we then say, that *Joseph* sent this compliment to him, not as to his king, but as to his *quondam* benefactor? But our *Jewish* historian adds, that all the nobility of *Cœle-Syria* flocked thither on the same errand; which plainly intimates, that he was in possession of those provinces.

We must therefore suppose, either that these compliments were paid to *Ptolemy* by the *Jews* and *Cœle-Syrians*, as to the son-in-law of *Antiochus*, to whom those provinces were shortly to devolve in virtue of the marriage; or else, that if they had been really surrendered to him, *Seleucus* took afterwards the advantage of his son *Philopator*'s minority to divest him of them; since it is plain by the history of *Simon*'s applying to *Apollonius*, of *Seleucus* sending *Heliodorus*, and of *Onias* applying himself, not to *Ptolemy*, but to *Seleucus*, for redress, that this last had possessed them some time before his death.

(52) *Joseph. antiq. l.* iv. (53) *Vide* 2 *Maccab.* iii. 11. (54) *Joseph. ubi supra*, c. 5. (55) *Cap.* iii. & iv. (56) *Lib. de Maccab.* c. iv. (57) *Legat.* 72. (58) *Idem*, 80.

a attempt againſt the *Syrian* miniſter, went to the temple, and offered ſome ſacrifices for his recovery; which being obtained, he immediately left *Jeruſalem*, and went to acquaint the king with what had happened to him. *Seleucus*, however, whether he ſuſpected the truth of his relation, or was reſolved at any price to get the *Jewiſh* treaſure, aſked him further, whether he knew any man that was fit to be ſent upon that expedition? *Heliodorus* anſwered, that if the king had any enemy that he would be glad to get rid of, he need but ſend him to rifle that ſacred place, and he would ſee him come back in ſuch a condition, as would convince him, that it was under the protection of ſome divine and irreſiſtible power [q].

When *Simon* found that he had miſſed his aim, he endeavoured to throw all the
b blame upon the good high-prieſt, pretending that he was the perſon who had called *Heliodorus* to *Jeruſalem*; and drew ſuch a party againſt him, that ſeveral perſons were killed on both ſides. At length *Onias*, fearing the conſequences of ſuch an inteſtine faction, eſpecially ſeeing his rival in high favour with *Apollonius* the then governor, went to complain to the king at *Antioch*. He was well received, and *Simon* was thereupon baniſhed [r]; but *Seleucus*, dying ſoon after, was ſucceeded by his ſon *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Epiphanes*, whoſe brutiſh character we have ſeen in a former chapter*, and who ſoon made his ſubjects repent of the joy they had expreſſed at his firſt coming to the crown. The *Jews*, of all others, were not long before they felt the dreadful effects of his fury, more through the ambition of ſome, and the factions and feuds
c which reigned then in that unhappy ſtate, than the cruel temper of this new monarch.

He was ſcarce ſettled on his throne before *Jaſon* (X), the brother of *Onias* the then high-prieſt, taking advantage of the king's penury, his treaſury having been quite exhauſted by the large tribute his predeceſſors had paid to the *Romans*; went to *Antioch*, and procured from him the high-prieſthood at the price of three hundred and fifty talents, and obtained an order that his brother ſhould be ſent to, and confined to dwell at, that metropolis. Without this laſt, there would indeed have been little likelihood of his enjoying his ill-gotten dignity with any ſatisfaction, ſince the very preſence of the depoſed pontiff, ſo highly admired for his ſingular piety, muſt of courſe have revived the reſentment and hatred of the people againſt him, and have
d proved a conſtant check to his authority [s]. *Jaſon* finding how welcome this money was to the young monarch, and being deſirous to leſſen, as much as poſſible, the antipathy which other nations had againſt that of the *Jews*, offered him another ſum of one hundred and fifty talents for the liberty of erecting at *Jeruſalem* a gymnaſium or place of public exerciſes, ſuch as were practiſed in *Greece*; an academy for training up the youth after the *Grecian* manner; and for the liberty of making ſuch *Jews* as he thought fit, free of the city of *Antioch*; all which was readily granted to him. He then ſet out for *Jeruſalem*, and with theſe powers formed ſo ſtrong a party in *Judæa*, as he thought would eaſily overbear that of his rival *Onias*, which was ſtill very ſtrong, eſpecially in *Jeruſalem*. Among thoſe that joined themſelves to this intruder,
e were the malecontent ſons of *Joſeph* lately mentioned, and a number of others, who, through a wanton inconſtancy, were become exceſſively fond of the *Grecian* cuſtoms, and as weary of their own [t]. The freedom of the city of *Antioch*, a very valuable privilege, was another bait, which drew ſtill greater numbers over to him. From this time a general apoſtacy from the *Jewiſh* religion overſpread the greateſt part of the nation; the academies were erected by the uſurping high-prieſt both for their youth and for men grown; and as ſome of theſe exerciſes were to be performed naked, theſe vile apoſtates found means to efface the ſcar of circumciſion, to prevent their being diſtinguiſhed from other nations. The prieſts, as well as the people, from thenceforward neglected the ſervice of the temple, to aſſiſt at theſe new heatheniſh exerciſes;
f and the laws, which the *Jewiſh* nation had obtained for the free exerciſe of their religion and rights, became of none effect, through the baſeneſs of one ſingle renegado, who ſacrificed his religion and country to his ungovernable ambition.

Jaſon *ſupplants his brother* Onias.

As

[q] Ibid. ver. 37, & ſeq. [r] Euseb. in Chronic. * Vol. III. p. 571, & ſeq. [s] 2 Maccab. iv. 7, & ſeq. [t] Vide 1 Maccab. i. 12, & ſeq. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 6.

(X) This wretch was called *Jeſus*; but as he was going to purchaſe the favour of the king and court, at the expence of every thing that ought to have been valuable to an honeſt *Jew*, he began with changing his name into that of *Jaſon*, which he thought more conformable and pleaſing to the *Greeks*, whoſe cuſtoms he was then going to introduce into his nation.

threw the whole city into the deepeſt conſternation, whilſt they all looked upon them as the ſure forerunners of ſome ſad calamity, which they in vain endeavoured, when it was too late, to avert by their prayers from that unhappy land [y]. a

This fatal change was occaſioned by an accident, which ſeemed at firſt of no great conſequence, but proved in a little time the cauſe of all their miſeries. *Antiochus* was then taken up with the conqueſt of *Egypt*, when a falſe rumour was by ſome means ſpread, that he had been killed before *Alexandria*. *Jaſon*, who had been forced to retire into the land of *Ammon* after his depoſition, heard of it, and thought it was a fit opportunity to attempt the recovery of his dignity, and that his nation, tired with the *Syrian* government, and eſpecially with the tyranny of *Menelaus*, would readily receive him again with open arms. To this end he got him a band of about one thouſand reſolute men, at the head of whom he quickly appeared before the walls of *Jeruſalem*, which, by the help of a party which he had within that metropolis, he eaſily entered, and forced his brother to retire into the citadel; after which, minding nothing but his reſentment, he committed the moſt horrid butcheries againſt ſuch of the *Jews* as he ſuſpected to have been of the contrary party. He was, however, ſoon after forced to leave both the city and country, at the news of *Antiochus* coming with a powerful army againſt him (B); for that prince, highly provoked at this rebellion, and eſpecially at the news, that the *Jewiſh* nation had made ſome rejoicings at the report of his death, was actually coming with a great army againſt *Jeruſalem*. The *Jews*, appriſed of his will towards them, ſeem to have made a ſtout reſiſtance, and to have given him no ſmall trouble in forcing his way into their metropolis (C); but the gates being at length forced open to him, perhaps by ſome of his friends from within, he ſpared no cruelty againſt its unhappy inhabitants, inſomuch, that within three days they reckoned no leſs than forty thouſand killed, and as many taken captives, and ſold for ſlaves to the neighbouring nations [z]. b c

Jaſon forces Jeruſalem.

Antiochus takes it by ſtorm.

His cruelty.

His fury did not ſtop here; he cauſed the traitor *Menelaus*, who, by this time, had by ſome means recovered his good graces, to lead him to the temple, which he entered, even to its moſt ſacred receſſes (D), laying his impious hands on all the veſſels that were in it, and cauſed the golden altar of incenſe, the golden table of the ſhewbread, the golden candleſtick, the cenſers, bowls, and other utenſils belonging to that holy place to be ſeized, together with the golden ſhields, crowns, and other ornaments which had been dedicated to it. He cauſed alſo the gold plating that covered the gates and other architecture of the temple, the veil that divided the holy from d

Profanes and plunders the temple.

[y] Ibid. c. v. 2, & ſeq. [z] Ibid. ver. 11 & 14. See before, Vol. III. p. 5, 75, & ſeq.

(B) Our hiſtorian ſays, that he retired at firſt to the *Ammoniteſh* king, where becoming ſoon after ſuſpected by that prince, he was forced to withdraw, and to wander from city to city, being deteſted by all that knew him, as a betrayer of his country, and a monſter of mankind (14).

He came at length into *Egypt*, and finding no ſafety there, he hoped he might at leaſt find it among the *Lacedæmonians*, in virtue of the pretended kindred between their nation and his own; but here he alſo miſſed of his aim, at leaſt it ſeems as if he had not met with any favourable reception, ſince our author adds, that, at his death, his carcaſs was left to rot above ground, being denied even the common ſepulchre that was allowed to other ſtrangers (15).

(C) So ſays the book of the *Maccabees* (16), with whom agrees *Diodorus Siculus* (17), and even *Joſephus*, in his wars of the *Jews* (18), where he expreſly ſays, that he laid ſiege to that city, and repreſents him as inraged at the trouble it gave him; but in his antiquities he tells us, that he entered it without force; and that thoſe of his party within did open the gates to him (19). The former is indeed the moſt probable, and *Joſephus* might eaſily forget himſelf through the diſtance of time in which he wrote thoſe two books; and this may in ſome meaſure atone for ſuch-like inconſiſtencies which are to be met with in him.

(D) *D. Siculus*, in the place laſt quoted out of him, tells, upon ſome *Heatheniſh* report, that *Antiochus* being entered into the moſt ſacred part of the temple, where the high-prieſt alone was to be admitted, he there found the ſtatue of a man carved in ſtone, with a long beard, holding a book in his hand, and mounted upon an aſs; and ſuppoſing it to have been the ſtatue of *Moſes*, the *Jewiſh* lawgiver and founder of *Jeruſalem*, he took it into his head to deſtroy the mutual hatred between the *Jews* and the reſt of the world, by deſtroying of their law.

To this end he cauſed a large ſow to be ſacrificed on the altar of burnt-offerings to that law-giver, ſprinkled the porch and the ſacred books with the blood of it, cauſed the high-prieſt and others to eat of the fleſh, and put out the lamp which burnt night and day in the temple. All which *Joſephus* has ſufficiently confuted (20), from *Polybius*, *N. Damaſcen*, and other authors, better acquainted with the *Jewiſh* religion than this *Sicilian*. Only he adds, that *Antiochus*, not contented with rifling the temple of all its riches, cauſed it to be polluted, by ſacrificing ſome ſwine upon its altar, and ſprinkling the broth of them upon the *Jews* (21); but this circumſtance, if true, has been omitted by the authors of the two books of the *Maccabees*.

(14) 2 *Maccab.* v. 5, 6, & *ſeq.* (15) *Ibid ver.* 10. (16) *l.* 2. *c.* v. 11. (17) *cap.* xxxiv.
(18) *l.* i. *c.* 1. (19) *l.* xii. *c.* 7. (20) *Cont. Apion. l.* ii. (21) *Antiq*, *l.* xiii. *c.* 16.

a from the moſt holy place, and, in a word, all that was valuable, either for its metal or workmanſhip, to be carried off, beſides one thouſand eight hundred talents of gold and ſilver, which he forced out of the treaſury. Having thus glutted his revenge and avarice, he returned in ſuch a kind of triumph to *Antioch*, as if he had had it now in his power, to uſe our author's words, to make the land navigable, and the ſea paſſable on foot [a]. As a further mark of his ſpleen againſt that unhappy nation, he put it under the government of one *Philip*, a moſt barbarous *Phrygian*, and *Samaria* under that of *Andronicus*, a perſon of the ſame brutiſh diſpoſition, and left the apoſtate *Menelaus*, the moſt hateful of all the three, in poſſeſſion of the high-prieſthood [b].

WHAT the *Jewiſh* nation ſuffered under thoſe governors, or rather butchers, is
b more eaſily imagined than deſcribed; but their miſeries were not to end there. Some time after *Antiochus* having received the mortifying letter from the *Roman* ſenate we have elſewhere taken notice of †, he choſe them above all other people to wreck his reſentment againſt, and with as much cruelty, as if they had been the cauſe of his diſgrace. To this end he diſpatched from his army, as he was marching through *Judæa*, *Apollonius*, at the head of twenty-two thouſand men, with orders to plunder all the cities of *Judæa*, to murder all the men, and to ſave only the women and children for ſale. *Apollonius* came accordingly with his army (E), and, to outward appearance, with a peaceable intention, which was not ſuſpected by the *Jews*, becauſe he was ſuperintendant of the tribute in *Paleſtine*. He kept himſelf quiet till the next ſabbath, when they were all in a profound quiet, when on a ſudden he commanded his men to arms,
c ſome of whom he ſent to cut all in pieces that were gone to the temple and to the other ſynagogues, whilſt the reſt, going through the ſtreets of the city, maſſacred all that came in their way, which they did without the leaſt reſiſtance from thoſe unhappy wretches, who ſuffered themſelves to be butchered in that mercileſs manner, rather than break their ſabbath by ſtanding on their defence. He next ordered the city to be plundered, and then ſet it on fire, pulled down all their ſtately fabrics, cauſed the walls to be demoliſhed, and carried away captive about ten thouſand of thoſe that had been ſaved from the ſlaughter [c]. From that time the ſervice of the temple was quite abandoned, that place having been every-where polluted, both with the blood of the ſlain, and with many other defilements. From the ruins of the city the officers of *Antiochus* built a large fortreſs on an eminence in the city of *David* *, fortified it
d with a ſtrong wall, ſtately towers, and placed a gariſon in it to command the temple, over-againſt which it was built; ſo that the ſoldiers could eaſily ſee and ſally upon all thoſe that ventured to come to that ſacred place, ſo many of whom were continually plundered and murdered by them, that the reſt, not daring to ſtay longer in *Jeruſalem*, went and dwelt in the neighbouring cities of the *Gentiles*. In this polluted and forſaken condition did this metropolis and its temple continue three full years and a half; that is, till *Judas Maccabeus*, having wreſted both out of their hands, did purify and reſtore them to their ancient ſplendor and uſe, as we ſhall ſee in due time [d] (F).

[a] MACCAB, ibid. ver. 21. [b] Ibid. ver. 24. † Vol. III. p. 570, & ſeq. [c] 1 MACCAB. i, 30, & ſeq. 2 MACCAB. v. 24, & ſeq. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7. * See the draught at, p. 57. [d] Vide 1 MACCAB. iv. paſſ. 2 MACCAB. x. JOSEPH. ubi ſupra, & præfat. in bell. Judaic. & hiſtor. de bell. l. i. c. 1. l. vi. c. 11.

(E) *Joſephus* ſeems to have counfounded this ſlaughter with that which was made by *Antiochus* two years before, by making him preſent at this alſo (22); but it appears from the author of the *Maccabees*, who rightly diſtinguiſhes theſe two proſecutions, that the one was executed in the preſence of that monarch, and the other by his vicegerent *Apollonius*.

(F) In the time of this proſecution under *Antiochus*, is generally ſuppoſed to have lived *Jeſus* the ſon of *Syrac*, author of the apocryphal book of *Eccleſiaſticus*. Some place him indeed in the time of *Onias* II. (23); but by ſome paſſages ſcattered here and there in his work, he ſeems rather to have lived about the time of *Onias* III. and at a time when his nation ſuffered ſome grievous perſecution †. He praiſes the high-prieſt *Simon* II. as a perſon long ſince dead (24). His grandſon did afterwards tranſlate this book into *Greek*, under the reign of *Ptolemy Euergetes* (25), about the year 132, that is, about thirty-ſix years after this time we ſuppoſe him to have wrote it.

Who this author was, is neither agreed nor eaſily gueſſed. Some make him of the ſacerdotal line, as deſcended from *Joſhua* the ſon of *Joſedech* (26). Some *Greek* copies give him for grandfather *Eleaſar*

(22) *l.* xii. *c.* 7. (23) *Vide Prid. Connect. ſub ann.* 132. † *Vide Ecclus* xxxv. 17, *& ſeq. &* xxvi. *paſſ.* (24) *Ibid. l.* 1, *& ſeq.* (25) *See his preface at the head of the book, which is the ſecond in our bibles.* (26) *Vide Genebr. in Chronic. & al.*

Jews perſecuted every where.

The *Jews* of *Paleſtine* were not the only ones who felt the fury of this perſecution. *Antiochus*, reſolved either totally to aboliſh their religion, or to deſtroy their whole race, as far at leaſt as he could reach them, cauſed a decree to be iſſued out the following year, that all nations within his dominions ſhould forſake their old religion and gods, and worſhip thoſe of the king, under the ſevereſt penalties. To make his orders more effectual, he ſent overſeers into every province to ſee them ſtrictly put in execution; and as the *Jews* were the only people who he knew would diſobey them, ſo eſpecial directions were given to have them treated with the utmoſt ſeverity. Many therefore of them, either to avoid the effects of his rage, or to ingratiate themſelves to him, did not only comply with great readineſs, but, having once apoſtatiſed, became the bittereſt enemies of thoſe who had the courage to refuſe; all which did but increaſe the already too general defection, as it did on the other hand the ſufferings of thoſe who ſtood firm to their religion [e]. As for the *Samaritans*, a much leſs danger would have cooled all their zeal, either from the *Jewiſh* nation, or the *Moſaic* law. To convince the king therefore, that they did not deſign to die martyrs to either, they ſent a deputation to him, ſetting forth, that tho' they had hitherto conformed in many of the *Jewiſh* ſuperſtitions, in imitation of their forefathers, who had been perſuaded to it for their own ſafety, yet they were now ready to forſake them all, and to embrace the king's religion. They added, that they had a temple on mount *Garizzim*, which was dedicated to a God without a name (G); but begged it might thenceforth be dedicated to the *Grecian Jupiter*, as *Joſephus* has it, or rather, as the author of the *Maccabees* calls him [f], *the hoſpitaller*, or, *the receiver* or *protector of ſtrangers*, intimating thereby, that they were not originally natives of that country, but ſtrangers ſettled there in times paſt. They concluded with a petition, that as they were not of *Jewiſh*, but *Sidonian*, race, and were ready to conform in every thing to the king's will, they might not be involved in the ſame calamities with their wicked rivals. *Antiochus* readily granted them their requeſt, and diſpatched a letter to *Nicanor* his ſub-governor there, with orders, that they ſhould be diſtinguiſhed from the *Jews*, and that their temple ſhould be dedicated according to their petition; all which was punctually obſerved.

Samaritans *policy.*

A cruel perſecution in Judæa.

Whilst the *Samaritans* peacefully enjoyed the fruits of their treacherous complaiſance, *Atheneas*, an old miniſter, well verſed in all the *Heatheniſh* rites, as well as in cruelty, made thoſe of *Judæa* undergo the moſt ſevere puniſhments for their ſtedfaſtneſs to their religion. He began with dedicating the temple to *Jupiter Olympius*, and cauſing his ſtatue to be erected on the altar of burnt-offerings (H), with another

[e] Joseph. ubi ſupra. 1 Maccab. vi. 21, & ſeq. [f] 2 Maccab. vi. 1, 2. Vide & Joseph. antiq. l. xii. c. 7.

far the father of *Syrac* of *Jeruſalem*; but we find nothing like this pretended prieſthood or deſcent in thoſe places of the book where he ſpeaks more particularly of himſelf (27). Only it appears, that his great thirſt after wiſdom (28) made him pray fervently, ſtudy hard, travel much, and undergo many great dangers for it (29); that he had been unjuſtly traduced to the king (30); whence he is ſuppoſed to have retired into *Egypt*, and there compoſed his book. Laſtly he tells us, that he was the laſt writer of the *Jewiſh* nation who treated of moral ſubjects (31). This is all that we know of the author.

As to the work, which was anciently called Παναρετος, that is, according to the *Greek* energy, *the ſtore* or *treaſure of all virtues*, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of it, when we come to the time of its being tranſlated into *Greek*. Some ancients, particularly St *Auſtin*, (32), thought once the ſame perſon the author of the book of *Wiſdom*, as well as of this of *Eccleſiaſticus*, but he owns his miſtake in another place. And as to the latter of theſe, it is not known who wrote it, only it is generally believed, that it was never wrote originally in *Hebrew*, becauſe there are none of thoſe *Hebraiſms* in it, which are every-where found in other verſions out of that language; and there are in it many *Greek* ones, which convince one, that it was originally written in that language. This might be ſufficient to confute thoſe who pretend it to have been originally written in *Hebrew*, and by king *Solomon* (33); but, beſides this, we may urge againſt them the unlikeneſs of ſtyle with his other writings; its never being mentioned by *Jewiſh* authors; its being rejected out of their canon, and many more too obvious to be mentioned.

(G) We have, in a former volume (†), acquainted our readers, that the *Jews*, after their return from the *Babiloniſh* captivity, had left off pronouncing the name *Jehovah*, and ſubſtituted that of *Adonai* to it, where-ever it occurred in their reading of the ſacred books. As therefore the temple was ſimply called the houſe or temple of God, and oftner emphatically the houſe or temple, without adding any proper name, the *Samaritans* made this a pretence for calling theirs the temple of a nameleſs deity, as the ſuperſtitious *Jews* called that name of God, Ανεκφωνητον, *unutterable*, or *unlawful to be uttered*.

(H) This idol was ſet up in the temple on the fifteenth of the month *Ciſleu*, which anſwers to part of our *November* and *December*; but they did not begin

(27) *Vide int. al. Eccluſ.* c. i. 29. l. 27, & *ſeq.* li. *paſſ.* & *alib.* (28) *Ibid*, xxxiv. 11, & *ſeq.* li. *paſſ.* (29) xxxiv. 12. li. *paſſ.* (30) *Ibid.* & *ſeq.* (31) xxxiii. *ib.* & *ſeq.* (32) *De doctrin. Chriſt.* l. ii. (33) *Sext. Sen. bibl.* l. viii. *Sulzer. chr. a Caſtro*, & *al.* (†) *Vol. I. p.* 484 (T).

a another leſſer altar before it, whereon they ſacrificed to that falſe deity. All thoſe therefore that refuſed to come and worſhip it, were either maſſacred out of hand, or put to ſome more lingering torments, till they either complied, or died under the hand of their butchers. At the ſame time there were altars, groves, and ſtatues ſet up in every city and town of *Judæa*, to which the inhabitants were compelled to come and ſacrifice, under the ſame ſevere penalties; inſomuch, that the whole land was but a ſcene, either of the moſt abominable idolatries and debaucheries, or of the moſt horrid butcheries; and when the feaſt of *Bacchus* was come, they were either forced to aſſiſt at it, and to go about the ſtreets with their heads crowned with ivy, in honour of that beaſtly deity, or expoſed themſelves to ſome cruel death. All this
b while it was made immediate death to be caught obſerving either the ſabbath, the rite of circumciſion, or any other branch of the *Moſaic* law; inſomuch, that two women having been found to have circumciſed the children of which they had been lately delivered, were both led, with the infants hung about their necks, through ſeveral ſtreets of *Jeruſalem*, and caſt headlong down from the higheſt walls of the city, and all that had aſſiſted at the ceremony were put to death [g].

These unheard-of barbarities having obliged many of the *Jews* to leave their habitations, and to go and hide themſelves among the cragged rocks in holes and caverns, and to live upon wild roots and herbs, to avoid either death or apoſtacy, ſome of them ventured to aſſemble themſelves in a cavern near *Jeruſalem*, to celebrate the ſabbath.
c But *Philip*, their barbarous *Phrygian* governor, having been informed of it, came againſt them with a ſufficient force; and after having, in vain, offered them a general amneſty, if they would forſake their religion, and conform to that of the king, he waited, without any other hoſtilities, till the next ſabbath; on which day entering the cave without reſiſtance, he cauſed them all, men, women and children, to be maſſacred, to the number of a thouſand [h]. As to the ſacred *Jewiſh* books, *Philip* and his officers had taken care to burn and deſtroy all that they could lay hands on, whether in the temple, in their ſynagogues, or even in their private houſes; after which, if any *Jew* was found to conceal any of them, he was dragged to immediate death [i]. They had ſeveral other ways of trying thoſe who retained ſtill a due regard
d to the law of *Moſes*; and in order to make as many as they could comply with the king's command, they ſpared neither flatteries nor careſſes to encourage, nor threats and tortures to deter, them; ſo that, though vaſt numbers were ſeduced by theſe means, yet there were ſtill a ſufficient number, eſpecially in and about *Jeruſalem*, who continued proof againſt them, to vex the tyrant for not being univerſally obeyed.

As ſoon, therefore, as he heard, that there were ſuch numbers who remained ſtill inflexible, he reſolved to come in perſon to *Jeruſalem*, and to ſee either his orders more

[g] Maccab. & Joseph. ubi ſupra. [h] 2 Maccab. vi. 10, & ſeq. [i] 1 Maccab. i. 56, & ſeq.

begin to offer ſacrifices to it till the twenty-fifth of that month, which was the king's birth-day; ſo that from thenceforth they continued ſacrificing to it every twenty-fifth day of the month, till the *Jewiſh* religion and ſtate were reſtored by *Judas Maccabeus*.

The profanation of the temple, and the ſetting up this idol in it, had been long before foretold by the prophet *Daniel* (34), under the name of *abomination of deſolation*; but there are in that chapter many other ſtrokes, which do plainly delineate this perſecution, and the tyrant that cauſed it. We ſhall content ourſelves with ſubjoining ſome of the plaineſt of them.

This expedition begins at the 29th verſe of that chapter thus; *He ſhall return at the time appointed, and come towards the ſouth* (Egypt); *but it ſhall not be as the former or as the latter, for the ſhips of* Chittim (*the* Romans) *ſhall come againſt him; therefore he ſhall be grieved, and return with indignation* (*or turn his indignation*) *againſt the holy covenant* (*the* Jewiſh *religion*). *Thus ſhall he do, he ſhall get intelligence of thoſe that forſake the covenant. Arms ſhall ſtand on his ſide, and he ſhall pollute the ſanctuary of ſtrength, and ſhall take away the daily ſacrifice, and they ſhall place the abomination* (*or abominable thing*) *that maketh deſolate; and ſuch as do wickedly againſt the covenant, ſhall he corrupt by flatteries. But the people that know their God ſhall behave valiantly, and ſuch as have underſtanding, and inſtruct the people,* (*divert them from apoſtatiſing*) *ſhall fall by the ſword, by flame, by captivity, by ſpoil.—And the king ſhall do according to his will, and ſhall exalt and magnify himſelf above every god. He ſhall ſpeak wonderful things againſt the God of gods, and ſhall proſper till the indignation be accompliſhed; for that which is determined ſhall be done,* &c. The ſame prophet points him out there by his ſcattering the prey, ſpoil, and riches among his followers; and it is well known, that his extravagant largeſſes had not only emptied his coffers, but gained him the title of *magnanimous* and *munificent*.

The reader may remember, that whilſt *Antiochus* was preparing himſelf for the conqueſt of *Egypt*, the *Romans* ſent their deputies to him, who obliged him to ſet aſide that enterptize; for which he vented his reſentment on the innocent *Jews* in the manner we have related, and exactly as it had been foretold in the prophecy before us; ſo that it is impoſſible not to know that he was the perſon deſigned by providence to be the ſcourge of his people.

(34) *cap.* xi. 31.

more punctually obeyed, or the recusants punished with the most exquisite cruelties. a
Eleazar *martyred.* One of the first that fell a victim to his fury was the venerable *Eleazar*, a man of ninety years of age, respected by all for his great learning, probity, and zeal for his religion, and whose example had preserved a great number of *Jews* from falling into apostacy. Him they brought upon the butchering stage, and endeavoured to force him to eat swines flesh; and when they could not prevail upon him by any means to comply, they desired him, that at least he would, out of regard to his extreme old age, consent to eat some other unforbidden flesh, that they might make the king believe that he had obeyed. The good old man answered with a becoming courage, that the most dreadful death was preferable to such a base dissimulation, so unworthy his old age and character, and so dangerous in its consequence, since it might be a means of b
seducing many of his nation to follow his example. As soon as he had ended this speech, which was interpreted as the effect of his pride rather than of his zeal, he was haled to execution; and when he was ready to expire under the strokes of his butchers, he gave a great groan, and expired with these words in his mouth, *O Lord, thou knowest what pains I suffer in my body, from which I might have freed myself; but my soul feels a real joy, because I suffer them for the sake of thy law* [k]. After him the
Seven brethren and their mother martyred. seven brethren, whose martyrdom is related in the same book [l], suffered, one after another, the most exquisite torments with invincible courage and constancy, whilst their heroic mother, divested of all the weakness of her sex, stood by encouraging and strengthening them in the *Hebrew* tongue, with the assurance of a glorious recom- c
pence in the next life, for which she was, last of all, sacrificed to the tyrant's fury, and died with the same chearfulness and intrepidity, which she had inspired into her seven sons (I).

It was about this time that *Mattathias*, an eminent priest of the family of *Joarib* (K), began to signalize himself by his brave zeal for his religion. He had been some time before forced to retire to *Modin* his native place, to shun the sight of those scenes of cruelty and profaneness, which were acted at *Jerusalem* by *Apollonius* and the apostate *Jews*. During his recess there, *Apelles*, one of the king's officers, came to oblige the inhabitants of the place to execute his commands [m]. Having got the people together, with *Mattathias* and his five sons (L), he addressed himself to him d
on account of his dignity and the great esteem he was in, hoping, that if he could persuade him to comply, his example would soon draw all the rest. He made him in vain the amplest promises, that the king's favour and protection, both of him and his

[k] 2 Maccab. vi. 18, & seq. [l] cap. vii. [m] Joseph. Ant. l. xii. c. 8. 1 Maccab. ii. 1. & seq.

(I) *Josephus* has likewise given us the history at large of those heroic martyrs, in a book by itself, which was intitled, *Of the empire of reason*. It is now better known to us by that of the book of the *Maccabees*; but as neither he, nor the author of the second book of that name, do expresly mention the place where this dreadful scene was acted, *Rufinus* has taken it into his head, that it was done at *Antioch* (35), because they shewed their tomb in that city in St. *Jerom*'s time, and had there built and dedicated a church to them (36). But as *Josephus* seems to believe that it was done at *Jerusalem* (37), and is followed by many learned men, and *Rufinus* gives no better reason than that of his tradition, we see no reason for following him, as some others have done (38); it being more likely that *Jerusalem* should be the place, where, above all others, the *Jews* shewed the greatest firmness for their religion, and consequently where such severe examples were thought most necessary by that exasperated prince.

Josephus, in the book above-quoted, gives us the names of those seven brothers, and of their mother, whom he calls *Solomona*; but the *Jews* call her *Hannah*. He adds, that she flung herself into a large fire which was there kindled, to prevent the executioners laying their profane hands on her. The *Latin* version says, that she was dragged on the ground to execution, where having cut off her breasts, and scourged her naked body, they flung her into a boiling caldron. *Rufinus* is of the same opinion (39).

The *Arabic* version and *Josephus Ben-Gorion*, on the contrary say, that having lived to see her seven sons martyred, and lying dead on the ground before her, she flung herself in the midst of them, and prayed to God to take her out of this world; and that she immediately fell upon them, and expired. An ancient poet makes her die of excess of joy, in these words: *Solverunt gaudia matrem* (40).

(K) We have already spoken of this family, which was the first of the twenty-four classes appointed by *David* to officiate at the temple (41), and was one of the four that returned from the captivity. *Mattathias* was the son of *John*, the son of *Simon*, the son of *Asmoneus*, from whom descended the *Asmoneans* (42). From this *Mattathias* descended the *Maccabees*, so famed in history for their zeal and bravery, and of whom we shall speak in the following section.

(L) These were *Johanan*, surnamed *Kaddis*, *Simon*, surnamed *Thassi*, *Judas*, called *Maccabeus*, and the most famous of all the rest, *Eleazar*, surnamed *Avarani*, and *Jonathan*, surnamed *Apphus* (43).

(35) *Paraphr. in lib. de imper. ration.* (36) *Vide Hieron. loc. Hebr. sub voce* Modin, *& August. serm. de Maccab.* i. (37) *Antiq. l.* xii. *c.* 7. *& lib. de imper. ration.* (38) *N. de Lyra, Serrar. Calmet.* (39) *Paraph. in lib. de imper. ration.* (40) *Victorin. African. poem. in Maccab.* (41) 1 *Chron.* xxiv. 7. (42) *Joseph. antiq. l.* xii. *c.* 8. (43) 1 *Maccab.* ii. 15, *&* 28

a his ſons, would be the immediate reward of his compliance. *Mattathias* anſwered him, with a voice loud enough to be heard by all the aſſembly, that though the whole *Jewiſh* nation, and the whole world, were to conform to the king's edict, yet both he and his ſons would continue faithful to their God to the laſt minute of their lives, and that no conſideration ſhould prevail on them to forſake the religion of their forefathers. In the mean time ſome of the king's officers had prevailed on ſome cowardly *Jews* to take another way; and one of them was juſt then offering himſelf to ſacrifice to an idol, when the good old prieſt calling to mind what the law of *Moſes* ordains againſt ſuch tranſgreſſors, that they ſhould be put to immediate death [n], fell upon the man, and killed him upon the ſpot. His ſons at the ſame time, being fired with
b the ſame zeal, killed the king's officer and his men, overthrew the altar and idol, and running about the city, cried out, that thoſe who were zealous for the law of God ſhould follow them; by which means they ſaw themſelves at the head of a numerous troop, with whom they ſoon after withdrew into ſome of the deſarts of *Judæa*. Theſe were preſently followed by great numbers of others, who, to avoid perſecution, flocked to him from other parts of the country [o]; ſo that the deſarts of *Judæa* were filled every-where with them.

As ſoon as *Mattathias* and his men were come into a place of ſafety, they ſet themſelves on conſulting the beſt means for ſtanding on their defence. Here the remembrance of thoſe of their brethren, who had ſuffered themſelves to be butchered by
c their enemies on the ſabbath, ſoon made them ſenſible of their danger, unleſs they ſteered a different courſe; for as long as they continued in that ſcrupulous notion of nonreſiſtance for fear of breaking the ſabbath, they would be ſtill liable to the ſame ſtratagems, and by that means, in a little time, be totally extirpated. Having, therefore, maturely weighed the matter, and conſulted other learned prieſts and rulers that were come over to him, it was reſolved, that, for the future, it ſhould be lawful, nay obligatory, to take up arms in their own defence, whenever they were attacked, on the ſabbath as well as on any other day [p]. This decree, having been privately communicated to the *Jews* in and out of *Paleſtine*, together with their reaſons for paſſing it, was univerſally received by all; and from that time they made no
d difficulty to defend their lives and properties, at all times, and upon all occaſions. Among thoſe who reſorted to, and did not a little ſtrengthen, the little flying army of *Mattathias*, were the *Aſſideans*, or rather *Haſſideans*, a brave and ſtrenuous ſect, formed among the *Jews* ſoon after their return from the captivity. We have already given ſome account of them in a former volume †; the reſt the curious reader may find in the margin (M). Theſe being known to be the moſt ſtrict obſervers of the *Jewiſh* laws and traditions [q], their example did very much influence the reſt in the late deciſion, and encourage them to ſet aſide their ſcruples about the ſabbath, whenever the ſafety of their lives came in competition with the obſervance of it.

The Aſſideans join Mattathias.

Mattathias having by this time ſtrengthened his little army with theſe and other
e ſtout and religious men, who daily reſorted to him, began to come down with them into the plains, and to try his force not only againſt their perſecutors, but alſo againſt his apoſtate brethren. As many of theſe as he caught, he put to death; the reſt, in much

Mattathias reſtores the worſhip of God.

[n] Deuter. xiii. 6, & ſeq. [o] Joseph. 1 Maccab. ubi ſupra. [p] Idem ibid. † Vol. I. p. 732, (N). [q] 1 Maccab. ii. 42.

(M) We have already ſeen what their doctrine was concerning *meum* and *tuum* *. They differed likewiſe from the *Zaddikim* their oppoſite ſect, in that theſe contented themſelves with obſerving all that was written in the *Moſaic* law, without troubling themſelves with the traditions, comments, and conſtitutions of the elders; whereas the *Aſſideans* inſiſted upon a ſtrict obſervance of all.

Scaliger ſuppoſes them, not without ſome good reaſons (44), to have been rather a fraternity than a ſect of *Jews*, who had given themſelves up more ſtrictly than the reſt to the ſervice of the temple, to the keeping up the repairs of that place, and the divine worſhip in it. To this end, beſides the half ſhekel which every man was to pay towards it, they contributed other voluntary ſums. They likewiſe ſacrificed every day, except that of the grand expiation †, a lamb, beſides thoſe of the daily ſacrifice; and this was called the ſin-offering of the *Aſſideans*. They practiſed greater hardſhips and mortifications than the reſt, and their common oath was, *by the temple*. To their zeal and love for that ſacred place, now polluted and profaned, was owing their coming to *Mattathias*, and that courage which they ſhewed from thenceforth under him and his brave offſpring; for the book of the *Maccabees* expreſly ſays, that they were mighty men of *Iſrael*, and wholly devoted to the law. Whether the ſect of the *Eſſenians*, or any other, ſprang from the *Aſſideans*, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in another place.

* *Vol.* I. *p.* 732. (44) *Elench. Tribæreſ. c.* 22. † *De hoc, vide Vol.* I. *p.* 615, *& ſeq.*

much greater numbers, he forced to fly into foreign countries, to secure themselves a from his resentment. Having once injected an universal fear on all his enemies, he marched from city to city, overturned the idolatrous altars, opened the *Jewish* synagogues, which had, till then, been either shut, or appropriated to other uses; made a diligent search after all the sacred books which had escaped the fury of their enemies, and ordered fresh copies to be written of them; caused the reading and expounding of the scriptures, prayers, and other parts of divine worship to be resumed (N), and all the males born since the persecution to be circumcised [r]. In all these God blessed him with such success, that he had extended this reformation through a considerable part of *Judæa*, within the short space of one year; and had, in all likelihood, gone through with it, even to *Jerusalem*, where the strongest *Syrian* garison was kept, had b he not been prevented with death. But what he left unfinished, was soon after perfected by his worthy sons, especially by *Judas Maccabeus*, of whom we shall speak more fully in the next section.

His last speech to his sons.

In the mean time *Mattathias*, finding himself quite worn out with age and sickness, called his sons together, and spoke to them to this effect, Hitherto pride and oppression have been suffered to prosper over us, for a punishment of our sins; but now be ye valiant and zealous for God's laws, and fear not to expose your lives in defence of God's covenant with your forefathers, if you expect the reward promised to it. Call to your remembrance the obedience of *Abraham*, the faithfulness of *Joseph*, the zeal of *Phineas*, *Caleb*'s courage, *David*'s constancy, *Elijah*'s zeal, and the intrepidity of c *Daniel* and his faithful companions. Let their miraculous deliverances inspire you with a sure trust in the Almighty's protection. Be not discouraged by the threats and weak efforts of the greatest men, who, though they seem to triumph now, will shortly be cut off, and become the food of worms; but arm yourselves with courage in defence of our laws, liberties, and religion, and you will not fail of success. *Simon*, your eldest brother, has always shewed himself a man of consummate wisdom; let him supply the office of a father and a counsellor, and do nothing without his advice. *Judas* is well known to you all for his valour and conduct; let him be your general, and lead you against your enemies. And may heaven crown his and your valour with glory and success. Having thus said, he expired in a good old age, and was d buried at *Modin* with his ancestors, greatly lamented by all the faithful in *Israel* [s] (O). He was, according to his desire, succeeded by his brave son *Judas* in the command of the army; and by him the *Jewish* religion and state were soon after restored to their antient splendor, as we shall see in the next section.

His death. Year of the flood 2833. Before Christ 166.

[r] 1 Maccab. ii. 43, & seq. [s] Ibid, ver. 49. ad fin.

(N) We have already taken notice, that the king's prohibition extended only to the five books of *Moses*; which had therefore been taken away from them, and been either burnt and destroyed, or polluted with blood, swine's broth, idolatrous pictures, and other such defilements, which rendered them unfit for future service, and to which therefore he substituted new ones, which he caused to be transcribed from the best copies.

But this had not obstructed the lecture of other sacred books, *the Prophets* and *Hagiographa*, amongst those who had persisted in the exercise of their religion, and who then substituted these to the pentateuch; so that when the public worship came to be restored, and the law to be again read and expounded as formerly, they still retained also the reading and explaining of the other books; and this occasioned double lessons, one out of the law, and the other out of the prophets, *&c.* which continued ever after; and for the understanding of which, new *targums* or paraphrases in the *Chaldee* were compiled by proper persons, as we have elsewhere hinted in this chapter *.

(O) The first book of *Maccabees* doth barely tell us, that he died in the one hundred and forty-sixth year, without mentioning whether of his life, or of the æra of the *Seleucidæ*. Some therefore have taken it in the former sense; but the far greater part in the latter; for the one hundred and forty-sixth year of the kingdom of the *Greeks* falls exactly with the *Julian* year 166 before Christ, which is the year in which he died (45).

His deciding the point about the necessity of takeing arms on the sabbath has made several learned men, both *Jews* and *Christians*, fancy, that he had been high-priest of the *Jews* (46); but it is plain he did not determine the case by his own authority, but by the advice of such learned men as were with him; neither doth the book of *Maccabees* or *Josephus* say any thing of this imaginary dignity. It appears on the contrary, that *Menelaus* was still alive, and in credit at the court of *Antiochus*, and was succeeded by his brother *Alcimus*, of whom we shall speak in the sequel.

* *Supra*, p. 14 (Z). (45) *Vide Usser. & Prid. sub ann.* (46) *Joseph-ben-Gorion. Aben. Ezra, & al. Serrar. Fuller. Genebr. & al.*

SECT.

SECT. III.

The sequel of the Jewish *history, from* Judas Maccabeus, *to the conquest of* Judæa *by the* Romans.

2 JUDAS, surnamed *Maccabeus*, from whom the heroes of this epocha had the name of *Maccabees* (P), did not suffer his troops to continue longer idle, than till they had ended the days of his father's mourning. His little army amounted to no more

JudasMaccabeus *succeeds his father*

(P) There are various conjectures concerning the etymology of this word, and not one of them to be depended upon; not only becauſe nothing is more uncertain than etymologies, but becauſe, the book of the *Maccabees* being only extant in *Greek*, we have no certainty which were the original letters of the word; ſo that ſome have taken the middle letter to have been a ח, others a כ, others the ק, according to which the ſenſe of the verb will vary exceedingly.

It might indeed appear at firſt ſight, that the *Maccabees* were ſo called from the *Hebrew* מחבה, *Mucchabeh*, or *Mecchubeh*, *hid*, as a term of contempt, becauſe they hid themſelves in holes and caverns; and that having afterwards wiped off the reproach of it by their bravery, they retained ſtill that appellative in memory of their former abſconſion, or from the word *Makkabah*, which ſignifies *a cavern*; and ſo they might be called *caverners*, or *lurkers in caverns*.

Others derive it from the verbs *macab to wound*, from *nakab to perforate*, from *hakab to ſupplant*; all which they do, by ſome ſeeming analogy, apply either to thoſe *Jewiſh* heroes who fought, or to thoſe who ſuffered martyrdom, for their religion, whether in *Judæa* or out of it. *Rufinus* above-mentioned tells us indeed, that the eldeſt of the ſeven brethren, who ſuffered under *Antiochus*, was called *Maccabeus*; and that all the reſt, who fought or ſuffered for the ſame cauſe with him, were called *Maccabei*; but he gives us no authority for it but his own.

The moſt general opinion is, that it was taken from the four initial letters מ.כ.ב.י of the 11th verſe of the 15th of *Exodus*, *Mi camoca baelim Jehovah, Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the Gods?* which four letters are ſuppoſed to have been embroidered upon their ſtandards and ſhields, in the manner of the *Romans S. P. Q. R.* That the *Jews* were afterwards fond of theſe abbreviations, appears from thoſe of the treble or quadruple names of their learned *Rabbies*; ſuch is that of RAMBAM for *Rabbi Moſes Ben Maimon*; RALBAG for *Rabbi Levi Ben Gerſhom*, and many more (1); but whether or no theſe kind of abbreviatures were ſo ancient as the *Maccabees*, it ſeems plain from the text, that *Judas* had that ſurname long before he diſplayed his ſtandards againſt his enemies (2); not by anticipation, but in the ſame manner as his other brethren had each his different one, of which it would ſtill be more difficult to find the cauſe or meaning.

However that be, *Judas* the *Jewiſh* chief ſeems to have bore it by way of eminence; and from him it paſſed to his brethren and ſucceſſors, and thence to all who took up arms, or died, for the *Jewiſh* cauſe; and laſtly, it was given to the books which contain the hiſtory of thoſe wars and perſecutions, and of which it will be therefore neceſſary to give our readers a ſhort account, before we cloſe this note.

The firſt book of the *Maccabees* was written originally either in *Hebrew* or the *Chaldee*, which became the current language of the *Jews* after the captivity. Its ſtyle and phraſe come neareſt that of the ſacred hiſtorians of any of the *Apocrypha*, and its chronological computation is purely *Hebrew*, and begins always at the month *Niſan*, anſwering to our *March* and *April*; whereas the *Syrians*, &c. began their year ſix months later. St. *Jerom* tells us, that he had ſeen it in the former (3); and *Origen* tells us, that it was intitled *Sharbit Sar Bene El*, or, *the ſceptre of the prince of the ſons of God* (4); or, according to others (who read *Sarbene* in one word, and with the *ſamech* inſtead of the *ſhin*) *the ſceptre of the rebels againſt the Lord*, intimating, that the *Maccabees* had maintained the divine ſceptre or power, againſt thoſe who had rebelled againſt it; but the original has been long ſince loſt, and the *Greek* verſion is now reckoned the moſt authentic.

It contains a clear and ſuccinct hiſtory of what happened to the *Jews*, from the reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, to the death of the high-prieſt *Simon* (5); that is, of about forty years. It was partly compiled from the memoirs which *Judas Maccabeus* had cauſed to be collected (6), and partly from thoſe of the high-prieſt *Hyrcanus* the ſon of *Simon*, who began his government where the book ends, and who is therefore by ſome ſuppoſed to be the author of it, though he be barely quoted in it as having furniſhed him the materials out of his chronicle (7), and ſeems therefore to have lived after him.

Theodotion is generally ſuppoſed to have tranſlated this book into *Greek*; but it being quoted by ſome fathers as ancient as that writer, ſeems to argue this verſion to be of older date. It is, however, from this that our *Engliſh* verſion was made.

The ſecond book of the *Maccabees* is, as we have obſerved in another ſection, an epitome of a larger hiſtory written by one *Jaſon*, but long ſince loſt. Both the author and the abridger ſeem to have been *Helleniſts*, by their manner of computation and ſtyle; or rather it looks like a collection of ſome valuable pieces relating to the *Jewiſh* hiſtory, from the attempt of *Heliodorus* upon the treaſury of the temple, to the ſignal victory which *Judas Maccabeus* gained over *Nicanor* fifteen years after.

It begins with two letters from the ſanhedrin at *Jeruſalem*, one to the *Jews* of *Alexandria*, the other to thoſe in *Egypt*, to notify to them the purification of the temple and dedication of the new altar, inſtead of that which had been polluted with the idol of *Jupiter*, and to exhort them to join in the celebration of the feſtival of it on the twenty-fifth of the month *Ciſleu*. But both theſe letters are eſteemed even more apocryphal than the reſt of the hiſtory, and therefore neither of them need be longer dwelt upon.

We have already ſpoken of the third book of the *Maccabees*, as previous in time to theſe two, and in authority to the latter of them. We ſhall likewiſe refer the reader to what we ſubjoined in that note concerning the fourth book of that name.

(1) *De his, vide Wolf. biblioth. Rabbin. & Buxtorf. tract. de abbreviatur.* (2) *Vide* 1 *Maccab.* ii. 4. (3) *Prolog. galeat.* (4) *Apud Euſeb. hiſt. eccleſ. l.* vi. *c. ult. & Comm. in Pſalm. Vol.* I. *edit. Huetian.* (5) *Vide* 1 *Maccab cap ult. ver.* 11, *& ſeq.* (6) 2 *Maccab.* ii. 14. (7) 1 *Maccab.* xvi. *ver ult.*

more than ſix thouſand men [a]; but what they wanted in number, they made up in a
zeal and bravery, and God gave them ſuch ſucceſs, that they quickly got into ſome
of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of *Judæa*, fell upon their enemies ſo ſuddenly, and with
ſuch courage, that they drove them out of their cities, villages, and advantagious
poſts; inſomuch, that *Judas*'s name began to become terrible to the *Syrians*, *Sama-*
ritans, and apoſtate *Jews*, whilſt thoſe who had forſook their country to avoid perſe-
cution, were encouraged to reſort daily to him from their retreats, whereby his troops
increaſed to ſuch a degree as to make *Apollonius*, the then governor of *Judæa* and *Samaria*,
think it high time to ſuppreſs their growing power, before it was grown to a greater
height. He haſtened therefore to raiſe a conſiderable army, which chiefly conſiſted
of *Samaritans*, *Jewiſh* renegadoes, and other neighbouring nations, with whom he b
marched againſt the *Maccabean* chief. *Judas*, on the other hand, in no ways terri-
fied with the ſuperiority of the enemy, came out againſt him with his handful of
men, and gave him a total defeat. *Apollonius* was killed on the ſpot, with a great
number of his men. The reſt were put to the rout, leaving a rich plunder behind
them. Among the reſt of the ſpoil, *Judas* took the ſlain governor's ſword, and uſed
it ever after in thoſe wars which he waged againſt the enemies of the *Jewiſh* nation [b].

This defeat ſo enraged *Antiochus*, that, upon his hearing the firſt news of it, he
ſwore again the total extirpation of the *Jews*; and happy was it for them that his
treaſury was then ſo exhauſted, by his extravagant largeſſes, that he was forced to
ſuppreſs his reſentment, till he could raiſe a ſufficient ſupply of money to renew the c
war againſt them; but before he could accompliſh this, another of his generals,
Second *Book* received likewiſe a ſignal overthrow. This was *Seron*, deputy-governor of *Cœle-*
Syria under *Ptolemy Macron*, who took it into his head to come againſt *Judas*, in
hopes, that if he could defeat that little army of his before the king ſent more forces
thither, he ſhould gain no ſmall glory by it. He advanced therefore with his troops
as far as *Bethoron*, where *Judas* met him with a handful of his men. Theſe, ſeeing
the ſuperiority of the enemy, expreſſed a great reluctancy to engage, fatigued as they
were with marching and faſting (Q); but *Judas* ſoon diſpelled their fears, by remind-
ing them, that they fought the cauſe of God, who was not wont to ſave by ſtrength
or number, and whoſe glory, now concerned in their ſucceſs, would diſplay itſelf the d
more, by the diſproportion there was between their two armies. Having thus put
new life into them, they fell upon the *Syrians* with ſuch vigour, that *Seron* was over-
thrown and killed, with eight hundred of his men, on the ſpot. Some of the reſt fled
as far as *Bethoron*, and the greateſt part ſaved themſelves by running into the land of
the *Philiſtines* [d]. Theſe continued ſucceſſes of the new *Jewiſh* general made *Philip*,
governor of *Judæa*, think it high time to acquaint *Antiochus* with the danger that pro-
vince was in of being loſt, if not ſpeedily relieved. *Antiochus* had then left the go-
vernment to *Lyſias*, whilſt himſelf was gone beyond the *Euphrates*, as we have ſeen
elſewhere *. *Lyſias*, who had orders to invade *Judæa*, and to deſtroy all the *Jews*,
diſpatched immediately to *Ptolemy Macron*, governor of *Cœle-Syria* and *Phœnicia*, e
Nicanor *and* Georgias *ſent* *againſt* Judas. and to *Nicanor* and *Georgias*, two experienced officers, forty thouſand foot, with orders
to ſee the king's commands punctually obeyed againſt the *Jewiſh* nation. Theſe
came and encamped on the plains of *Emmaus*, not far from *Jeruſalem*, about twenty
miles from *Lydda*, where they were reinforced with ſeven thouſand horſe. *Nicanor*,
who had reſolved to raiſe, if poſſible, the ſum of two thouſand talents, which the king
his maſter did owe to the *Romans*, cauſed proclamation to be made in all the cities and
ſea-ports round about, that he would ſell his *Jewiſh* captives at the rate of ninety for
a talent; and this brought a great concourſe of merchants, who came with large
ſums of money to purchaſe thoſe captives. Our author reckons no leſs than a thou-
ſand

[a] 2 Maccab. viii. 1. [b] 1 Maccab. iii. 10, & ſeq. Joseph. ubi ſupra. [c] Maccab. iii. 13
[d] Ibid. ver. 14, & ſeq. * See before, Vol. III. p. 582, ad 587.

(Q) It was, it ſeems, this *Hebrew* general's method to keep a faſt before they engaged the enemy (9); and here, their march, faſt, and onſet ſo cloſely followed, that his men began to deſpond of the victory, when they ſaw the ſuperiority of *Seron*'s army to theirs.

As for *Bethoron*, is was, according to St. *Jerom* and *Euſebius*, about twelve thouſand paces from *Jeruſalem* (10); but, according to *Joſephus*, one hundred ſtades (11). It was ſituate northward of *Jeruſalem*, and between that metropolis and *Shechem* (12).

(9) 1 *Maccab.* iii. 17, & *ſeq.* (10) *Loc. Hebr.* (11) *Conf. antiq. l.* xx. *c.* 4. & *bell. Judaic. c.* 11. (12) *Hieron. ubi ſupra.*

land of them, beſides a great number of ſervants, who brought chains and other materials to convey them away [e].

Judas, being thorougly appriſed of this bloody apparatus againſt his nation, gathered his little army together, conſiſting only of ſix thouſand men, and reminded them, not only of his late ſignal victories, but of thoſe which had been formerly gained in a more miraculous manner againſt *Senacherib* and other powerful enemies of the *Jews*; and particularly of a recent one, which ſix thouſand of their nation had gained over an army of one hundred and twenty thouſand *Gauls* and *Macedonians* [f]. However, concluded he, remember, that, let the ſucceſs be what it will, it is ſtill more glorious to die ſword in hand, in defence of our religion, lives, and liberties, b than to fall into the hands of an enemy fully determined on our utter deſtruction. After this exhortation, he was obliged, by the *Moſaic* law, to make a proclamation, that all who had married wives, planted vineyards, *&c.* or whoſe hearts failed, ſhould depart [g]; and this carried off near one half of his men, whilſt the reſt, who remained intrepid, were ſcarcely furniſhed with weapons fit for ſo bold and unequal an enterprize [h]. However, he led his three thouſand men to *Mizpa* (R), there to implore the divine aſſiſtance, by prayer, faſting, and ſacrifices, in confidence of which he marched with them againſt the enemy, and encamped as near them as he ſafely could, reſolved to give them battle early on the next morning, of which he gave his troops notice that very night [i]. In the mean time news was brought to him by ſome of his c ſcouts, that *Georgias* was coming, at the head of five thouſand of his choiceſt men and one thouſand horſe, to ſurpriſe him in his camp; which gave him ſuch an opportunity of countermining him, as gained him a complete and eaſy victory; for, taking the advantage of *Georgias*'s abſence, he and his three thouſand men fell on a ſudden on the *Syrian* army, killed three thouſand of their men, and put the reſt to flight, and into ſuch confuſion, that they could not be rallied again by any means, but left their camp, and all their baggage and ſpoil behind them, and fled. *Georgias*, having in vain ſought for his enemy, whom he ſuppoſed to have retired again into the mountains, was returning back to his army, when he perceived his camp on fire, which threw his men into ſuch a panic, that, in ſpight of all he could do to prevent it, they d threw down their arms and ran after the reſt. *Judas* did not leave off purſuing them, till he had killed ſix thouſand more of their men, beſides a great number of maimed and wounded; after which he led his victorious troop to plunder the enemies camp, where, among other rich ſpoil, they found that money which the greedy merchants had brought to buy the *Jewiſh* captives with. This ſignal victory was gained on the *Friday*, and the next day, being their ſabbath, was celebrated with ſuitable returns to the divine providence for their miraculous deliverance [k].

Judas's ſpeech to his men.

Defeats the Syrians.

THIS defeat proved doubly advantagious to the conqueror. It furniſhed him with quantities of arms and ammunition for his men, and his fame drew daily freſh reinforcements from all parts of *Judæa*, whom his ſucceſs encouraged to repair to him e from all the places of their diſperſion; ſo that he found himſelf ſoon after in a condition to attempt another action, which proved no leſs glorious and ſucceſsful to him. *Timotheus*, governor of the country beyond *Jordan*, and *Bacchides*, another experienced officer of the *Syrian* army, had joined their forces, and were coming againſt him, with a deſign to retrieve their late defeat; but *Judas* was by this time ſo well reinforced, that he met and overthrew them in a ſet battle, killed twenty thouſand of their men, inriched himſelf with their ſpoil, got a new ſupply of proviſions for his men, and took preſently after ſeveral ſtrong fortreſſes from the diſheartened *Syrians*, which

[e] 1 MACCAB. iii. 41. 2 MACC. viii. 34. JOSEPH. l. xii. c. 11. [f] 2 MACCAB. viii. 19, & ſeq. [g] Vide DEUT. xx. 5. [h] 1 MACCAB. iv. 6. [i] Ibid. iii. 57, & ſeq. [k] Ibid. cap. iv. paſſ. JOSEPH. ubi ſupra. 2 MACCAB. viii. 24, & ſeq.

(R) This place, which is famous in the Old Teſtament upon many accounts, and where the *Jews* uſed to aſſemble themſelves to worſhip before the temple was built (13), was now made choice of upon this occaſion, the temple being then polluted, and kept by a *Syrian* gariſon.

Here they faſted in ſackcloth and aſhes, whilſt *Eleazar*, *Judas*'s brother, read and expounded to them ſome proper portions out of the ſcriptures. The *Nazarites* likewiſe, who ſhould have performed the concluſion of their vows at the temple †, aſſembled themſelves with the prieſts in their robes; and, at the cloſe of their faſt and prayers, the prieſtly trumpets gave a ſignal, as a ſure omen of their future victory; and the *Maccabean* chief gave for the watch-word, *the help of God* (14).

(13) *Vide int. al.* 1 *Sam.* vii. 5, *& ſeq.* † *De his, vide Vol.* I. *p.* 632. (14) 1 *Maccab.* iii. 46, *& ſeq.* 2 *Maccab.* viii. 23, *& ſeq.*

which he garifoned with fome of his troops, and depofited in them the arms which they had taken from the enemy. In the diftribution of all the fpoil *Judas*'s generofity outwent what was even prefcribed by the *Mofaic* law, which intitled none to fhare it with the combatants, but thofe who were left to take care of the baggage †; but he caufed a confiderable part to be divided among his indigent brethren, fo that the old, decrepit, the fick and lame, the widows and the fatherlefs, were made partakers of the fruits of his victories. In this battle was killed one of *Timotheus*'s chief officers, named *Philarchus*, who had been a bitter enemy to the *Jews*; and whilft they were making their rejoicings for their fuccefs, news were brought, that *Califthenes*, the man who had firft fet fire to the gates of the temple, had concealed himfelf in a little houfe not far from them; upon which *Judas* difpatched a detachment, who went and fet it on fire, and burnt him in it, as a juft retaliation for his facrilege [l]. As for *Nicanor*, he faved indeed his life, but loft his honour, being forced to retreat to *Antioch* in the difguife of a fervant, and there excufe his late difgrace, by owning, that the *Jews*, when under the protection of their God, were invincible [m].

Divides the fpoil.

Califthenes burnt.

Nicanor's fhameful flight

WHEN *Lyfias* heard the news of the total defeat of the army he had fent into *Judæa*, he made all the hafte he could to put himfelf at the head of fixty thoufand foot and five thoufand horfe, all of the choiceft troops he could get; and entering *Judæa* with them through the territories of *Idumea*, was met at *Bethzura* (S) by the *Maccabitifh* general, at the head of only ten thoufand men. The two armies engaged, and *Judas*, though fo much inferior to the *Syrians*, fell upon them with fuch courage, that he immediately killed five thoufand of them on the fpot, and routed the reft; and *Lyfias*, obferving that the *Jews* fought like men determined either to conquer or die, dared not venture a fecond engagement with the remainder of his fcared army; but returned to *Antioch*, with a defign to bring a much greater force againft them by the return of the year (T) [n].

Lyfias defeated in Judæa. Year of the World 3834. Before Chrift 165

BUT

† Vide NUMB. xxxi. 25, & feq. 1 SAM. xxx. 24. ver. 35, & feq. 1 MACCAB. & JOSEPH. ubi fupra.

[l] 2 MACCAB. viii. 30, & feq.

[m] Ibid.

[n] 1 MACCAB. iv. 30, & feq.

(S) This was a very important fortrefs about that time. It was in the tribe of *Judah* (15), and had formerly been fortified by king *Rehoboam* (16), it being one of the keys of *Judæa* on the fouth-fide of *Idumea* (17). The fecond book of the *Maccabees* places it at five furlongs diftance from *Jerufalem* (18); but this muft be a miftake either of the tranflator or tranfcriber, it being, according to *Eufebius*, full twenty miles from it, on the road to *Hebron* (19).

It is likely, that this was one of the fortreffes which *Judas* had retaken from the *Syrians*, and which *Lyfias* came now to befiege; but was defeated in the attempt by the *Jewifh* chief, who came immediately from *Bethoron* to its relief.

(T) This is one of the moft fignal victories that ever *Judas* yet gained againft the *Syrians*, and at the fame time the moft difficult to be accounted for, from the imperfect relation which the *Jewifh* authors give us of it. That which he gained againft thofe two experienced generals, *Nicanor* and *Georgias*, was owing to a furprize, the *Syrian* army being attacked in the night, and in the abfence of one of their generals, whilft the other, depending on his ftratagem, did lie in profound fecurity. In that which he gained over *Timotheus* and *Bacchides*, he killed twenty thoufand of their men before they gave ground; neither is it faid of either of thefe two actions, whether *Judas* attacked the two commanders jointly or feparately; fo that if we may guefs, from his character, it is more likely he fell upon them both, before they had joined their forces.

But in this, *Lyfias* comes at the head of fixty thoufand choice foot and ten thoufand horfe, fets down before *Bethzura*, is attacked by only ten thoufand men, and has fcarcely five thoufand of his own killed, a fmall number out of feventy thoufand; before he is routed, and fo difheatened, as to leave the province and retire to *Antioch*. Our authors do not tell us in what order either fide difpofed their troops; but from what we have formerly mentioned of the *Jewifh* way of fighting †, and even by what we can gather from that of the *Maccabees*, who feem to have ftill followed the old way, the method was, (whenever their army was too fmall to make a front equal to that of the enemy) to divide their troops into four or five bodies of a confiderable depth, and fo fall on the enemy at proportionable diftances.

As for the *Syrians*, we may reafonably fuppofe, that they did, like other nations, fpead their phalanges according to the number of their troops, and cover at leaft their two wings with their cavalry; and in this laft refpect *Lyfias* had vaftly the advantage, as well as in number, fince we find not any where that the *Maccabees* made ufe of any cavalry; for, if they had, it is hardly to be fuppofed their hiftorians would have omitted mentioning it, as well as that of the enemy.

Let us therefore fuppofe ever fo great a fuperiority in the *Jewifh* army, either in point of courage and experience, knowledge of the ground, advantage of fituation, or the like, it will ftill appear next to a miracle, that feventy thoufand choice men of horfe and foot fhould be routed and broken, upon the death of five thoufand of their men, and by fo fmall a number as ten thoufand, (fuppofe none of thefe were either killed or wounded) fo as not to be rallied again by their old experienced officers; but that they fhould, one and all, be flung into fuch conflernation, as to quit both the field and the country to fo inferior an enemy.

If therefore the *Jewifh* authors have not exaggerated the number of their enemies, we may very well fuppofe they have their character; and by their defeat,

(15) *Vide Jofh.* xv. 58. (16) 2 *Chron.* ii. 7. (17) 1 *Maccab.* iv. 61. 2 *Maccab.* xiii. 19. (18) *Chap.* xi. 5. (19) *Loc. Hebr.* † *Vol.* I. *p.* 550. *d.*

a BUT all these successes seemed still too small to our *Jewish* general, whilst the sanctuary continued polluted with abominable idols, the temple garisoned by idolaters, and the city a ruined heap. As soon therefore as their enemies were gone out of the province, *Judas* marched with his army to the metropolis, fully purposed to recover and purify it, and was as chearfully followed by them. Upon their coming to mount *Sion*, and seeing the desolation in which it did lie, the houses, palaces, and gates of the temple burnt down, the courts of the sanctuary over-run with shrubs and briars, the priestly apartments demolished, the altar and holy places profaned and stripped of all their ancient splendor, they rent their cloaths, covered their heads with dust, and filled the air with cries and other tokens of the livelicst sorrow. As soon as *Judas* b observed these first emotions a little assuaged, he posted some of his braveſt troops to guard all the avenues of the city from surprize, and then appointed such of the priestly order, as had best signalized themselves for their zeal and sanctity, to enter into the temple, and see it thoroughly rid of all its profane lumber, whilst the rest of the people were busy in clearing the streets and places of all their rubbish. Whatever old materials they found, that had undergone any defilement, they broke in pieces, and carried them out of the city, and buried them in some common place, especially the altar of burnt-offerings, which had been so notoriously profaned, that no part of it was fit for future use; and which was therefore demolished, and carried off, and another of unhewn stones [o] substituted to it (V). There were still many things wanting c before the divine service could be resumed; the altar of perfumes, the table of shew-bread, the seven-branch candlestick, censers, and other sacred utensils, all of the purest gold, had been carried off, as well as the rich veil which covered the holy of holies: all these therefore the *Jewish* chief caused to be made anew out of the spoils of their enemies; and all being set up in their respective places, and the holy and most holy place repaired, they began the divine worship, with the dedication of the new altar, and other holy utensils, on the twenty-fifth day of the month *Cisleu*, it being the very same day on which it had ceased by the profanation of the temple three years before, and in the second year of *Judas*'s government.

Comes and purifies the city and temple.

THIS ceremony, which was performed with all imaginable solemnity, was ushered d in with the earliest dawn, by the sound of the trumpets, by raising a fresh fire by the striking of two fire stones; which was no sooner kindled, than they began with offering the lamb for the daily sacrifice, lighting the lamps, burning the usual portion of incense, and all other parts of the divine service, according to the *Mosaic* law; from which time it was never discontinued, till the destruction of the temple by the *Romans*. This festival was kept eight days with great devotion and joy, after which it was ordered to be solemnized every year in the same manner, by the whole nation, under the name of *the feast of the dedications* [p]. During this time the front of the temple was adorned with crowns, garlands, escutcheons, and other ornaments of

[o] Ibid. ver. 43, & seq. 2 MACCAB. x. 6, 7. [p] 1 MACCAB. iv. 58, & seq.

defeat, and their general's so suddenly retiring from *Judæa*, it may be reasonably concluded, that his army, instead of consisting of such choice horse and foot, was only an undisciplined multitude, gathered up in haste, and easily feared at the sight of so brave and resolute an enemy. What confirms this conjecture is, that *Lysias* had much better success the next year, when he came against *Bethzura* with a fresh army, whilst that of *Judas*, as well as his fame, and consequently the courage of his troops, increased by every one of these victories.

(V) It seems there arose no small difficulty among the *Jewish* doctors, about disposing of the materials of this old altar. On the one hand, it had been dedicated to, and had a long time been used in, the service of God; so that they thought it unlawful to apply them to any common uses. On the other hand, the heathens had polluted it in so many ways, by sacrificing unclean beasts upon it to their idols and false deities, that the retaining any part of it would have been deemed to defile all their future offerings. At length a middle expedient was agreed on, that they should be deposited into some convenient cavity of the mountain on which the temple stood, till some prophet arose that could direct them how to dispose better of them (20).

Among the sacred utensils which *Judas* caused to be made, instead of those which *Antiochus* had carried off, we do not read of any ark and mercy-seat to stand in the most holy place; nor is it said by *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, or even by *Josephus*, that ever they made a new one.

The *Talmudists*, after the author of the second book of the *Maccabees*, tell us indeed, that *Jeremiah* caused the old one which *Moses* had made, to be buried in so secret a place a little before the captivity, that it could never be found; and the former add, that it will never be brought forth, till God is reconciled to the people, and has gathered them all under the king Messiah. It is therefore reckoned one of the five things that were wanted in the second temple; but whether they made any thing like it after their return, is more than we dare affirm. We shall see in the sequel, that when the *Romans* plundered the sanctuary, they found it quite empty of all those utensils.

(20) 1 *Maccab.* iv. 44, *& seq.*

of the beſt gold. Every houſe was likewiſe illuminated and adorned; and from a thence it was alſo called *the feaſt of lights* [q] (W). The author of the ſecond book of the *Maccabees* adds [r], that in memory of their having kept the feaſt of the tabernacles whilſt they lurked in their dens and on the mountains, they repaired to the temple on this new feſtival with palms and other curious branches in their hands, and celebrated this wonderful deliverance with pſalms and hymns ſuitable to the occaſion.

And now there remained but one obſtacle more to be removed, namely, the gariſon which *Apollonius* had placed in the fortreſs of *Acra*, on the eminence overagainſt the temple (X), to annoy thoſe that went to and from it; for whilſt that was ſtill kept by heathens and apoſtate *Jews*, it could not but obſtruct their concourſe to that place of worſhip. A ſiege would have taken up too much time, had *Judas* been b furniſhed with men and warlike inſtruments for it; becauſe the place was very ſtrong both by art and nature: and to have blockaded it would have taken up a greater number of men than he could ſpare. There was therefore but one way left, namely, to fortify the mountain of the temple with a high wall and ſtrong towers round about, and to leave a ſtout gariſon to defend it, and hinder that of *Acra* from diſturbing thoſe who reſorted to *Jeruſalem*. At the ſame time *Judas* cauſed ſome additional fortifications to be made to *Bethzura*, it being, as was lately obſerved, an advantagious fortreſs, to obſtruct the entrance from *Idumea* (Y); for which reaſon it had been lately attempted by *Lyſias* [s].

By this time all the neighbouring nations, having heard what had been done at c *Jeruſalem*, were ſo exaſperated againſt the *Jews*, that they reſolved to join their forces to extirpate the whole nation. They began with murdering all thoſe that chanced to live among them, and waited only the coming of *Antiochus* into *Judæa* to aſſiſt them

[q] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11. [r] 2 Maccab. x 6, & ſeq. [s] 1 Maccab. iv. 60, & ſeq.

(W) It was accordingly continued to be celebrated by lighting many candles, ſome at their doors, and ſome in their houſes. Even to this time they light a certain number of large wax-tapers in their ſynagogues during this feſtival; that is, one on the firſt day, two on the ſecond, and ſo on to eight on the laſt day of the feaſt; the occaſion of which, the *Jews* tell us, was, that when they came to light the lamps on the great candleſtick, they could find no holy oil to feed them with, till, after much looking, they found a little veſſel ſealed, which contained juſt as much as would ſerve one day; but, to their ſurprize, burnt eight whole days. On this day they likewiſe celebrated the death of *Holophernes* by *Judith*, tho' they are not all agreed that it happened about this time (21).

It was lawful, however, to work during the feſtival, it being only obſerved by mirth and going to the ſynagogue. The *Jews* call it *hanuca*, which ſignifies *reſtoration*, or *renewing*. One of the evangeliſts call it *encænia* (22), which implies the ſame thing, and adds, that it fell in the winter, about the time of that ſolſtice.

This circumſtance is ſo much the more material, becauſe Chriſt, vouchſafing to aſſiſt at it, tho' appointed only by human authority, ſufficiently proves the lawfulneſs of inſtituting feſtivals in memory of public bleſſings (23).

The *Jews* did indeed celebrate two other dedications, *viz.* that of *Solomon* and that of *Zerubbabel*, which were properly founded on divine authority, becauſe inſtituted by perſons divinely inſpired; but that this, which our Saviour is obſerved to have been preſent at, could be neither of theſe, is plain, becauſe that of *Solomon* was kept in the month *Tiſbri*, which is about our autumn (24); and that of *Zerubbabel* in the month *Adar*, or the laſt month, which falls in the ſpring (25); whereas that of *Judas Maccabeus* was in the winter, which agrees with what the evangeliſt ſays of it in the place above-quoted.

(X) The word Ακρα, *acra*, properly ſignifies an *eminence*, or *fortreſs built on ſome eminent ground, which has the command of the country round about*; and as this of *Acra* ſtood higher than that of *Sion*, it gave that gariſon the advantage of annoying all that paſſed to and from the temple, as was obſerved above.

(Y) It will not be improper here to remind our readers, that this *Idumea* is not the *Idumea* anciently ſo called in the ſacred books of the Old Teſtament, otherwiſe the land of *Edom*, ſituate between the *Dead* and the *Red* ſea, and known ſince by the name of *Arabia Petræa*; concerning which the reader may ſee what has been ſaid in a former volume *.

But this we are now ſpeaking of, was a portion of the inheritance of the tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah*, taken in poſſeſſion by ſome *Idumeans*, during the time of the *Babyloniſh* captivity; who, being driven out of their land by the *Nabatheans*, came and ſettled here, and inlarged their territory from the ſouth part of the lot of *Judah*, as far as *Hebron*, which they made their metropolis, as it had been that of the tribe of *Judah*. Theſe therefore, and not the ancient *Edomites*, are the *Idumeans* we ſhall have often occaſion to mention in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

Now *Bethzura*, lying on the road between *Hebron* and *Jeruſalem*, at about twenty miles from the latter, as we have hinted in a former note, was an important barrier againſt the incurſions of the *Syrian* troops that were in *Idumea*, and did well deſerve all the care that *Judas* beſtowed in the fortifying of it.

(21) *Vide Leo. de Moden. cerem. Jud. par.* 2. *c.* 9. *John.* x. (22) *John* x. 22. (23) *Vide Grot. in* (24) 1 *Kings* viii. 2. 2 *Chron.* v. 3. (25) *Ezra* vi. 15, & *ſeq.* * *See before, Vol.* I. *p.* 316, & *ſeq.* & 568, a, & *note* (E).

them in the utter deſtruction of the *Jews*; but, happily for theſe, *Antiochus*'s death, which happened ſoon after, broke all their meaſures, and freed them from the bloody deſigns which that exaſperated tyrant had ſworn againſt them, when he heard of their ſucceſs againſt his three generals [t]. We have already given an account, both of his preparations and extraordinary death in a former chapter *, and to which nothing needs to be added here. Antiochus's *death.*

THE minority of the young *Antiochus* cauſed ſome alterations in *Paleſtine*, and gave the *Jews* a kind of reſpite, which proved, however, but ſhort-lived. *Ptolemy Macron*, governor of *Cœle-Syria*, who had been an inveterate enemy to the *Jews*, and had made them ſuffer great hardſhips during the laſt reign, was now by ſome
b means become their friend; but he was ſoon after accuſed for it to the king, and deprived of his government by *Lyſias*, who ſucceeded him in it, and came preſently after with a powerful army into *Judæa*. In the interim, *Georgias*, who commanded the *Syrian* forces there, having gathered a freſh body of ſtrangers, was making continual incurſions againſt the *Jews*, whilſt the *Idumæans*, who had joined with him, held the moſt advantagious poſts, and received in them all the renegado *Jews*, in hopes to tire the reſt by prolonging the war. But *Judas*, having gathered his army together, went and attacked them in that part of their territories, which was called *Acrabatene*, and killed no leſs than twenty thouſand of them [u]. From thence he marched againſt the children of *Bean* (Z), who had proved a great thorn in his ſides, and drove them
c into two of their ſtrongeſt towers; and when he underſtood they were furniſhed with every neceſſary thing to hold out a ſiege, he left his three brethren, *Simon*, *Joſeph*, and *Zaccheus*, with a ſufficient force to reduce them, whilſt he led the reſt upon a more important expedition. During the ſiege, ſome of *Simon*'s head officers ſuffered themſelves to be bribed with a ſum of ſeventy thouſand drachms, to let ſome of the beſiegers eſcape. *Judas* being informed of it, ordered thoſe traitors to be tried by the heads of the army, and to be put to death; after which he took the two fortreſſes by aſſault, put both gariſons, which conſiſted of about twenty thouſand, to death, burnt the towers to the ground, and paſt over *Jordan* into the land of the *Ammonites* [w]. Theſe he found likewiſe in a good poſture of defence, having *Timotheus* the *Syrian*
d general at their head, who had gathered a great number of forces out of *Aſia*, and was coming to invade *Judæa*; he had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with the *Ammonites*, before he could come at the *Syrian* commander, defeated and killed great numbers of them; after which he took the city of *Jazar*, put a gariſon in it, and marched back into *Judæa* [x]. Judas *falls on the* Idumæans.

IN the mean time *Timotheus* had not been idle, but had gathered together an army from among all the heathen nations, who were now more than ever exaſperated againſt the *Jews*, reſolved, if poſſible, to wipe off the diſgrace of his former defeat, with the extirpation of that people. To this end, he entered *Judæa* with his new forces. *Judas* did not let him penetrate far, before he met and totally defeated
e him, killed twenty thouſand five hundred of his foot and ſix hundred horſe, and forced him to retreat into the city of *Gazara* (A), which was commanded by his brother *Chereas*. Hither *Judas* purſued and inveſted him, and, having carried the place in five days, ſlew him with his brother and another *Syrian* general named *Apollophanes* [y]. This defeat, though very advantagious to the *Jews*, proved the cauſe of great numbers of their nation being murdered by the heathens, who could not brook the continual ſucceſs of the *Maccabitiſh* general. A thouſand of them were ſacrificed to their fury in the land of *Tob*, and their wives and children carried into captivity; the reſt of their brethren muſt have undergone the ſame fate, had they not timely prevented it, by flying into *Dathema*, a fortreſs in the land of *Gilead*, and there timely provi- *Defeats* Timotheus.
ded

[t] 1 MACCAB. v. 1, & ſeq. 2 MACCAB. x. 1, & ſeq. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xii. c. 14. EUSEB. Chron. * Vol. III. p. 567, & ſeq. [u] Id. ibid. [w] 1 MACCAB. v. 1, ſeq. [x] Ib. ver. 8. [y] 2 MACCAB. x. 31, & ad fin.

(Z) Whether *Bean* was the name of a man, city, or tribe, is not certain; but moſt probably they were a tribe of *Idumeans*, of whom the text ſays, that they were a ſnare and decoy to the *Iſraelites*, and did lie in wait againſt them on the high-ways (26), as they paſſed to and from *Jeruſalem*.

(A) Probably the ſame with *Gadara* and *Gaderoth*, ſituate in the neighbourhood of *Dioſpolis* and *Nicopolis* (27). *Euſebius* places it about five miles northward of the latter (28).

(26) 1 *Maccab.* v. 4, & *ſeq. Conf. cum Gen.* xxxvi. 27. & *Numb.* xxxii. 3. & xxxiii. 31, & *ſeq.*
(27) *Vide Steph. Byzant. ſub Gadara, Reland. Paleſt. l* iii. (28) *Loc. Hebr.*

ded for their own defence [r]. From thence they ſent letters to *Judas*, informing him of their condition, and that *Timotheus*, perhaps the ſon of him that was lately killed at *Gazara*, at the head of the *Tyrians*, *Sidonians*, *Ptolemaidans*, and others, was beſieging them in it. *Judas* had ſcarcely done reading theſe letters, when he received others from other brethren in *Galilee*, who were alſo in the ſame diſtreſs. The general immediately convened a ſanhedrin, in which it was reſolved, that *Judas* and his brother *Jonathan* ſhould go to help the *Gileadites*, with part of his troops, making in all about eight thouſand: that *Simon*, another of his brothers, ſhould go with another part to ſuccour thoſe of *Galilee*; and that *Joſeph* and *Azarias* his other brothers, ſhould ſtay to defend *Jeruſalem* with the reſidue of their troops. To theſe latter *Judas* gave ſtrict charge in no caſe to act offenſively, but to ſtand in their own defence, till his brother *Simon*'s return [a].

Gileadites and Galileans deliver'd.

Upon *Judas*'s paſſing the *Jordan*, he was informed by the *Nabatheans*, with whom he was then at peace, that not only the *Jews* of *Dathema*, but likewiſe thoſe of *Boſſora*, *Caſphon*, *Maked*, *Alema*, *Carnaim*, and other conſiderable cities of the land of *Gilead*, were likewiſe cloſely ſhut up by their enemies, and, if not timely relieved, were deſigned to be all deſtroyed in one day. As there was no time then to be loſt, *Judas* immediately fell on *Boſſora*, took it, and deſtroyed all the males; and, having freed his brethren, ſet fire to the city, and marched directly to *Dathema*. Upon his arrival thither early on the next morning, he found *Timotheus* ready to ſtorm the place; and fell upon him ſo unexpectedly, and with ſuch force, that he put all to the rout; for they no ſooner heard the ſound of their trumpets, and underſtood that *Judas* was at the head of their enemy, than they threw down their arms in the utmoſt confuſion, and betook themſelves to flight. *Judas* purſued them ſome time, and killed about eight thouſand of them; but remembering the condition of his other brethren in the *Gileaditiſh* cities, he marched againſt and took them one after another, made them undergo the ſame fate as he had that of *Boſſora*, loaded himſelf with the richeſt plunder, and returned, with his victorious army and delivered brethren, to *Jeruſalem* [b].

Diſcovered by Judas.

On the other hand, *Simon*, his brother, though inferior in ſtrength, having but three thouſand men, was no leſs ſucceſsful in *Galilee*; he defeated his enemies in ſeveral rencounters, killed about three thouſand of them, and purſued them as far as *Ptolemais*, inriched himſelf with their plunder, and delivered his brethren from their cruel thraldom; but finding it impoſſible with his handful of men to ſecure their longer abode there, by the total reduction of their oppreſſors, he choſe rather to bring them with their families and valuable things to *Jeruſalem*; whence *Judas* ſoon after ſent them to new-people the deſolate cities of *Judæa*, where they might dwell in more ſafety. Whilſt things went on thus ſucceſsfully in *Gilead* and *Galilee*, the two brothers, that were left at *Jeruſalem*, unluckily took it into their heads to ſignalize themſelves alſo by ſome brave exploit on their heathen neighbours, though contrary to *Judas*'s expreſs commands. *Jamnia* appeared to them a fair ſea-port town (B) and worth their conquering, before the return of their victorious brethren. Thither therefore they led their little army, but were unhappily defeated by *Georgias*, who commanded the place, and who ſallied out againſt them, killed about two thouſand of their men, and forced the reſt to return with ſhame and loſs to *Jeruſalem* [c]. This diſgrace, however, did not hinder the fame of their worthy brother's increaſing daily, and his valour being more and more dreaded by their enemies. This gave the *Jewiſh* chief a freſh opportunity of falling upon the *Idumeans*, who, as we have ſeen, had joined with the *Syrians*, and had been in ſome meaſure humbled by them. But as he found them ſtill ſtirring againſt him, he led his forces into the ſouth parts of *Idumea*, laid ſiege to *Hebron* their famous metropolis, took and demoliſhed it, with all the neighbouring towns, and carried off a conſiderable plunder [d]. From thence he entered the territories of the *Philiſtines* and *Samaritans*, injecting terror where-

Simon's ſucceſs in Galilee.

Joſeph's and Azarias's attempt on Jamnia.

Judas's ſucceſs againſt the Idumeans.

[r] 1 MACCAB. v. 1, & ſeq. [a] Ibid. ver. 13, & ſeq. [b] Ibid. v. 22, & ſeq. [c] Ibid. v. 55. & ſeq. [d] Ver. 64, & ſeq.

(B) It was ſituate on the *Mediterranean*, between *Joppa* and *Azotus*, or *Aſhdod*, about two hundred and forty furlongs diſtant from *Jeruſalem* (29). Its name is not to be found in the *Hebrew*, but the ſeptuagint places it after the city of *Ekron*, mentioned in *Joſhua* (30). It is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Jabneh*, which *Uzziah* king of *Judah* is ſaid (31) to have taken from the *Philiſtines*.

(29) 2 *Maccab.* xii. 9. (30) *Cap.* xv. 45. (31) 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 6.

a where-ever he paſt, and diſcouraging thoſe nations at leaſt from acting offenſively againſt him. In this expedition, ſome indiſcreet prieſts, that were in his army, endeavouring to ſignaliſe their valour by ſome exploit againſt the enemy, fell a ſacrifice to their untimely ambition, being all ſlain in the attempt, and by their deaths convinced both him and his army, how dangerous it was to go one ſtep beyond the orders of ſuch an experienced general. *Judas* did not return into *Judæa* till he had taken a tour thro' the land of the *Philiſtines*, and deſtroyed, with their fortreſſes, all their altars, groves, and other inſtruments of idolatry [e].

All theſe repeated ſucceſſes raiſed ſuch a jealouſy and ſhame in the lately defeated *Syrian* governor, that he aſſembled an army of eighty thouſand foot, together with b all the horſe and elephants he could get, and marched with them into *Judæa*, not doubting but ſpeedily to reduce that unhappy kingdom, into as miſerable a condition as *Antiochus* had formerly done. After which his deſign was to extirpate the whole *Jewiſh* nation, and to repeople their land with heathens, and to inrich his maſter and himſelf, both with the richeſt plunder of the land, and with the ſale of the high-prieſthood and other dignities. Fluſhed with theſe great hopes, he marched through the ſouthern territories of *Judah*, probably becauſe the other was too mountainous and craggy for his elephants and cavalry, and laid ſiege to the fortreſs of *Bethzura*. *Judas*, who was then at *Jeruſalem*, having firſt implored the divine bleſſing on his arms, ſet out with his little army to its relief. On the road there appeared to them a c man on horſeback in rich ſhining armour, and ſeemingly brandiſhing his ſpear againſt their enemies. This ſight, whatever it was, gave his men ſuch fluſh of courage, that they fell like lions on the *Syrian* camp, killed eleven thouſand foot, and put the reſt to flight.

Lyſias *invades* Judæa. *Year of the flood* 2836. *Year before Chriſt* 163.

Is defeated.

Lyſias, now more than ever convinced how impoſſible it would be to carry on the war againſt ſuch an enemy, with either honour or advantage, ſent *Judas* ſome overtures of peace [f], with a promiſe that it ſhould be ratified by the king his maſter, and that the young prince ſhould make him all the conceſſions he ſhould with juſtice demand, and conclude an alliance with him. *Judas* accepted the propoſal, and ſent ſoon after *John* and *Abſalom*, two of his captains, with the conditions upon which he d would agree to a peace, to *Lyſias*, who cauſed them to be forthwith conveyed to *Antiochus*. They contained upon the whole a general amneſty for whatever had been done before; a total revocation of the late edict, which obliged the *Jews* to renounce their religion and to conform to that of the *Greeks*; a free exerciſe of their religion and cuſtoms; and ſafe paſſports for commiſſioners to paſs from *Jeruſalem* to *Lyſias*, or, if need required, to *Antioch*. Theſe conditions, advantagious as they were to the hated *Jews*, were readily granted by the king, and two letters were ſent, the one to the governor, and the other to the *Jewiſh* ſenate. *Lyſias* likewiſe wrote to them, as did alſo *Q. Memmius* and *T. Manlius*, two *Roman* embaſſadors to the *Syrian* court. All theſe four letters the reader may find in the chapter laſt quoted [g]; by which it e appears, how ready both the governor and his maſter were to agree to a peace with the victorious *Jews*, and how friendly thoſe two *Romans* had interpoſed their good offices on their behalf (C). It appears alſo by the king's letter, that *Menelaus*, the

Sues for peace.

[e] Maccab. v. 67, 68. [f] Ibid. cap. 11. 1, ad 13. [g] Verſ. 16, to the end.

(C) *Lyſias*'s letter, being dated from the month *Dioſcorinthius*, or, as the *Latin* verſion abridges it, *Dioſcorus*, has very much puzzled the chronologiſts, becauſe there is no ſuch month to be found in the *Syro-Macedonian* calendar, or indeed in any other of thoſe times. Thoſe who ſuppoſe it to have been an intercalar one, placed between thoſe of *Dyſtrus* and *Xanthicus* (32), anſwering in part to our *March* and *April*, have not given us any proof, that either *Syrians*, *Macedonians*, or even *Chaldeans*, had any ſuch intercalary month; and the main reaſon on which they build their ſuppoſition, *viz.* that the ratification of the peace is dated from the month *Xanthicus*, immediately following, doth make rather manifeſtly againſt it.

For *Antioch* and *Jeruſalem* being at leaſt four hundred miles aſunder, it is hardly credible, that theſe articles of peace could have been ſent for, tranſmitted, and ratified in ſo ſhort a ſpace as a month. We muſt therefore either ſuppoſe ſome miſtake in the text, occaſioned by the inadvertency of the tranſcribers, or ſuppoſe, that the king was not then at *Antioch*, but either in *Phœnicia*, or ſome other place nearer *Jeruſalem*; and this latter ſeems indeed the moſt probable, if we conſider, that, according to the king's letter (33), thoſe *Jews*, who were to tranſact this peace and to go from *Jeruſalem* to *Lyſias*'s camp, or as was obſerved above, to the *Syrian* court, had but fifteen days allowed them, *viz.* from the fifteenth to the thirtieth day of *Xanthicus*, which would have been too ſhort a ſpace to have gone to and from the king, and makes it reaſonable to ſuppoſe he was nearer *Judæa*.

(32) *Scalig. de emend. temp. l.* ii. *Uſſer. ſub A. M.* 3841. (33) 2 *Macc.* xi. 30.

the apoſtate high-prieſt, who in all likelihood was then at the *Syrian* court, had alſo laboured to promote this peace, and was deſirous to be included in it, ſince he was ſent back to *Jeruſalem* by *Antiochus*, as his letter terms it, to comfort or confirm the *Jews* [h].

This peace, however, which ſeems to have been obtained from the young king by the ſole intereſt of *Lyſias*, unleſs we join with him the high-prieſt above-mentioned, could not be brooked by the other *Syrian* generals; ſo that, as ſoon as *Lyſias* was retired to *Antioch*, *Timotheus*, *Apollonius* (D), *Hieronymus*, *Demophon*, and *Nicanor* governor of *Cyprus*, began to renew their hoſtilities againſt the *Jews*. The neighbouring nations, whether out of innate hatred againſt them, or by the ſuggeſtion of the *Syrian* officers, were equally forward to infeſt them. Some inſtances of which the b author gives us in thoſe of *Joppa*, who treacherouſly invited, upon ſome pretence, a number of *Jews*, with their wives and children, who lived in the place, on board ſome barges by the ſea ſhore, rowed them further into the deep, and flung them over-board, to the number of about two hundred. This barbarious action was ſoon after heard of at *Jeruſalem*, and *Judas*, juſtly provoked at it, marched againſt thoſe murderers, came upon them in the dead of night, ſet fire to their boats and port, and killed all thoſe that had ſaved themſelves from the flames. He would have done the ſame to the city itſelf, but they had timely ſhut their gates upon him; and when he was reſolving its utter deſtruction, he heard that thoſe of *Jamnia* had hatched the ſame cruel miſchief againſt thoſe *Jews* that lived with them; he turned his arms thitherward, and c came ſuddenly upon them, burnt their ſhips, port, and magazines, inſomuch, that the flames were ſeen from *Jeruſalem*, though, as we hinted before, at near two hundred and forty furlongs, or about thirty miles diſtance [i].

Judas ſtaid not to take a further revenge of thoſe two perfidious towns, becauſe he heard, that *Timotheus*, who had by this time got a freſh army, was entered the land of *Gilead*; but marched directly to their aſſiſtance; he had ſcarce gone nine furlongs, before he was attacked by a band of *Arabian Nomades* (E), in number about five thouſand foot and five hundred horſe. A fierce engagement immediately enſued, in which *Judas* having got the better, forced thoſe free-booters to ſue for peace, and granted it to them the more readily, that his march into *Gilead* might not be ſtopt [k]. d However, he obliged them to furniſh him with a certain number of cattle and proviſions, and extorted a promiſe, that they ſhould aſſiſt him in any thing he ſhould require of them, after which he marched in all haſte to the other ſide of *Jordan* to attack the *Syrian* general. However, he met with ſeveral other obſtacles, and was forced to take ſome places in his way. The firſt of them was *Caſpis*, a city well fenced with high walls, and ſo well provided within, that the inhabitants, truſting to their own ſtrength, threw many ſcornful and blaſphemous ſarcaſms at the *Jewiſh* army; but *Judas* aſſaulted it with ſuch an unexpected bravery, that he made himſelf maſter of it, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword, inſomuch, that a neighbouring lake, about two furlongs broad, was ſeen running with blood [l]. e

Judas *defeats the* Arabians.

From

h Ibid. ver. 32. i 2 Macc. c. xii. 1, & ſeq. ad 9. k Ibid. ad ver. 12. l Ibid. ad ver. 16.

In this caſe *Dioſcorinthius* and *Dioſcorus* may be probably enough either a corruption, or more likely, other names for *Dyſtrus*, immediately preceding *Xanthicus*, or, if the former be derived from Διος κορινθιος, as who ſhould ſay the month *Dius* of the *Corinthians*, becauſe *Dius* among the *Bithynians* anſwered the *Dyſtrus* of the *Syro-Macedonians*, which is not improbable, then the *Dioſcorus* of the *Latin* verſion will be only an abbreviation or corruption of the *Dioſcorinthius* (34).

Theſe letters bear moreover the date of the hundred and forty-eighth year, *viz.* of the *Seleucidæ*, which the learned author laſt-quoted has proved to anſwer to the year before Chriſt 163, and the reſt in proportion accordingly; to which we refer the reader.

(D) Not the general that has been ſpoken of in the former ſection, who was the ſon of *Thyrſeus*, and was killed by *Judas*, but another, who is here called the ſon of *Gennæus* †.

(E) Theſe were a kind of wandering people, living in tents, and ſtaying in a place no longer than it afforded them proviſion for themſelves and cattle. They were the deſcendants of *Iſhmael*, and, according to the angel's prediction of them f (35), their hands were againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt them; for they lived chiefly upon plunder, eſpecially of the caravans, who did therefore go well armed, and whenever they met, they ſeldom gave quarter to one another; and as thoſe plunderers were ſtout, warlike, and well acquainted with the courſe of all thoſe countries, it was no ill policy in the *Jewiſh* chief to ſecure their friendſhip and future ſervices.

(34) *Vid. Prid. ſub an.* 163. † *See Vol.* III. *p.* 597, (I). (35) *Gen.* xvi. 12. *See alſo, Vol.* I. *p.* 426, *note* M.

a FROM thence he marched into the land of *Tob*, where the *Jews*, called from thence *Tubieni*, had ſhut themſelves up in the fortreſs of *Characa* (F); and whence *Timotheus* having in vain tried to diſlodge them, was gone, after having left a good gariſon in a place ſtrongly ſituate within its neighbourhood to keep them in awe. As ſoon therefore as *Judas* found him gone, he ſent two of his generals with a detachment to take that gariſon, whilſt he with the reſt of his army, marched in ſearch of the *Syrian* chief. *Doſitheus* and *Soſipater*, the two *Hebrew* generals, ſoon after forced the gariſon, and put it to the ſword, to the number of ten thouſand. By this time *Timotheus* had got an army of a hundred and twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe; and when he heard that *Judas* was in full march againſt him, he ſent all the

And Timotheus.

b women, children, and other luggage, into *Carnion*, a ſtrong city of *Gilead* and very difficult of acceſs, whilſt himſelf incamped his army in the neighbourhood of *Raphon*, upon the borders of the river *Jabboc*. As ſoon as *Judas* was come near enough for his van-guard to be ſeen by the enemy, they ſeem to have been ſeized with a panic fear, for they made ſuch haſte to fly from him, that they wounded one another with their own weapons in the flight. In this running fight *Timotheus* loſt thirty thouſand of his men, and, unable to rally the reſt, betook himſelf to his heels. Thoſe who eſcaped the ſlaughter, finding themſelves cloſely purſued, fled into *Carnion*, and a great number of them went and took refuge in the temple of *Atargatis* (G). *Judas*, who came cloſe after them, burnt the temple and them in it; then

Takes and burns Carnion.

c ſetting fire to the reſt of the city, they all periſhed likewiſe, either by the flames or by his ſword, to the number of twenty-five thouſand. As for *Timotheus*, he fell in his flight into the hands of *Doſitheus* and *Soſipater*, who were haſting from the land of *Tob* to join their commander. Theſe two captains, however, were perſuaded by him to give him his liberty, upon promiſe that he would do the ſame to a great number of *Jews*, whom he held priſoners, many of whom were very nearly related, either to ſome of thoſe officers or to ſome of their troops there preſent [m]. This victory quite completed the reduction of the land of *Gilead*, and put it out of his enemies power to undertake any thing againſt him there. However, as the cities of *Judæa* were ſtill in great meaſure unpeopled, he choſe rather to follow his brother *Simon*'s

d example, and bring the *Jewiſh Gileadites* to inhabit and fortify them [n].

IN his way to *Judæa*, he was of neceſſity to paſs through *Ephron*, that city being ſo advantagiouſly ſituate, that he could neither turn to the right nor the left hand of it. It was moreover well fortified and peopled by ſtrangers of all nations. He therefore ſent in a peaceable manner to demand a paſſage through it; but they, inſtead of opening their gates to him, did ſhut, and even wall them up, and prepared themſelves for a ſiege. *Judas* therefore cauſed it to be proclaimed through his camp, that every man ſhould ſcale the walls in the place that chanced to be over-againſt him. On the other hand, the city, which had been well gariſoned by *Lyſias*, had placed their choiceſt men on the battlements of it. The aſſault was fierce, and laſted the whole

And Ephron.

e day; at length *Judas* carried it and took the city, put all the males, about twenty-five thouſand, to the ſword, took their wives and daughters captive, ſeized all the richeſt plunder, and burnt and quite erazed the place. From *Ephron*, croſſing the *Jordan*, he ſpread his army along the plains of *Bethſhan*, then called *Scythopolis*, a conſiderable city, about a hundred furlongs from *Jeruſalem* †. Here he inquired of the *Jews* how they had been treated by the *Scythians*, and they anſwering much to the

[m] Ibid. ad ver. 24. [n] Ibid. v. 24, 25. † De hac vid. ſup. Vol. II. p. 282.

(F) Probably the ſame with *Charac Moab*, as *Carnion* may be reaſonably ſuppoſed the ſame which, in the *Hebrew* and the firſt book of the *Maccabees*, is called *Carnaim*, *al. Aſhtaroth Carnaim*, or *Aſhtar with two horns* (36), which city was the reſidence of *Og* king of *Baſhan* †. We find a city mentioned by *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* by the name of *Carno* in *Arabia*. *Euſebius* mentions one near *Jeruſalem* (37); and there might be many more of the ſame name, if *Aſtarte* was either the moon, worſhipped under that name, or the *Egyptian Iſis*, repreſented by a bullock's head with two horns (38).

(G) Suppoſed to be the ſame with the *Aſtarte* mentioned in the laſt note. *Diodorus* ſays (39), ſhe was worſhipped at *Aſcalon*, under the figure of a woman from the navel upward, and fiſh downward, like the *Dagon* of, if not the ſame with that of, the *Philiſtines*; for ſhe was worſhipped under ſeveral names, though under the ſame form, being called *Derceto* at *Joppa*, *Aſhtaroth*, *Atargatis*, and *Atergata* in the other places (40).

(36) *De his vid. Byzant. Reland. Paleſt. tom.* 1. *p.* 212, *& ſeq. & alib. Bochart. & al.* † *Supr. Vol.* I. *p.* 330, d. 343, d.. (37) *Vid. infra, in ſeq.* (38) *Vid. Sanchoniat. ap. Euſeb. Præp. lib.* 1. *c. ult. & ſup. Vol.* I. 398, (G). 399, a. (39) *Bibl. l.* ii. (40) *Vid. Strab. Geogr. l.* xvi. *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 23. *Seldan. de diis Syr. & ſup. Vol.* I. *p.* 398, *& ſeq.*

the commendation of that people; *Judas* returned them thanks for their kindness to his brethren, exhorted them to live in friendship with them, and assured them of his own [o], and then continued his journey towards *Jerusalem*. During their march, *Judas* kept still in the rear of his army, encouraging those that lagged behind, and brought them at length to that metropolis about the time of pentecost. Here they went to the temple to return thanks to God for their quick and wonderful success (11), and particularly that they were all returned safe and victorious without the loss of one man [p].

Judas had still a powerful enemy left: *Georgias*, governor of *Idumea*, was at the head of that nation, and had harassed the *Jews* for some time. He therefore made no longer stay at *Jerusalem* than the ending of that festival, immediately after which he marched at the head of only three thousand foot and four hundred horse. The two armies met, and the onset was so fierce on both sides, that *Judas*, till then so victorious, had the mortification to see some of his men killed on the spot. *Dositheus* likewise, a brave captain of his, whom we have lately mentioned upon another occasion, having seized the *Idumean* general alive, had his arm cut off close to the shoulder by a *Thracian* horseman, and was forced to quit his prisoner, who took that opportunity to fly into *Maresa*, a fortress near *Eleutheropolis*. Another part of his troops, commanded by *Esdrin*, had sustained the shock so long, that they were quite exhausted. At length, *Judas* having again revived his men by fresh prayers and warlike canticles, the enemy took fright and fled, which gave him an opportunity of rallying his scattered forces to *Odollam*, a town near the field of battle, where they purified themselves for the sabbath then ensuing. On the day following, when he and his men came to view the slain, in order to bury them, they found upon every one of them some gold and silver idols, which had been consecrated by the *Jamnites*, and which, though taken in plunder, were forbidden to be worn by the law of *Moses* [q]. It was then easy for them to discover the true cause of their late defeat, and the just punishment of those wretches, who had ventured to transgress in that clandestine manner. *Judas* did not lose so fair an opportunity of inspiring the survivers with an abhorrence against all such heathenish superstitions, and with a sure confidence in God, as long as they kept themselves free from them. He then ordered a voluntary collection to be made among them, which amounted to two thousand drachms of silver, which he sent to *Jerusalem*, and caused an expiatory sacrifice to be offered up for those that had thus died in their sin, and to avert any further punishment being inflicted on them for it in the other life (I) [r]. From thence *Judas* fell upon the southern parts of *Idumea*, took *Hebron* and other fortresses; after which he went and took *Azotus* from the *Philistines*, and pulled down all their images and altars where-ever he passed, and so returned to *Jerusalem* loaden with fresh laurels and plunder.

Offers sacrifices for the slain.

All this while the fortress of *Acra* was in the hand of the enemy, and not only hindered many of the *Jews* from resorting to the temple, but annoyed those that did, especially

[o] 2 Macc. ubi supra, v. 30, & 31. [p] 1 Maccab. v. 46, & seq. 2 Maccab. xii. 30, & seq.
[q] Deut. vii. 25, & seq. [r] 2 Macc. ubi supra, vers. 38. ad fin.

(11) Quick and wonderful indeed! if we consider, that the peace could not be broken as soon as made, and that it was concluded on the fifteenth of *Xanthicus*, answering to the beginning of our *April*; and that the feast of pentecost fell either on the latter end of *May* or beginning of *June*; so that in less than two months time they burnt the two havens and fleets of *Joppa* and *Jamnia*, beat the *Arabian Nomades*, took the city of *Caspis*, defeated *Timotheus* and his numerous army, burnt and destroyed *Carnion* and *Ephron*, besides several other strong fortresses, released a vast number of their brethren, and were returned to *Jerusalem* loaden with spoils and a vast multitude of female captives, and all this without any loss on their side.

(I) This is certainly the meaning of the historian (whatever might be that of the *Jewish* chief in causing this sin-offering or reconciliatory sacrifices and prayers to be made for those dead sinners); for he adds (41), that *Judas* gave thereby a signal proof of his belief of a resurrection; for, says he, if he had not hoped that those slain men would have risen again from the dead, it had been vain and superfluous to have caused prayers to be made for them.

Judas might, in all likelihood, have in his eye the defeat which the *Israelites* had formerly had upon such another occasion, in the case of *Achan*'s sacrilege (42); but it may as well be likewise, that the notion of praying and offering of sacrifices for the dead might be then in use, if not of longer standing. However that be, it must have been so in the time in which the historian wrote it, unless we will suppose with some interpreters, that the passage above quoted was a gloss of the translator (43).

We may further observe that the *Arundelian* copy and *Syriac* version mention three thousand drachms, and the *Latin* one twelve thousand (44).

(41) 2 *Maccab.* xii. 44. (42) *Josh.* vii. 16, & *seq. Vid.* & *Vol.* I. *p.* 557, *c.* (43) *Vid. int. al. Tremel. in loc.* (44) *Vid. Usser. ann. sub A. M.* 3841.

a eſpecially in *Judas*'s abſence. Upon his coming therefore from *Odollam*, he reſolved to form the ſiege of it, and to that end gathered together his whole army, furniſhed himſelf with engines for throwing large ſtones, and with other inſtruments for the ſiege. The place being very ſtrong, and the gariſon numerous and well furniſhed with arms and proviſion, made it likely to hold out a conſiderable time. But the renegado *Jews*, a great number of whom were then in the place and knew the valour and ſtoutneſs of *Judas* and his troops, finding that they ſhould be forced at length to ſurrender, and knowing how little mercy they had to hope for from the conqueror, adviſed the commanders to make a vigorous ſally, in order to give an opportunity to ſome of their brethren to go to *Antioch*, and inform the young king of their diſtreſs. Their b advice was taken, and the ſally ſo well managed, that a number of thoſe renegadoes, with ſome officers, found an opportunity to divide from the reſt, and to take the way to the court unperceived. Upon their arrival they went and informed the king of all that *Judas* had done. They added, that he perſecuted with the moſt mercileſs hatred all that dared ſhew any fidelity to the *Syrians*, that he plundered, ſacked, and put to fire and ſword all that came in his way; and laſtly, that to ſhake wholly off the *Syrian* yoke, he had beſieged the gariſon of *Acra*, which had been placed there to keep their metropolis in awe, and that it muſt undergo the fate of *Bethzura* and other of his cities and fortreſſes, if not ſpeedily relieved. This news failed not to alarm the *Syrian* monarch, who ordered immediately all his generals to aſſemble his troops, c and if they were not thought ſufficient, to hire a number of auxiliaries, and to march with utmoſt diſpatch into *Judæa*. His orders were punctually obeyed, and a vaſt army was drawn together, conſiſting of a hundred thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe, thirty-two elephants, and three hundred armed chariots. Theſe, having the young king and his uncle *Lyſias* at their head, marched to the borders of *Idumea*, where they laid ſiege to the fortreſs of *Bethzura* [s]. We have already given an account of this war in a former volume †, and of the miraculous deliverance of the *Jews*, which ended in an advantagious peace to them, though diſhonourable to *Antiochus*, who, contrary to the articles of it, cauſed the fortifications of their metropolis to be demoliſhed.

Beſieges Acra

Invaded by Antiochus.

d *Menelaus*, the apoſtate high-prieſt, who had accompanied the king in this expedition, in hopes of being reſtored to his ill-gotten dignity, and perhaps of obtaining the government of *Judæa*, left no ſtone unturned to ingratiate himſelf to the young monarch, though at the expence of his nation and religion; but his wicked policy failed him, and *Lyſias*, tired with ſo dear and diſhonourable a war, and fearful, leſt, if that wretch was left at *Jeruſalem* and inveſted with any power, he ſhould ſtir up a new revolt, either to ingratiate himſelf to the *Jews*, or to maintain his own authority againſt a people who he foreſaw would never brook it; thought it more adviſeable to find out ſome expedient to rid himſelf of ſo dangerous a wretch. He eaſily compaſſed his end, and his great credit with the young monarch, to whom he accuſed him e as the author and cauſe of all the late miſchiefs, ſoon prevailed upon him to condemn him to ſuch a death as his treaſon, if not to *Antiochus*, yet to his God and nation, had deſerved. He was accordingly ſent under a ſtrong guard to *Beræa*, and there made to undergo the cruel puniſhment of the aſhes [t], a death we have already deſcribed in a former volume *.

Menelaus *put to death.*

The *Jews*, though glad at the death of that monſter, did not, however, gain much by the change, *Lyſias* found means to perſuade the young monarch, that there was a neceſſity of beſtowing the high-prieſthood on one that was not of the pontifical family; ſo that that dignity, which of right belonged to *Onias*, the ſon of that worthy high-prieſt, who had been murdered at *Antioch*, was beſtowed on *Alcimus*, or *Jacimus* f as he is called by *Joſephus*, who was of another family, though of the *Aaronic* race, and a perſon no leſs wicked than his predeceſſor. As for *Onias*, when he found his right given to one who had neither title nor merit, he reſented the wrong to ſuch a degree, that he retired into *Egypt*, in hopes by ſome other way to recompenſe himſelf for his loſs. Accordingly, upon his coming to that court, he found means to ingratiate himſelf ſo well to *Ptolemy Philometor* and to his queen *Cleopatra*, that they granted him, ſome time after, the liberty of building a temple at *Alexandria*, like unto that of *Jeruſalem*, of which he ſecured the prieſthood to himſelf and deſcendants, as ſhall be ſeen in the ſequel [u].

Onias *deprived of the high-prieſthood.*

We

[s] 1 Macc. vi. 18, & ſeq. 2 Macc. xiii. 1, & ſeq. xiii. 3, & ſeq. * Vol. II. p. 134, d, & note. † Vol. III. p. 587, & ſeq. [t] 2 Macc. l. xii. c. 15. xx. 8. [u] 2 Macc. xiv. 9, &c. Joseph. antiq.

Demetrius *recovers* Syria.

We have elſewhere ſeen how *Demetrius*, the lawful heir of the *Syrian* crown, had a found means to eſcape from *Rome*, where he had been long kept as an hoſtage; and, being arrived at *Antioch*, had put to death both *Antiochus Eupator* and *Lyſias*, and had made himſelf maſter of that capital, and ſoon after of the whole kingdom *. In the mean time *Alcimus*, whom the *Jews* had refuſed to admit to the high-prieſthood, becauſe he had obtained and ſullied that dignity by open apoſtacy and conforming to the religion and cuſtoms of the *Greeks*, came to complain of it to the new monarch; he brought with him a number of other *Jewiſh* renegadoes, whom *Judas* had cauſed to be baniſhed *Judæa* for the ſame crime. At the head of theſe miſcreants he applied himſelf to the king, accuſed *Judas* and the reſt of the *Maccabean* or *Aſmonean* race, of having deſtroyed thoſe that ſtood firm to their allegiance to him; b of baniſhing others for not joining with his revolted party, and of other ſuch crimes as they thought would render them odious to the court. They added, that their preſent diſtreſs was owing to their readineſs in obeying the edicts of the late king, his uncle; and in the end, *Alcimus* forgot not to beg to have the high-prieſthood confirmed to him by *Demetrius*. This accuſation, carried on with ſuch ſeeming zeal for the king, did ſo exaſperate him againſt the *Jews*, that he ſent back the apoſtate, and with him *Bacchides*, governor of *Meſopotamia*, at the head of a conſiderable army, and with orders both to reinſtate *Alcimus* to his dignity, and to carry on the war againſt the *Maccabees*. Theſe two were joined in the ſame commiſſion, and *Alcimus*, impatient to ſee himſelf reſtored to his dignity, haſtened the *Syrian* general, who was wholly c devoted to him, to march forthwith into *Judæa* [w].

Judas *accuſed by* Alcimus.

Upon their arrival, the two collegues, who knew what an enemy they had to deal with, endeavoured at firſt to decoy him by ſome treacherous ſtratagem; and to this end ſent deputies to the *Jewiſh* chief to invite him to a conference, in order to end their diſpute in an amicable way. They ſpared no promiſes nor vows, that he ſhould come and go with utmoſt ſafety. *Judas* eaſily ſuſpected their deſign, and rightly judged, that ſuch a powerful army was intended rather to ſurpriſe him, than to decide the title of an intruding prieſt, hated and rejected by the whole nation. Inſtead therefore of accepting of their invitation, he ſet himſelf about preparing for a vigorous defence. His behaviour, however, was diſapproved by ſeveral doctors and ſcribes, d and particularly by ſome of the *Aſſideans*, whoſe ſect we have ſpoken of in a former ſection. Theſe, pretending to a greater degree of ſanctity than the reſt, inſiſted, that an amicable way was preferable to an hoſtile one, and that *Alcimus*, being of the race of *Aaron*, ought not to be lightly ſuſpected of treachery againſt them. But finding *Judas* unmoveable, they took it into their heads to try how far their mediation would work towards the deſired peace; and having obtained an oath of ſafety from the treacherous high-prieſt, they came to him accompanied with ſome of their doctors and ſcribes. *Alcimus* gave them at firſt a friendly reception, but as ſoon as he had got them into his power, he cauſed ſixty of them to be ſeized and put to death [x]. This action proved of ſingular ſervice to *Judas* and his council, and ſufficiently juſtified e his refuſal; and his whole army, being now fully convinced that nothing but the blackeſt perfidy was to be expected, from that baſe pontiff and his collegue, reſolved to ſtand up for their general, their religion, and liberty. Some few indeed, being terrified, either at the news of *Alcimus*'s perfidy, or at the ſight of ſo great an army, left *Jeruſalem* and retired into the country; but there ſtayed with him a ſufficient number to ſuppreſs the power of the treacherous pontiff, in ſpight of his daily reinforcements from the renegado *Jews*, who reſorted to him, eſpecially after *Bacchides*'s departure. For that general, whether ſtung with the reproaches, which his late perfidious action brought upon him, or with ſhame for not having been able to ſubdue an enemy by treachery, whom he dared not attack openly, left *Judæa* and returned to *Antioch*, f leaving *Alcimus* what he thought a ſufficient number of troops, to maintain himſelf in his new dignity. However, whilſt he was in his way to the *Syrian* court, he could not forbear committing ſome cruelties againſt thoſe *Jews* that came in his way. Particularly at *Beſeth*, or *Bethſetha*, he cauſed a conſiderable number of them to be ſeized and killed, and their bodies to be flung into a well [y].

Alcimus, on the other hand, ſpared neither pains nor coſt, flatteries nor cruelties, to ſtrengthen himſelf. Thoſe that were of greateſt ſervice to him were the *Jewiſh* renegados and malecontents, whom his careſſes and generoſity drew daily to his ſide. For

* Vol. III. p. 591. [w] 1 Maccab. vii. 8, & ſeq. [x] Ibid. ver. 12. & ſeq. [y] Ibid. v. 19.

a For with theſe, ſupported by the *Syrian* troops, he was making continual excurſions into ſome part or other of the country, plundering, burning, and deſtroying all that refuſed to acknowledge him. *Judas*, on his ſide, was no leſs watchful of all opportunities to oppoſe and ſuppreſs him; he defeated him in ſeveral rencounters, and took ſuch a ſevere vengeance on as many of the revolted *Jews* as fell into his hands, that the reſt dared no longer act againſt him. *Alcimus*, being by this time convinced of the impoſſibility of maſtering his enemy, and of ever being admitted to approach the ſacred altars, unleſs he procured a much greater army to force the *Jews* into a compliance, returned to the *Syrian* court, renewed his former accuſations and complaints, which failed not to be backed by all the enemies of the *Jews* that were then at *An-*

b *tioch*; and having preſented *Demetrius* with a rich crown of gold and other valuable preſents, obtained of that incenſed monarch a freſh army, the command of which was given to *Nicanor*, one of the bittereſt enemies the *Jewiſh* nation had, with expreſs orders to cut off *Judas* and his party, diſperſe his army, and to ſettle *Alcimus* in his power and dignity, beyond the poſſibility of any future oppoſition [z]. But *Nicanor*, who had lately been ſo feelingly convinced of the ſtrength and bravery of the *Jewiſh* chief, and juſtly reckoned that one defeat more would complete his diſgrace, entered *Judæa* with a numerous army indeed, but with a full reſolution, if poſſible, to bring *Judas* to accept of a peace, rather than hazard any more battles with him.

Nicanor *ſent againſt the* Jews.

However, upon his firſt coming into that province, all the apoſtate *Jews* and the

c heathen, whom *Judas* had driven out of *Judæa*, came in ſhoals to liſt under him, in hopes to be ſoon reſettled in their former habitations, ſo that his army was increaſed exceedingly, before he reached the neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem*. On the other hand, the *Jews*, being informed of his approach, went to the temple to implore the divine aſſiſtance by faſting and prayers, and then prepared themſelves for a vigorous defence. *Nicanor* advanced as far as the fortreſs of *Deſſau*, where *Simon*, *Judas*'s brother, having attempted to come out againſt him, was ſo terrified at the ſight of his numerous army, that he was glad to retire to *Jeruſalem* [a]. All this, however, could not induce the *Syrian* general to begin any hoſtilities againſt the valiant *Judas*; on the contrary, he ſent three of his head officers, *Poſidonius*, *Theodoſius*, and *Matthias*, to make over-

d tures of peace to him. *Judas*, who had ſo lately obſerved the propenſity of his men to a peace, acquainted them with the propoſals made to him by *Nicanor*; which were ſo well approved by them, that a day and a place for an interview was agreed on by thoſe two generals to give it the finiſhing ſtroke. *Judas*, however, juſtly ſuſpecting the ſincerity of the *Syrians*, cauſed a certain number of his ſtouteſt men to be ſo advantagiouſly poſted, that they might come to his relief, in caſe any violence were offered to him. But his precaution at this time was needleſs, and *Nicanor* was ſo bent upon clapping up a peace with him, that their conference was carried on to the ſatisfaction of both parties; the articles were agreed on, after which *Nicanor* went and ſtayed ſome time in *Jeruſalem*, without giving the *Jews* the leaſt cauſe of complaint; ſo far

Makes peace with them.

e from it, that, to avoid giving them any umbrage, he diſbanded the greateſt part of his army, and lived in perfect friendſhip with the *Jewiſh* nation [b] (K).

This

[z] Ibid. 21, & ſeq. [a] 2 Macc. xiv. 12, & ſeq. [b] Ibid. ver. 16, & ſeq.

(K) In this year ſome chronologers (45) place the introduction of the cycle, or rather period, of eighty-four years, in order to ſettle the return of their new moons and feſtivals depending on them. We have ſhewn in a former volume †, what a wretched method they had uſed before the captivity, for diſcovering thoſe new appearances without the help of aſtronomical tables. The inconveniency they found in it after their diſperſion, obliged them to fall upon ſome ſurer method, that the whole nation might, in every place, obſerve them and the other feſtivals on the ſame day.

This method was the period of eighty-four years, which in all probability was only the period of *Calippus*, which that learned aſtronomer had publiſhed about a hundred and ſeventy years before, and conſiſted of ſeventy-ſix *Julian* years, and to which they added the *Octoeteris*, either thinking it anſwered their purpoſe better, or, which is more likely, as dean *Prideaux* conjectures (46), to make it look like a diſcovery of their own. For the *Jews*, who were always very jealous of being ſuſpected to borrow any things of the heathen nations, may be ſuppoſed to have been more ſo at this time, when they had juſt gone through ſo great and general a reformation in their church.

But whether *Judas* and his ſanhedrin, haraſſed as they were on all ſides by their enemies, could have leiſure enough to find out and ſettle this new method, or whether they had not brought already ſomething like it, either from *Babylon*, or from ſome of the *Greeks*; one thing is certain and worth obſerving, that this period of eighty-four years was peculiar to the *Jews*, and has been uſed from thence downward to the time of the famous *Hillel*, who corrected their calendar in the year of Chriſt 360.

It

(45) *Vid. Bocher. de antiq. Paſcal. Cyclo. ap. Prid. connect ſub an.* 162. † *Vol.* I. *p.* 610, (H).
(46) *Ubi ſupra.*

Year of the flood 2838. *Before Christ* 161.

This harmony was, however, interrupted soon after by the perfidious high-priest, a who, thinking the peace not sufficiently advantagious to him, went a third time to *Antioch* to complain against *Nicanor*, as a betrayer of his master's interest, and a friend to his mortal enemies; in testimony of which, he urged the peace lately concluded between them. *Demetrius*, though justly surprised that his general should venture to take such a step, not only without his leave, but without informing him of it, would not, however, recall him: he contented himself with refusing to ratify the articles, and sending him fresh orders to renew the war against the *Jewish* chief, and not to sheath his sword, till he had killed him and wholly suppressed his party.

Ordered to renew the war.

Upon receiving this unexpected order, *Nicanor* was extremely displeased; on the one hand, he was loath to violate the peace, which had been so strictly kept by the *Jews*; b on the other, he feared the resentment of the king, if he disobeyed such an express command. This last motive having at length determined him, his main study was now to find out some plausible pretence for laying hold on the *Jewish* chief. To this end he began to alter his behaviour towards him, and, instead of their former intimacy, to treat him with coldness and an air of superiority. This soon gave *Judas* to understand, that it was high time to look to himself, which he accordingly did, with such speed and secrecy, that he was quite disappeared before they had the least suspicion of it. *Nicanor*, surprised to find him gone out of his reach, endeavoured, as well as he could, to conceal his resentment: he found himself now obliged to raise a new army, and to act against him as an open enemy, and yet was both afraid and c unwilling to do it. At length having gathered a sufficient number of forces and come towards *Jerusalem*, he resolved once more to try to surprise him by some foul stratagem, before he ventured upon an open rupture. To this end he sent some deputies to acquaint him, that he was not come to make war against him, but to treat of peace with him, and to invite him to a new interview. *Judas* came accordingly to the place agreed on, where their first greeting was in all appearance very friendly and peaceable; but having discovered his treacherous intent, he withdrew, and from that time refused to meet him any more. *Nicanor* then ordered his troops to advance towards *Caphar salama*, not far from *Jerusalem*, where, being met by the *Jewish* army, a battle was fought, in which he lost five thousand men. But the *Jews*, finding d themselves unable to make head against the enemy's superior forces, retired, some to the city of *David*, and some into the temple [c]. *Nicanor* then led his army strait to *Jerusalem*, and getting upon the eminence of mount *Sion*, was addressed by some of the priests and heads of the people, who came in a submissive manner to him, and shewed him from that place the sacrifices which were then offered up in the temple for the prosperity of king *Demetrius*. But the exasperated general, having cast many insolent and blasphemous reflections on what he called their base superstition, swore the utter destruction of them and their temple, unless *Judas* was immediately delivered up to him. But *Judas* had happily put it out of their power, having betimes withdrawn himself into the land of *Samaria* with some of his faithful troops. How- e ever, it was in vain for the priests to urge this or any thing else in their own defence, to a man who was now determined to make them feel the effects of his resentment, for having missed his blow. The poor priests, seeing an exasperated enemy, at the head of a powerful army, at the very gates of the temple, and their valiant protector forced to abandon them to his mercy, had no other recourse but to their prayers and tears; whilst *Nicanor*, still bent rather upon stratagem than open war, bethought himself of a hellish expedient to oblige the *Jews* to apostatise, both from their God and their brave deliverer [d].

Attempts to surprise Judas

Threatens Jerusalem.

They had at that time an aged member of their sanhedrin, named *Razis*, a man highly esteemed by the nation for his strict piety and virtue, and whose inviolable f fidelity to his religion and nation had gained him the title of *father of the Jews*. *Nicanor*, having heard so good a character of him, and that his example had preserved numbers of his people from apostatising, conceived a design, either to force him to it by fair or foul means, or else to do a despight to the nation, by putting him to some cruel death. To this end he dispatched five hundred of his soldiers to take and bring him to him. These, finding his castle strongly guarded, were endeavouring

[c] 1 Macc. vii. 27, & seq.

[d] Ibid. ver. 32, & seq.

It was afterwards followed by the primitive fathers in the christian church in the settling of their *Easter*, till new disputes arose, and new corrections were introduced, which are foreign to our present subject.

a vouring to break open the doors, or to force him out by ſetting it on fire, when the old man, after a long and ſtout defence, finding himſelf on the brink of being either taken, or burnt, ruſhed on the point of his ſword, and pierced himſelf through. However, the wound not proving mortal, and he ſeeing the ſoldiers ruſhing into the houſe, he ran to the top of one of the turrets, and flung himſelf headlong down. This fall not having put an end to his life, he raiſed himſelf up, ran through the midſt of them to a neighbouring ſteep rock, leaving a rivulet of blood behind, which iſſued out of his wounds, and having gained the top of it, he opened his wound with his hands, tore out his bowels, and flung them at his agaſhed enemies c. Thus died the brave old man, with an intrepidity rather to be admired than imitated. *Kills himſelf.*

b The *Jews*, however, have made no ſcruple to canoniſe him a martyr, though his death was rather that of a madman, or a deſperado.

While this was doing at *Jeruſalem*, *Nicanor*, having heard that *Judas* was in the land of *Samaria*, marched againſt him with an army of thirty-five thouſand men; and as he ſtill truſted more to his political ſtratagems, than to his ſtrength, he reſolved to attack him on the ſabbath, not doubting but they would, as they had formerly done, chuſe to be all murdered, rather than fight on that day. He was, however, aſſured of the contrary by ſome of that nation who were in his army, and who begged, that he would pay a regard to that ſacred day, which the God of heaven had conſecrated to his ſervice. *Nicanor* aſked them, with a ſcornful taunt, Whether c there was indeed a mighty God in heaven, who had ordered the ſanctification of the ſabbath? And being anſwered in the affirmative, he replied, And I, who am powerful upon earth, do command you to fight for the king your maſter, and to obey his orders. This blaſphemous arrogance, as well as his former threatenings againſt the temple, did not go long unpuniſhed; for whilſt he was incamped in the neighbourhood of *Bethoron*, *Judas* marched immediately againſt him with his three thouſand men, and incamped near *Adaſa*, a place about thirty furlongs diſtant from the enemy. The firſt thing he did was to encourage his little army with proper texts out of the ſacred books, and, to aſſure them further of the divine aſſiſtance, he acquainted them with a comfortable viſion which he had lately had, in which he ſaw *Onias*, the late d worthy high-prieſt, and after him the prophet *Jeremiah*, interceding for the *Jewiſh* people, and that the latter had preſented him with a ſplendid ſword, and given him at the ſame time an aſſurance of a complete victory. This ſpeech had the deſired effect, and his men were on a ſudden fired with ſuch courage, that they routed the enemy on the very firſt onſet; for *Nicanor* being killed one of the firſt, his men were ſeized with a panic, threw their arms down, and fought in vain for a ſhelter; for *Judas* purſuing them, and the *Jews* of the neighbouring cities hearing of this victory ſtopping their flight, killed them all to a man, inſomuch, that there was not a ſingle perſon left to carry the news to *Antioch*. This battle was won on the thirteenth day of the month *Adar*, anſwering to our *February*; and on the next day, the body of e *Nicanor* being found among the ſlain, *Judas* ordered his head and right hand, which he had ſo lately lifted up with threatening oaths againſt the temple, to be cut off and carried in triumph to *Jeruſalem*; where, being arrived with his army, he cauſed them to be expoſed to the view of the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, reminding them at the ſame time, that thoſe were the head and hand of the profane *Nicanor*, who had ſworn the total deſtruction of their ſacred temple. His tongue he likewiſe ordered to be cut out, and minced, and to be thrown to the birds, and his head and hand to be hung up on ſome of the higheſt towers of that city. After the uſual rejoicings for their late ſucceſs, a publick anniverſary was inſtituted by the ſanhedrin, to be kept by future generations on the thirteenth day of *Adar*, by the name of *the day of* f *Nicanor* [f], which has been kept ever ſince.

Nicanor attacks the Jews.

Is defeated and ſlain.

This victory gave the *Jewiſh* nation ſome peaceful intermiſſion, and their enemies, being juſtly terrified at the continual ſucceſſes of their leader, ſuffered him to return and take quiet poſſeſſion of the city, which his ſucceſſor was, however, forced to quit ſoon after to the then ſuperior power of the *Syrian* general and apoſtate *Alcimus*, who held it but a ſhort while, and for the laſt time, as the ſequel will preſently ſhew. During this peaceful interval, *Judas*, always intent on the intereſt of his religion and nation, obſerving how powerful the *Romans* were now grown, and how faithfully they protected and aſſiſted their friends, reſolved to procure an alliance with them, which might

The Jews make alliance with Rome.

[e] Ibid. 37, & ſeq. [f] Ibid. ad ver. 50. 2 Maccab. xv. 1, & ſeq. Vid. & Joseph. antiq. l. xii. c. 17.

might prove a bulwark againſt the oppreſſive power of the *Syrians*. *Eupolemus* the ſon of *John* and *Jaſon* the ſon of *Eleazar*, who had been already ſent with ſucceſs to *Seleucus Philopator*, were likewiſe choſen for this embaſſy. Their propoſals were readily accepted by the *Roman* ſenate, and a decree was accordingly made and ingraven on copper, in order to be ſent to *Jeruſalem*; importing, that the *Jews* were thenceforth acknowledged as friends and allies of the *Romans*; that both nations ſhould be ready to ſuccour each other and the allies of either with all their power, and in no caſe ſhould aſſiſt their enemies; and for as much as *Demetrius Soter* had been complained againſt to the ſenate, as an oppreſſor of the *Jewiſh* nation, they ſent a letter to him, injoining him for the future to forbear all hoſtilities againſt them, and threatening him with an invaſion of his country by ſea and land, in caſe he did not comply with the purport of their decree [g]. This alliance was made in a lucky time; for whilſt it was tranſacting at *Rome*, *Demetrius*, having received the news of *Nicanor*'s defeat and death, was ſending the right wing, that is to ſay, the flower (L) of his army, into *Judæa*, with *Bacchides* and *Alcimus* at their head. It conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, and with theſe *Bacchides* entered *Galilee*, and took the city of *Maſeloth* or *Maſſadoth* in the territories of *Arbela*, where he killed a great number of *Jews*. From thence they marched towards *Jeruſalem*, but being told that *Judas* was retired into the neighbourhood of *Eleaſa*, they went to attack him there. *Judas* had then but three thouſand men, and when theſe beheld the ſuperiority of the enemy's army, their hearts failed them ſo far, that only eight hundred of them ſtayed with him, and the reſt conveyed themſelves away, to the great regret of their valiant chief, who was now ſo ſorely preſt, that he had no time to get a new reinforcement, but muſt either fight or be cut in pieces. However, truſting in that ſuperior aſſiſtance which had accompanied him hitherto, he encouraged his men the beſt he could; a dreadful fight enſued, which laſted from morning till evening; and *Judas* obſerving that the enemy's right wing, commanded by *Bacchides*, was the ſtrongeſt, made a ſtout puſh at it, broke and purſued it as far as mount *Azotus*; but

[g] Iid. ibid.

(L) It was uſual in thoſe days for the kings to command the right wing of their army, ſo that the beſt of their troops were generally placed there.

With relation to the alliance above-mentioned, *Joſephus* obſerves (47), that it was the very firſt that ever the *Jews* made with *Rome*, which is very probable alſo, from the manner in which the author of the firſt book of *Maccabees* prefaces his account of it (48); for it appears from it, that the *Jews* till then knew but little of the *Roman* ſtate.

And here it will not be amiſs to inquire, how far the account which *Joſephus* gives of this alliance (49) is liable to the reproof which our learned *Uſher* gives it (50); that hiſtorian tells us, that *the decree of the ſenate was written by* Eupolemus and Jaſon, *when* Judas *was high-prieſt, and his brother* Simon *general of the* Jews. That *Judas* died before *Alcimus*, and ſo could not be choſen by the people to ſucceed him in that dignity, as he there affirms a little before, is plain, not only from the firſt book of *Maccabees*, but even from *Joſephus* himſelf, who tells us in another place, that *Alcimus* had no ſucceſſor till ſeven years after his death (1), but that the ſuperſcription abovementioned was therefore forged by him, doth not ſo clearly follow. It is probable, on the contrary, that his finding it in thoſe very terms, in the *Roman* records, which he was then conſulting, might lead him for the preſent into that miſtake, that *Judas* had been choſen to the high-prieſthood after *Alcimus*'s death.

If it be aſked, how it came to be ſo worded, we anſwer, that the *Jewiſh* nation being known to have had a high-prieſt at the head of all their affairs, both religious and civil, ſuch an alliance could not be well contracted without one. On the other hand, *Alcimus* having been conſtantly rejected by reaſon of his apoſtacy, it is not likely, that they would make uſe ſo much as of his name in ſo public a tranſaction. What other expedient could then be found, but that *Judas*, who was then at the head of all affairs, ſhould take that title upon him, at leaſt in the tranſacting of this alliance?

We might add, that it is not eaſy to gueſs, how the nation could be ſo long without a high-prieſt; for ſetting aſide thoſe religious functions which were peculiar to that dignity, and which might, for ought we know, have been ſuſpended during this interval; it is plain, the ſanhedrin, or grand *Jewiſh* ſenate, could neither aſſemble nor make any authentic decrees without him; ſo that we muſt ſuppoſe, either that every thing went irregular, or that they choſe ſome perſon to that dignity; in which caſe, why might not the choice of the nation, or at leaſt of the heads of it, be deemed as valid at leaſt, as that of a heatheniſh king, or rather tyrant and uſurper? for ſuch the *Jews* deemed even the beſt foreign princes that ruled over them.

How the generalſhip came to be given in this inſcription, rather to *Simon* the third brother, than either to *Judas*, or to *Jonathan* the next in birth, can only be gueſſed at. *Judas* treating then with the *Romans* as high-prieſt, might think the quality of general incompatible with it, and *Simon* might, for ſome ſignal exploit or other, have been at that time more famed than his brother.

One thing may be added, that this ſuppoſed inſcription might imply no more in the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian, than that *Eupolemus* and *Jaſon* wrote, or ſent the written decree to *Judas* the high-prieſt and to *Simon* the general.

(47) *Antiq. l.* xii. *c.* 17. (48) *Cap.* viii. 1, *& ſeq.* (49) *Antiq, l.* xii. *ſub fin cap.* 17.
(50) *Sub A. M.* 3843. (1) *Antiq. l.* xx. *c.* 8.

a but in the mean time, the left having quite surrounded him and his men, he was at length over-born by their numbers, and slain, after a long and vigorous defence; so that he fell down on a heap of his enemies, which he had killed round about him. As soon as the news of his death had reached *Jerusalem*, the whole city was filled with the most lively sorrow. An universal mourning was made for him for some time, and in imitation of that which *David* made for *Saul* and *Jonathan*, they sung these lines of his, *How is the mighty fallen? How is the preserver of* Israel *slain?* However, his body did not fall into the hands of the enemy; for whether the *Syrians*, after this victory, which redounded less to their honour than a defeat, left the field of battle, or whether a truce was made for the burying of the dead, the author tells us, that it was b taken and carried off by his two brothers, *Jonathan* and *Simon*, and buried in the sepulchre of his father at *Modin* [h]. Thus died the brave *Jewish* general, six years after his father *Matthias*, and was succeeded by his brother *Jonathan*. The *Maccabitish* historian adds, that the rest of his victorious wars were omitted, because they were too numerous; and *Josephus*, that he never departed from the precepts of his father, who injoined him never to shun any labours or hazards for the service of his country, and that he died on the third year of his executing the office of high-priest [i], which confirms what was observed in the last note; so that, for ought appears, his only mistake was in making him die so long after *Alcimus*. Judas's *death.*

The news of his death was no sooner spread through *Judæa*, than it gave a new c life to all the enemies of the *Jews*, so that the greatest part of these found themselves obliged, partly for want of a chief of known valour and conduct, and partly through a grievous famine, which then raged in the land, to acknowledge *Bacchides* their governor, and to submit themselves to him. Whilst therefore this general was taking all proper measures to secure his own government, some of the chief officers, that served under him, were ordered to make a diligent search after the principal friends and adherents of the *Maccabees*, and to put them to the most torturing deaths; insomuch, that this persecution did seem to exceed all that they had suffered since their return from *Babylon*, and caused as general defection. Under these dismal circumstances, those few who retained still a love for their religion and country had recourse to *Jonathan*, Jonathan *succeeds him.* d surnamed *Apphus*, and desired him to take upon him the command of the *Jewish* forces, and to endeavour to stop the cruel progress of the *Syrian* general. *Jonathan* was easily prevailed upon, and was gathering what forces he could get. But *Bacchides*, being informed of it, and coming against him with a design to surprize and put him to death, forced him and his few followers to retire into the deserts of *Teckoa*, where they encamped near the lake *Asphar*, being fenced by a large moras on the one side, by woods on the other, and the *Jordan* before him [k]. This situation, which he thought very advantagious to his handful of men, because there was but one narrow way to come at them, proved the very reverse, when they came to engage the enemy, as we shall soon see.

c In the mean time, as soon as he heard that *Bacchides* was in full march against him, his first care was to secure their goods and equipage, which were very numerous, till better times. The *Nabathæans*, as we observed before, were then at peace with them. *John* therefore, the brother of *Jonathan*, was sent at the head of a convoy to go and deposit them with them. But in his way he was surprised by the *Jambrians* (M), who issuing out of their city, fell upon him, slew him and his men, and carried away all John *killed by* their baggage. This injury did not go long unrequited. *Jonathan* being informed *the* Jambrians. soon after that a great wedding was to be celebrated at *Medaba*, between one of the *Jambrian* chiefs and a daughter of a *Canaanitish* prince, or perhaps rather a prince f of the *Arabians* now settled there, and having got notice of the day on which the bride was to be conducted to her new home, he and his men lay in ambush behind a hill; and as soon as the company, which was very numerous and of both sexes, was come nigh enough, they fell upon them, killed them to the number of four hundred, and carried away their plunder to their camp.

As

[h] 1 Maccab. ix. 1, & seq. ad 22. Joseph. antiq. l. xii. c. ult. [i] Id. ad fin. [k] 1 Maccab. ix. 23, ad 45. Joseph. antiq. l. xiii. c. 1.

(M) These were a tribe of the plundering *Arabs*, who lived then at *Medaba*, formerly one of the cities which the *Moabites* took from the tribe of *Reuben* (2), and afterwards the *Arabs* from them.

(2) *Conf. Jos.* xiii. 16. *Isaiah* xv. 2. & *Joseph. ant. l.* xiii. 1.

Bacchides *comes againſt the* Jews.

As ſoon as *Bacchides* heard of this retaliation upon the *Jambrians*, he haſted his army, with a reſolution to attack the *Jewiſh* general on the ſabbath, at which *Jonathan* found himſelf in no ſmall diſtreſs. On the one hand, he was hemmed in on all ſides, and on the other his men were with difficulty prevailed upon to ſtand in their own defence, partly at the ſight of their ſuperior enemy, and partly out of reſpect to the day; whether they had forgot the reſolution and example of their late chiefs to the contrary, or whether they ſcrupled the validity of it. At length, *Jonathan*, finding himſelf preſt by the enemy on the one ſide, and on the other by the reluctancy of his men to engage them, addreſſed himſelf to the latter in the following ſhort, but pathetic, ſpeech; "Come on, and let us fight for our lives; for it is not now with "us, as it was in time paſt; for you ſee plainly, that the battle is both before and "behind us, and the *Jordan* on this, and the moraſs and the wood on that, ſide. "Neither is there a place left for us to turn aſide to. Wherefore cry ye now "unto heaven, that ye may be delivered out of the hand of your enemies". As ſoon as he had done ſpeaking, his men, what through his encouragement, and what through deſpair, made a bold puſh at the enemy, and killed a good number of them on the firſt onſet. *Bacchides* all the while ſeemed to aim ſolely at *Jonathan*, which being perceived by him, he attempted to make a full and effectual blow at him, but was prevented by his addreſs. The *Jews*, finding themſelves at laſt unable to cope with ſuch an army, caſt themſelves one and all into the river (MM), and ſwam to the other ſide, after having killed about a thouſand, or, according to *Joſephus*, two thouſand of the enemy [l].

Jonathan *put to flight.*

Bacchides, now convinced that they would fight on the ſabbath, as well as on other days, did not think fit to purſue them further, but returned with his army to *Jeruſalem*, and there gave orders for the fortifying and gariſoning of ſuch places as were moſt likely to keep the *Jews* in awe, and oblige the *Maccabitiſh* party, either to ſubmit, or at leaſt to forbear all future attempts againſt him. Among theſe were *Bethoron*, *Jericho*, *Emmaus*, *Bethel*, *Thimnatha*, *Bethzura*, and ſome others, eſpecially the fortreſs of *Acra*, into which, beſides a new ſupply of men, arms, and proviſions, he ſent the children of ſome of the principal *Jews* to be kept as hoſtages there, to prevent their parents and relations going over to *Jonathan* and his party. At the ſame time the apoſtate *Alcimus*, finding himſelf maſter of *Jeruſalem*, gave orders for demoliſhing the wall of the temple, which incloſed the court of the prieſts from that of the people (N), and which had been formerly built by the direction of the prophets *Haggai* and *Zachary*. But he had ſcarce began the work, before he was ſtruck with a dead palſy, which took his ſpeech from him, ſo that he died without being able to ſpeak a word, or to take any care of his houſe. After his death *Bacchides*, having by that time brought all *Judæa* into ſubjection, thought he had no further buſineſs there, but returned to *Antioch*, and left the *Jews* and heathens to live in peace there, which they did for about two years [m] (O).

Year of the flood 2839. *Before Chriſt* 160.

Jonathan

[l] Iid. ibid.

[m] Iid. ibid.

(MM) Whoever compares the ſituation of theſe places with the abſtruſe and imperfect account which the author of it gives of this action, muſt confeſs, with the judicious *Calmet* *, that *Jonathan* muſt have croſſed the *Jordan* twice, inſtead of once, elſe he could never have had that river before, and *Bacchides* behind. For when he retired to *Teckoa*, the river muſt then have parted them, and he muſt have croſſed it again to come to *Medeba* to puniſh the *Jambrians*; for *Medeba* was on the eaſt ſide, and *Teckoa*, where they had encamped at firſt, was on the weſt ſide of that river.

Had he then croſſed it again, after this bloody expedition, which would have been the third time, he could not have had it before, and *Bacchides* behind him, unleſs we ſuppoſed that he alſo croſſed it either higher or lower, and ſo fetched a long compaſs about to incloſe him; in which caſe there would be three croſſings omitted, *viz.* two of *Jonathan*'s, and this of *Bacchides*'s. But it is more probable, conſidering what haſte the latter was in to fall upon him, that he overtook him as they returned from *Medeba*, and before he could croſs again to return to *Teckoa*; and this may be the reaſon when they found themſelves overpowered, of their flinging themſelves into that river, and ſwimming acroſs it, in order to recover their camp, which might be ſo well ſituate and fortified, that it diſcouraged the *Syrians* from purſuing them further.

(N) Or more probably that which divided the court of the circumciſed from that of the uncircumciſed. For as his apoſtacy had made him incur the hatred of all the ſincere *Jews*, it is not unlikely, that he cauſed this partition wall to be pulled down to mortify them, and to ingratiate himſelf with the heathen and the renegadoes of his nation. However, the book of *Maccabees* calls it the wall of the inner court of the ſanctuary (3), and *Joſephus* (4) the wall of the old ſanctuary, and adds to it the works of the prophets.

(O) It may be alſo likely enough, that he was privately recalled by *Demetrius*; for that prince at this time ſtood in great need of the friendſhip of the *Romans* (5), and had probably received their letter,

* *Sub voce Jonathan IX.* (3) 1 *Maccab.* ix. 54. (4) *Antiq. l.* xii. *c.* 17. (5) *Vide Polyb. legat.* 120.

2 *Jonathan* and his party made the beſt of this ſhort interval to ſecure themſelves, ſo that they lived quietly and without any miſtruſt. This gave his enemies an opportunity to make a freſh attempt upon him, by inviting *Bacchides* to ſurpriſe and deſtroy the whole party, which they ſent him word might be done in one night. *Demetrius*, who had been by this time acknowledged king of *Syria* by the *Romans*, and had made a new alliance with them, having now nothing to fear from that ſide, was eaſily perſuaded to ſend *Bacchides* with a powerful army into *Judæa*. As ſoon therefore as this general was got there, he ſent letters to thoſe of his party, with orders to ſeize *Jonathan* and his men, and to bring them to him, as had been agreed before. This plot, however, had not been carried on with ſuch ſecreſy, but that vigilant chief had notice of it time enough, both to diſappoint it, and to puniſh thoſe traitors that had hatched it; for he came ſuddenly upon them, took fifty of the chief conſpirators and put them all to death; after which the reſt were ſoon diſperſed, and the whole deſign diſcomfited [n].

A plot againſt Jonathan.

b

Defeated.

After this ſignal eſcape, *Jonathan*, being informed of *Bacchides*'s coming againſt him, and finding himſelf by far too weak to withſtand ſo great a force, retired to *Bethbaſi*, or, as *Joſephus* calls it, *Bethlagan*, a place ſtrongly ſituate in the deſart of *Jericho*, which he and his brother *Simon* fortified, and filled with all neceſſary proviſions for a ſiege. *Bacchides* came, according to his expectation, and laid cloſe ſiege to the place with his numerous army, which he had increaſed with all his adherents in *Judæa*, whom he ſummoned to repair to him thither. As the ſiege was like to laſt long, *Jonathan*, after a vigorous defence, left the place under the care of his brother, and with a ſmall brigade went out to reinforce his army; and croſſing the country, defeated *Odonarches* and his brethren, and the ſons of *Phaſiron*, in their tents. Theſe we ſuppoſe were part of the beſieging hoſt. From thence he went on, attacked, and annoyed other parts of their camp, and forced *Bacchides* to come to their aſſiſtance; which being perceived by *Simon* from within, he made a vigorous ſally, burnt their engines, then falling upon his army, diſcomfited it on one ſide, whilſt his brother did the ſame on the other. *Bacchides*, vexed at the heart to meet with ſuch a defeat, where he expected an eaſy victory, vented his rage on thoſe who had invited him out of *Syria*, and put many of them to death, reſolved to raiſe the ſiege and to return to *Antioch*. The only difficulty was how to do it, if not with honour, at leaſt with as little diſgrace as might be; which as ſoon as *Jonathan* underſtood, he ſent him ſome meſſengers with propoſals for a peace; which were gladly accepted, and ſoon after ratified by both parties. By theſe articles all priſoners were to be releaſed on both ſides, which was accordingly done; and *Bacchides*, having ſworn never more to act hoſtilely againſt *Jonathan*, departed into *Syria*, and punctually kept his oath to him as long as he lived [o]. It ſeems likewiſe, that by theſe articles *Jonathan* was left, if not governor, at leaſt deputy governor, of *Judæa*; for as ſoon as *Bacchides* was gone, he went and ſettled in *Michmaſh* (P), where he judged *Iſrael*, pretty near like the ancient *Judges*. He began with making a ſevere example of all the apoſtate *Jews*, who were the cauſe of all the wars and perſecutions that fell upon their nation, from the reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes* downwards to that time. After this he ſet about reforming the *Jewiſh* church and ſtate. So that from this time *Judæa* began to enjoy a perfect peace and free exerciſe of their religion, the happy effects of their general's valour and piety [p].

Jonathan *beſieged by* Bacchides.

c

Defeats him.

Makes peace with him.

d

Judges the Jews.

e

Soon after this, the troubles that happened in *Syria*, and of which we have already ſpoken in the laſt volume †, gave the *Jews* a fair opportunity of wholly recovering their liberty, and not only of raiſing themſelves into a ſtate of independency, either from that kingdom, or that of *Egypt*; but of being highly courted by both. But, above all, *Demetrius*, who ſo feelingly knew their ſtrength and bravery, had moſt cauſe

f

[n] 1 Maccab. ubi ſupra. v. 57. ad 61. Joseph. ubi ſupra. [o] Id. ibid. & ſeq. [p] Macc. ubi ſup. verſ. 62. ad fin. antiq. l. xiii. c. 2. † Vol. III. p. 593, & ſeq.

letter, which ordered him to ceaſe all hoſtilities againſt the *Jewiſh* nation; ſo that he was forced to recall him, yet ſo privately, that the *Jews* ſhould not be too elated by it; and this may be the reaſon why neither *Joſephus* nor the book of *Maccabees* mention it.

(P) This town was in the tribe of *Benjamin* eaſt of *Bethaven* (6), about nine miles from *Jeruſalem* (7), and between it and *Gibeon*. *Euſebius* tells us in the place laſt quoted, that it was ſtill very conſiderable in his time.

(6) 1 *Sam.* xiii. 5.

(7) *Loc. Hebr. ſub voce.*

cauſe to uſe all poſſible means to prevent their declaring for his competitor *Alexander* a
Balas. To effect which, he wrote a letter to *Jonathan* full of expreſſions of the ſin-
cereſt friendſhip and confidence, and in which he gave him full power to levy what
forces he ſhould think fit, and to cauſe new arms to be fabricated, and declared him
his new friend and ally. In the end, he added an order for ſetting at liberty all the
hoſtages which had been ſent by *Bacchides* into the fortreſs of *Acra*, and had been
detained there ever ſince, notwithſtanding the late peace concluded with him. As
ſoon as *Jonathan* had received the letter, he brought it to *Jeruſalem*, cauſed it to be
read before that gariſon, and demanded the hoſtages to be delivered unto him ac-
cording to the tenor of it. The people, ſeeing how great a power he was now in-
veſted with, dared not heſitate about the matter, but immediately complied with his b
demand; after which *Jonathan* found his army increaſe exceedingly, there being
now no check nor danger in joyning him. On the other hand, thoſe gariſons which
Bacchides had left in ſeveral ſtrong places of *Judæa* above-mentioned, not finding
themſelves ſtrong enough to withſtand him, forſook them and fled. Thoſe only of
Bethzura and *Acra*, which were moſtly filled with apoſtate *Jews*, not daring to follow
their example, leſt they ſhould be purſued and meet with their juſt deſerts, reſolved
to ſtand it out to the laſt, and either ſurrender upon ſafe terms, or to die ſword in
hand. *Jonathan*, however, did not think fit to beſiege them immediately, but went
to *Jeruſalem*, where his preſence was more required, and there cauſed the repairs
both of the city and temple to be forthwith ſet about, fixing his abode in that city to c
ſee the work more effectually finiſhed [q].

Year of the Flood 2846. *Before Chriſt* 153. Demetrius's *letter to* Jonathan.

When *Alexander* underſtood what a powerful friend *Jonathan* was like to prove to the ſide he ſhould declare himſelf for, and the favours which *Demetrius* had lately bribed him with, he reſolved to outbid him and to draw him to his intereſt. He ſent him a moſt obliging letter (Q), in which he beſtowed the high-prieſthood on him, and accompanied it with rich preſents, and among them a purple robe and a golden crown [r]. *Jonathan* readily accepted of them, put on the prieſtly veſtments, on the feaſts of tabernacles [s], in the ninth year of his government (R), and in the ſeventh month of that year. However, as he would not ſeem wholly to receive that d
dignity from a prince, whoſe right to the *Syrian* crown was ſo juſtly ſuſpected, he got himſelf choſen to it by the ſuffrages of the *Jewiſh* nation; and indeed not without a ſpecious right to it; for being, as we hinted in the laſt note, of the family of *Joarib*, and conſequently of the firſt claſs of the *Aaronic* race, that was ſufficient to intitle him to it upon the failure of that of *Jozadac*, which had enjoyed it ever ſince their return from *Babylon*; and we don't read of any ſurvivor of it except *Onias*, who was then in *Egypt*, and had there, if not apoſtatiſed, at leaſt made a conſiderable ſchiſm, by ſetting up a new temple, altar, and prieſthood there. As ſoon therefore as *Jonathan* was

Alexander's *letter to him.*

Jonathan *made high-prieſt.*

[q] 1 Maccab. x. 10, & ſeq. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 3, & 4. Ant. ubi ſupra, c. 5.

[r] 1 Maccab. ibid. ver. 17, & ſeq.

[s] Iid. ibid.

(Q) The purport of it was to this effect: "King *Alexander* to his brother *Jonathan*, &c. "Being informed of your power and valour, and "that you are worthy of our friendſhip, we con- "ſtitute you high-prieſt of your nation, and it is "our pleaſure that you be inrolled in the number "of the king's friends. To this end we have ſent "you a purple robe and a golden crown, not "doubting a ſuitable return from you for our "affection and friendſhip (8).

We have often obſerved in the courſe of this hiſtory, that the purple was a mark of the greateſt dignity next to the royal one; it was eſteemed ſuch among the *Jews*, *Perſians*, *Macedonians*, &c. and thoſe that wore it were called the king's friends, and implied the ſame as the king's couſins here with us.

(R) *Joſephus* (9) ſays in the fourth year after the deceaſe of his brother *Judas*; but we have already ſhewn in a late note his miſtake in making this laſt outlive and ſucceed *Alcimus*, the contrary of which appears from the book of the *Maccabees* (10), which expreſsly mentions the inſtallation of *Jonathan* to have been on the hundred and ſixtieth year of the *Grecian* kingdom, which anſwers to the three thou ſand eight hundred and fifty-ſecond year of the world, and one hundred and fifty-three before Chriſt (11).

We have likewiſe ſhewed at the cloſe of the laſt ſection †, that *Mattathias*, the father of the *Maccabees*, was deſcended from the prieſtly family of *Joarib*, though not from that of *Jaddua* or *Jaddus*, the high-prieſt, whoſe lineal heir and ſucceſſor was the *Onias* whom we lately mentioned to have retired into *Alexandria*, and there built a temple for the uſe of the *Egyptian Jews*.

Jonathan, if not his brother *Judas*, was therefore the firſt of the family who enjoyed the pontifical dignity, which continued in it through a number of ſucceſſors till *Herod*'s time, who, from hereditary, made it venal and arbitrary, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel.

(8) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* xiii. *c.* 5. (9) *Ibid.* (10) *Conf.* 1 *Macc.* x. 21. & ix. 3. 28, & 54.
† *p.* 54, (K). (11) *Vid. Uſſ. ann, & the Marg. of the Macc. in loc.*

a was inveſted with his new dignity, his firſt care was to raiſe new forces, and to cauſe a great number of arms to be made, reſolved to ſide with *Alexander*. When *Demetrius* found that his competitor was likely to deprive him of ſo important an ally, he ſpared neither favour nor promiſes to prevent it: he ſent him a long letter, couched in the moſt obliging terms, and wherein he artfully diſguiſed his reſentment for his defection, under the greateſt profeſſions of confidence in his friendſhip and loyalty. In acknowledgment of which, and to bind him ſtill faſter to his intereſt, he promiſed him a general relaxation of all arrears, an exemption from future tribute, impoſts, or taxes, a free exerciſe of their religion, with many other conceſſions and privileges, vaſtly exceeding thoſe which *Alexander* had made to him, and too great indeed to be b really deſigned by that monarch: at leaſt the memory of the many miſchiefs and perſecutions, which they had ſo lately ſuffered under him, made them ſuſpect the ſincerity of them; and indeed ſuch was the character of that prince, and the preſent ſituation of his affairs, that they might well extort ſuch exorbitant promiſes from him, without any real intention to perform them. However, whether through reſentment or diffidence, *Jonathan* choſe rather to enter into an alliance with his competitor, and diſclaimed all future friendſhip with a man who had given them ſo many feeling proofs of his hatred to their nation. So that from this time they ſtuck cloſe to *Alexander*'s intereſt [t], and it was lucky for them that they did ſo, ſince *Demetrius* was ſoon after defeated and killed by him, as we have ſeen in a former volume *.

Demetrius's ſecond letter to him.

Suſpected of inſincerity.

c THE new monarch, however, having by that deciſive battle made himſelf maſter of the *Syrian* crown, forgot not to expreſs his gratitude to the *Jewiſh* chief; he invited him ſoon after to his nuptials, to which *Jonathan* went with a numerous retinue, and was received with great marks of friendſhip and eſteem. During his ſtay at *Ptolemais*, where they were celebrated, ſome diſaffected *Jews* came to exhibit ſome accuſations againſt him; but the king, reſolved not to hear any thing againſt his friend, cauſed a proclamation to be made through the city, expreſsly forbidding any ſuch complaint to be brought before him. To mortify his enemies the more, he cauſed him to ſit by him cloathed in purple, confirmed all his former grants to him, and made him generaliſſimo of *Judæa*, and gave him ſome other titles and government in his king- d dom (S); all which did caſt ſuch a damp upon his accuſers, that they ſneaked away for fear of further miſchief. *Jonathan*, on the other hand, having made ſome conſiderable preſents to the king and queen, and to their court, returned into *Judæa* [u], highly ſatisfied with his reception, and much more with his choice of ſuch an ally. From this time the *Jewiſh* nation became more and more conſiderable, not only in *Judæa*, where they enjoyed every branch of liberty, whether religious or civil; but in other countries alſo, and particularly in *Egypt*; where *Ptolemy Philometor* and his ſiſter and wife *Cleopatra* raiſed many of them to conſiderable poſts both at court and in the army, intruſted them with the keeping of their principal fortreſſes, and had given the command of their army to *Onias* and *Doſitheus*. Theſe two, if we may believe *Joſephus* [w], e ſeem to have wholly ingroſſed the king's favour during his whole reign. But *Onias* could not be ſatisfied with it, whilſt he ſaw himſelf deprived of the dignity of the *Jewiſh* high-prieſthood, and of the pleaſure of performing the functions of that ſupreme dignity, which his birth intitled him to. Since therefore there were no hopes that *Jonathan* would ever yield to him that of *Jeruſalem*, he had no other way to make himſelf amends for it, but by ſetting up a new one in *Egypt*; and his great credit with the king and queen did eaſily procure him the liberty of doing it. But as this tranſaction did no further concern the *Jews* of *Judæa*, to which we confine ourſelves, than as it made a great ſchiſm with them, we ſhall relate it in the margin (T).

Year of the flood 2849. *Before Chriſt* 150.

Jonathan's *reception at* Ptolemais.

Jews *in* Egypt *highly eſteemed.*

A Jewiſh *temple built in* Egypt.

By

[t] Jid. ibid. * Vol. III. p. 595. [u] 1 MACCAB. ibid. ver. 59. ad 66. Antiq. ubi ſupra. [w] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 6. Cont. Apion. l. ii. See alſo, Vol. III. p. 657, c.

(S) The book of *Maccabees* ſays, that he made him one of the *Malabarchas*, which our verſion after the vulgate renders *a duke*, ſome critics *lord-high-ſteward*, others *lord-chief-ſewer*; which offices, and ſome others of the like nature, are ſtill held by the electors of *Germany*. But it is more likely, as *Grotius* in another place ſeems to have proved it (12), that it meant ſome higher place than an office in the king's houſe, *viz.* the government of ſome tribe or province in the kingdom.

(T) This edifice, which was built after the model of that of *Jeruſalem*, but neither ſo large nor ſo ſumptuous, the reader may ſee deſcribed in *Joſephus* (1). It was ſurrounded with a very ſtrong ſtone

(12) *Comment. in Matth.* xix. 28. *Jud. l.* vii. *c.* 30.

(1) *Antiq. l.* xiii. *c.* 6. *l.* xiv. *c.* 14. *l.* xviii. *c.* 20. *Bell.*

Year of the flood 2851. *Before Chriſt* 148.

By this time *Alexander* having, partly by his negligence and debaucheries, and a partly by the tyranny and cruelties of his favourite *Ammonius*, as it were, invited young *Demetrius* out of his retirement in *Cnidos*, to come and recover the crown from him †, *Apollonius*, then governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, revolted to him, whilſt *Jonathan*, remembering his late alliance and obligations, ſtuck cloſe to *Alexander*'s intereſt. *Apollonius*, therefore, having got a conſiderable army together, marched againſt him as far as *Jamnia*; but not daring to advance farther into the mountainous parts of *Judæa*, for fear of loſing the benefit of his cavalry, he ſent him a daring meſſage to come and fight him in the plain country. *Jonathan* readily accepted the challenge,

Jonathan *challenged by* Apollonius.

and marched from *Jeruſalem* to *Joppa* at the head of ten thouſand men, and in his b way was met by his brother *Simon* with a reinforcement. The town being gariſoned by the troops of *Apollonius*, they ſhut the gates againſt the *Jewiſh* general, and obliged him to take it by ſiege, which he quickly did, and almoſt in full ſight of the enemy's army. As ſoon as *Apollonius* perceived it, he came againſt him with eight thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, leaving a thouſand more of theſe behind to ſurpriſe the *Jews* on the rear, whilſt he attacked them in front, and ſo made a feint, as if he was marching with the former ſouthward towards *Azotus*. *Jonathan* came out as he expected, and he, facing about, fell upon him, not doubting but his ſtratagem would gain him a complete victory. But he ſoon found his project diſcomfited by the experienced *Jewiſh* general; for having drawn up his army in the figure of an oblong

Defeats him.

c ſquare, not unlike the *Macedonian* phalanx, his brave troops bore the brunt of the battle on both ſides with unuſual firmneſs till the evening, when *Jonathan*, obſerving the enemy's horſe to be quite ſpent, ruſhed on the ſudden upon the foot which was now deſtitute of their cavalry, and totally routed them. The greateſt part of them fled to *Azotus*, and ſheltered themſelves in the temple of *Dagon*, whither the *Jewiſh* army purſued them; and having made themſelves maſters of the town, ſet it on fire temple and all. The number of the ſlain, whether by the ſword, or the flames, amounted to eight thouſand. From *Azotus Jonathan* went and plundered ſome other neighbouring towns; only that of *Aſcalon*, which met him with preſents and compliments of ſubmiſſion, was ſpared, after which they returned to *Jeruſalem* loaden with rich plunder. *Alexander*, ſoon after hearing of *Jonathan*'s faithfulneſs and victory, d

Alexander's *gratitude to him.*

ſent him a preſent of a rich buckle or claſp, ſuch as thoſe only of the royal family uſed to wear, and which faſtened their purple mantle to the ſhoulder: he gave him moreover the city and territory of *Ecron*, and ſome other marks of his eſteem [x].

On *Philometor*'s coming with his army into *Paleſtine*, on pretence to ſuccour his ſon-in-law, but in reality to diſpoſſeſs him of his kingdom, whether to ſeize it for himſelf, as the author of the *Maccabees* pretends [y], or, which is more likely from the ſequel, in favour of young *Demetrius*; ſome of the enemies of the *Maccabees* tried to

† See before, Vol. III. p. 596, & ſeq. c. xi. 1. & ſeq.

x Maccab. ibid. ver. 74. ad fin.

y Ibid.

ſtone wall, and had the altar of incenſe and burnt-offerings, &c. like that in *Judæa*; only, inſtead of the ſeven-branch candleſtick, *Onias* contented himſelf with a ſtately golden lamp, which hung from the roof by a chain of the ſame metal.

The place he pitched upon was the ruins of an ancient *Egyptian* temple, within the nome of *Heliopolis*; which being therefore polluted, gave no ſmall ſcandal to the *Jews* there, who were moreover very ſtrenuous againſt the ſetting up any temple againſt that of *Jeruſalem*, as being expreſsly contrary to the *Moſaic* law. To remove theſe two ſcruples, *Onias* trumped up a prophecy out of *Iſaiah* (2), importing, that an altar ſhould be ſet up unto the Lord in the midſt of the land of *Egypt*, and alluding to the times of the goſpel, which he applied to this new edifice he was about to build; and whereas one of the *Egyptian* cities there mentioned is called עיר החרס, *hair hacheres* in the text, which ſignifies the *city of the ſun*, though the *keri* or margin reads it עיר הרס, *hair heres*, *the city of deſtruction* (3); *Onias* took it in the former ſenſe, and ſo is ſuppoſed to have made choice of the territory of *Heliopolis*, as if it had been alluded to by the prophet (4). Though the laſt quoted author adds another reaſon, *viz.* his being governor of that diſtrict, and having built a city in it, which he had peopled with *Jews*, and called by his name *Onion*.

When he had once removed theſe two difficulties, he did not want for prieſts and levites to officiate under him, ſo that the divine ſervice was afterwards performed in this new temple in the ſame manner as it was at *Jeruſalem*, till both were deſtroyed by the ſame *Roman* emperor (5).

However, thoſe prieſts, who had once officiated in the *Egyptian*, were never ſuffered to do ſo in the *Jewiſh*, but were, if may believe the talmudiſts (6), looked upon as guilty of the ſame ſchiſm with thoſe who had ſacrificed on the high places, and as ſuch were only admitted to the very loweſt ſervices. They received their elemoſynary ſtipends out of the revenue of the temple, but were excluded from eating any of its holy things.

(2) *Iſaiah* xix. 18, 19. (3) *Vid. Munſter. in loc.* (4) *Scaliger. in Chronol. Euſeb Prid. Connect. ſub an.* 149. (5) *Vid. Joſeph Bell. Judaic. l.* vii. *c.* 30. (6) *Vid. Miſhn. tract. Minchoth, c.* 15.

a to render them odious to him, by ſhewing him the devaſtations they had lately made, particularly the ruins of *Azotus* and of the temple of *Dagon*, and the carcaſes of thoſe they had ſlain, and which were ſtill ſtinking above ground. But that prince, whatever his reaſons were, could not be induced to ſhew any reſentment againſt them for it. On the contrary, he laid all the blame of it upon *Apollonius*; and when *Jonathan* came to pay him a viſit at *Joppa* with a numerous retinue, he met with a kind reception from him, accompanied him to the river *Eleutherus*, and returned to *Jeruſalem* [z].

THE reader may remember, how this prince, having given the kingdom of *Syria* and his daughter *Cleopatra* from *Alexander* to young *Demetrius*, ſurnamed *Nicanor*,
b died of the wounds he received in the laſt battle, before he could well ſettle him on his throne. *Jonathan* therefore took this opportunity, *Egypt* being then imbroiled in a civil war about the ſucceſſion, and neither able nor inclined to aſſiſt the new *Syrian* king, to begin the ſiege of *Acra*, which was ſtill gariſoned by *Syrian* troops, and was a great check to, and always ready to annoy, the *Jews*, going to and from *Jeruſalem*. He wanted neither forces nor engines to form it in the beſt manner; but in the height of the ſiege, complaint having been made of it to the young king, he was forced to leave it to appear before him at *Ptolemais*. However, he gave orders that it ſhould be carried on with the ſame vigour, as if no ſuch ſummons had been ſent to him; and taking with him ſome of the moſt conſiderable prieſts and elders
c of his nation, came to the court, where he pleaded his cauſe ſo well before that prince, and backed it with ſuch rich preſents, that he was received into his favour and friendſhip, and quite diſcomfited his accuſers, who were ſent away with diſgrace. After this, *Nicanor* confirmed him in his pontifical dignity, inrolled him in the higheſt place among his friends, and, for the annual tribute of three hundred talents, releaſed, not only *Judæa*, but alſo the three toparchies of *Lydda*, *Apharema*, and *Ramatha* (U), from all future taxes whatſoever [a].

Jonathan upon his return to *Jeruſalem* doubled his ſtrength and vigour againſt the fortreſs; but finding that it was like to hold out long and to coſt him dear, he bethought himſelf of procuring an order from the king for the evacuation both of
d that and ſome other places, from which he complained to him the gariſons were ſtill annoying the *Jews*. He choſe a lucky juncture for ſending this requeſt: for *Demetrius* having a little before diſbanded his troops, had given occaſion to that revolt which *Tryphon* raiſed at *Antioch*, and hath been ſpoken of in a former volume *. He was therefore glad to grant it to him, upon condition he ſhould aſſiſt him with ſome of his forces to quell the rebels; and we have ſeen there, how effectually the three thouſand men, which he ſent him, did it, and at the ſame time retaliated to the *Antiochians* the many cruelties which thoſe of their own nation had formerly ſuffered from the *Syrians*, both in *Judæa* and out of it [b]. *Demetrius*, however, inſtead of performing his promiſe to *Jonathan*, broke even thoſe which he had made to him at
e *Ptolemais*, and began to inſiſt on his paying all the taxes and cuſtoms which he had remitted to him at that interview. But it was not long before a new inſurrection, in which he was driven out of his kingdom by *Antiochus*, the ſon of *Alexander*, made him repent of his perfidy to the *Jews*, and of his tyranny to his own ſubjects.

Jonathan *beſieges* Acra.

Demetrius's *treachery to the* Jews *puniſhed.*

THE new king did not forget to ſecure the *Jewiſh* general to his intereſt; he confirmed to him all the former grants, and added ſome others to them; and among them he made his brother *Simon* general of all his forces, and governor of all the ſea-coaſts, from the ladder of *Tyre* to the frontiers of *Egypt*, upon condition, that thoſe two brothers ſhould declare for him. *Jonathan* was eaſily prevailed upon to forſake his old treacherous ally, and to accept of the offers of the new one: he ſent him immediately

Antiochus *mounts the* Syrian *throne. Year of the flood* 2855. *Before Chriſt* 144.

[z] 1 MACCAB. xi. 4, & ſeq. See alſo Vol. III. p. 597, & ſeq. [a] 1 MACC. Ibid. ver. 20, & ſeq. JOSEPH. ant. lib. xiii. c. 8. * See before, Vol. III. p. 605, d, e. [b] 1 MACC. xi. ver. 41, & ſeq.

(U) Theſe three with their territories had been diſmembered from *Samaria*, ſome time before, and joined to *Judæa*; and the late *Demetrius*, in his courting letter to *Jonathan*, confirmed to him the poſſeſſion and immunities of them (13); and now the preſent king renews the ſame grant, and allots the revenues of it towards the maintenance of the ſervice of the temple, and of the prieſts in duty (14).

The reader may ſee the letter which he ſent to *Laſthenes* in favour of the *Jews* in the place laſt quoted. He there ſtyles that *Cretan* general his father, becauſe he had aſſiſted him in the recovery and preſerving of his crown; and commands him to ſend a copy of his letter to the *Jewiſh* general, to be ſet up on ſome eminent place of the temple, to be peruſed by all comers.

(13) *Vid.* 1 *Macc.* x. 30. (14) *Ibid.* xi. 22. *ad.* 30. *Ant. l.* xiii. *c.* 8. *ad fin.*

immediately an embaſſy to thank him for his favours, and to aſſure him of his beſt a
ſervices. In purſuance of which, having obtained a commiſſion for raiſing a good army, the two *Jewiſh* generals put themſelves at the head of it, croſſed the *Jordan*, and defeated *Demetrius*'s troops that were ſent to make a diverſion in *Galilee*. In this expedition, *Jonathan* was in imminent danger of being cut in pieces by the enemy: he had incamped his army near the lake of *Genezareth*, and was advancing early one morning towards *Azor*. In his march he fell unexpectedly into an ambuſh, which had been placed among the defiles of the mountains to ſurpriſe him. As ſoon as he perceived his danger, he diſpoſed his men the beſt he could for a brave defence; but the greateſt part of them, being ſeized with a panic, forſook him and fled; ſo that he was left with only fifty reſolute fellows, and two of his commanding officers, b
Mattathias and *Judas*. With theſe he faced about, and fought ſo deſperately, that the enemy began to give way; which being perceived at a diſtance by his runaways, they rallied again to him, and renewed the fight with ſuch vigour, that they gained a complete victory, and purſued the *Demetrians* to their very camp at *Cadeſh*. They killed of them about three thouſand men [c]; after this *Jonathan* ſent his brother to go and beſiege *Bethzura*, which had till then been gariſoned by heathens and renegado *Jews*, whilſt himſelf went and ſecured ſome of the principal cities of that province; particularly that of *Aſcalon*, which opened its gates to him; that of *Gaza*, which he forced to ſurrender, and, in a word, all the towns from thence to *Damaſcus*. *Simon* on his ſide, having made himſelf maſter of *Bethzura*, freed that neighbourhood from c
the continual inſults of that gariſon, and returned to *Jeruſalem*, whither his brother came alſo preſently after.

Jonathan calls into an ambuſh.

Fights deſperately and beats the enemy.

These ſucceſſes of the two brothers abroad, had caſt ſuch a damp on their enemies at home, that they found all things in quietneſs at their return. However, *Jonathan* did not think fit to truſt to the gratitude of the new king, to whom he had done ſuch ſignal ſervices; but ſet about means of preſerving the peace and liberty of his nation, on the foot he had ſo happily eſtabliſhed it. To this end he ſent a new embaſſy to *Rome* to renew his alliance with the ſenate, which was done with great readineſs on their part. In their return, his embaſſadors were order to do the ſame with the *Lacedæmonians* and other *Grecian* ſtates, with whom they were in friend- d
ſhip, which they did with the ſame eaſe and ſucceſs. In their letter to the *Lacedæmonians*, the ſubſtance of which the reader will find in the margin (W), they reminded them of their letter formerly ſent to their high-prieſt (*Onias* III.) by *Arius* their king †, and incloſed a copy of it with their own. But whilſt theſe alliances were tranſacting, news were brought to him, that the *Demetrian* generals, whom he had lately defeated, were advancing towards him with a more numerous army. To prevent therefore their entering into *Judæa*, he marched out with utmoſt expedition at the head of his forces, reſolved, if poſſible, to attack them in their own territories. He made ſuch good ſpeed, that he reached *Amathis*, a place on the frontiers of *Syria*, and incamped over-againſt them. Their deſign it ſeems was to ſurpriſe his camp on the following e
night, but *Jonathan* having timely notice of it, kept his men under arms all that night, ready to receive them; which being perceived by the enemy, they retired immediately into their camp; where having lighted a good number of fires, to conceal their

Alliance with Rome renewed,

And with Sparta.

[c] Ibid. ver. 67, & ſeq. Joseph. ubi ſupra, c. 9. † See before, Vol. II. p. 624, & note

(W) *Jonathan*, high-prieſt, with the elders and prieſts of the *Jewiſh* nation, unto the ephori, ſenate, and people of *Lacedæmon*, their brethren, greeting:

" Whereas we have found, among our records, " a letter long ſince written by *Arius*, one of your " kings, to *Onias*, formerly high-prieſt of the *Jews*, " wherein he expreſſed your friendſhip and affinity " to our nation, which affinity we acknowledged " with greater honour, becauſe we find it con- " firmed by our ſacred books: We have ſent theſe " our deputies unto you to renew the ſaid alliance " and brotherly union with you, leſt we ſhould be " thought unmindful of it, by reaſon of the long " interval which has elapſed ſince the receipt of it.

" Be it therefore known unto you, that we have " had you always in our minds, both in our ſo- " lemn feſtivals and in our prayers and ſacrifices, " as our brethren and allies, rejoycing at your " ſucceſſes, and beholding with pleaſure the pro- " ſperity and ſplendor of your republic. As for " us, though we thought ourſelves honoured by " your friendſhip and alliance, yet we have hither- " to forborn to be chargeable or troubleſome to " you during all the grievous wars and perſecu- " tions which we have been expoſed to from our " tyrannous neighbours; but now, ſince heaven " has bleſt us with better times, we have thought " fit to ſend to you *Numenius* and *Antipater*, our " late deputies to the *Roman* ſenate, with freſh " offers of our beſt ſervices to you, not doubting " but they will be as heartily accepted of by you, " as they are tendered by us (15)".

(15) *Vid. Joſeph. Antiq. l.* xiii. *c.* 9.

a their flight, they forſook it, and marched off unperceived. When the riſing morning gave the *Jews* notice of their flight, *Jonathan* ſtrove in vain to purſue them; they were already got far enough beyond the *Eleutherus*, before he could reach that river. To make himſelf therefore ſome amends for his diſappointment, he fell upon ſome *Demetrian Arabs*, whom he defeated, and carried off a conſiderable plunder, and from thence paſſing through *Damaſcus*, making ſtill ſome excurſions all the way, he arrived at *Jeruſalem* [d].

Whilst theſe things were doing, *Simon*, who had been left to take care of *Judæa* and *Galilee*, kept a watchful eye over thoſe places he had lately ſecured to *Antiochus* in the laſt of thoſe provinces. He went and took a review of the gariſons of *Aſcalon*,
b and other fortreſſes in that neighbourhood; and being told that the citizens of *Joppa* were inclined to receive a *Demetrian* governor and ſome *Syrian* forces, he went and took it, and put a ſtrong gariſon of his own in it, and returned to join his brother at *Jeruſalem*. Here they called a council, wherein it was reſolved, that all the forts and ſconces of *Judæa* ſhould be forthwith repaired; that new ones ſhould be erected where they were wanted; that the wall of the city ſhould be rebuilt; and a new one Jeruſalem
be raiſed between mount *Sion* and the reſt of the city, of ſuch a height, as might *new fortified.*
effectually cut off all communication between them; to the end, that the gariſon of *Acra*, being thereby deprived from all future ſupply, might be the ſooner either forced to ſurrender, or be ſtarved in it. All theſe wholeſome reſolutions were imme-
c diately put in execution; *Jonathan* undertook to overſee the work within the city, and *Simon* that without. A ſtrong and high wall was accordingly built by the former, which reached quite cloſe to the old one that was then repairing, and made up that place which was called *Chaphenatha*, towards the eaſt of the city, near the brook *Cedron*. This did ſo effectually incloſe that mount, that the gariſon was not long after forced to ſurrender. *Simon* on his part went and repaired all the old forts, and added to them that of *Adida*, or *Adiaba*, in the region of *Sephala*, weſtward of *Eleutheropolis*. By all which *Judæa* was now in a better condition for defence, than it had ever been ſince their return from captivity [e].

By this time *Jonathan* had governed the *Jewiſh* ſtate near ſeventeen years, with Jonathan
d great wiſdom and ſucceſs, when he was unwarily decoyed into the perfidious *Try-* *treacherouſly*
phon's power, and ſoon after murdered by him. That traytor knew but too well *murdered by*
how vain it would be to attempt to wrench the crown from the young monarch, Tryphon.
whilſt he had ſo faithful and powerful an ally; and therefore ſpared neither promiſes, oaths, nor any other treacherous means to perſuade him to diſband his numerous army, now become, as he pretended, uſeleſs and burdenſome. *Jonathan*, too eaſily prevailed upon to take that deſtructive ſtep, was ſoon after as unhappily decoyed into the city of *Ptolemais*, attended only by one thouſand of his men, who were all treacherouſly murdered by his orders, and their chief only ſpared till the villain had obtained a large ſum from *Judæa* under the name of a ranſom, and cauſed him to be
e maſſacred as ſoon as he had got it into his hands*. So that *Jonathan* died as much a ſacrifice to his too generous credulity, as to his unſhaken fidelity to *Antiochus*. As ſoon as the news of his being ſeized and kept priſoner, and of the murder of his men, reached *Jeruſalem*, the whole city was in the utmoſt conſternation. They doubted not, but the perfidious murderer would ſoon be at their gates, and be joined by all the heathens and apoſtate *Jews*, whom the bravery of their late leader had ſuppreſſed hitherto; and indeed their fears were but too well grounded; for *Tryphon* was making great preparations to march into *Judæa*, with a full reſolution to extirpate, if poſſible, the whole nation; and all their enemies, who had been till now kept in awe, but had received a kind of new life at the news of *Jonathan*'s being in his
f hands, had began to expreſs an impatient deſire to ſee the land once more invaded, and threatened the *Jews* with a ſevere retaliation. *Simon* was now the only one of the ſons of *Mattathias* that was left, and the courage and conduct which he had ſhewed hitherto made him looked upon as the only fit perſon to ſucceed his brother. An aſſembly was therefore called at the outer court of the temple, in which he was by their unanimous conſent deſired to take the command upon him; which he readily did, not only as he was the next in ſucceſſion, but that he might find ſome means, either of Simon *ſuc-*
releaſing, or, at the worſt, of revenging his worthy brother. To diſſipate therefore, as *ceeds his bro-*
much as poſſible, that fear which he obſerved in their countenances, he addreſſed *ther.*
himſelf

[d] 1 Macc, xi. 62, ad fin. Antiq. l. xiii, c. 9. Vol. III. p. 624, & ſeq.

[e] 1 Macc, xii. Antiq. ibid.

* See before,

*

ſelf to them in words to this effect: You are not ignorant how bravely my father, a
brothers, and I, have fought in the defence of our laws and religion, our temple
and our nation. They have already ſacrificed their lives for that glorious cauſe, and
I am now the only ſurviving one to maintain it. God forbid! I ſhould value my own
more than they did theirs, as long as I ſee you groaning under any oppreſſion. Be-
hold me then as ready and willing as they to undertake the defence of our nation and
temple, of our wives and of our children. This ſpeech was received with univerſal
applauſe, and the people, having in great meaſure recovered their drooping ſpirits,
proclaimed him their commander and high-prieſt (X), promiſing at the ſame time to
follow him through all difficulties and dangers in defence of their religion and coun-
try [g]. b

As ſoon as he was inſtalled in his new dignity, his firſt care was to finiſh the for-
tifications of the city with all ſpeed, and to get together an army ſufficient to make
head againſt that of *Tryphon*, who was in full march againſt him, But when that traitor
came to find the *Jews* in ſuch a brave condition of defence, he contented himſelf with
ſending him word that he had ſeized his brother for a debt of a hundred talents, which
he owed him; and that, if he would ſend them to him, and his two ſons as hoſtages,
Tryphon's treachery. their father ſhould be immediately releaſed. *Simon* eaſily ſaw through this treache-
rous pretence, but dared not refuſe his demand, for fear of bringing ſome unjuſt ſuſ-
picion on himſelf, as if he was the cauſe of his brother's detention. In the mean
time the *Syrian* gariſon, being ſorely preſt for want of proviſion, found means to ſend c
Tryphon word, and to beg his aſſiſtance; and he, having increaſed the number of his
forces, was coming to their relief, but was prevented with a deep ſnow, and forced
to withdraw into winter quarters; ſoon after which, he cauſed both *Antiochus* and
Jonathan, with his two ſons, to be murdered (Y), as we have elſewhere related;
Jonathan *buried at* Modin. and returned to *Syria*. As ſoon as he was gone, *Simon* ordered their bones to be
fetched from that place, and to be depoſited in the ſepulchre of his fathers at *Modin*,
Year of the flood 2856. with the ſolemnity ſuitable to his rank, and then cauſed a ſtately monument to be reared
Before Chriſt 143. over it (Z) [h].

His next care was to ſend an embaſſy to the *Roman* ſenate, to notify to them the
treacherous murther of his brother, his ſucceſſion to his office, and to renew his alliance d
with them. They were to do the ſame with the *Lacedæmonians*, and in both places
they were received with great honour. Both nations ſhewed an uncommon reſent-
ment at *Tryphon*'s treachery, and chearfully renewed their friendſhip with *Simon*, to
Alliance with Rome and Sparta renewed. whom they ſent back letters of congratulation on his acceſſion to the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt-
hood and government, together with the ratification of their alliance engraved on
copper. All which being received, *Simon* cauſed them to be read before their great
aſſembly; and then ſet about fortifying afreſh both *Jeruſalem* and other places of
Judæa, and to raiſe new forces againſt any future invaſion [i]. Having thus far ſtrength-
ened himſelf by alliances, and the land with men, arms, and other neceſſary ſtores,
he ſent an embaſſy to *Demetrius*, whom *Tryphon* had by this time ſtripped of almoſt e
his whole kingdom; and, in his letter to him, offered to acknowledge him king of
Syria,

[f] 1 Macc. xii. 39, & ſeq. Antiq. xiii. 10.
[g] 1 Macc. xiii. paſſ. Joseph. ubi ſupra. c. 11.
[h] 1 Macc. xiii. 20, & ſeq. Ant. ubi ſupra.
[i] Iid. ibid.

(X) It ſeems as if the aſſembly, however, had ſome ſcruple about the regularity of this election to the pontifical dignity; and therefore we find a kind of an apology made for it in the enſuing chapter (16); where, having recapitulated all his glorious deeds and his lineal deſcent from *Joarib*, they add, that they had choſen him their governor and high-prieſt, and intailed thoſe dignities on his poſterity, *until there ſhould ariſe a faithful prophet* (17), who might ſet them to rights about it.

(Y) The text ſays, that it was at *Boſcama* that he cauſed the three laſt to be put to death and buried; but it is not eaſy to find the ſituation of that place; only one may conjecture, that it was in the land of *Gilead*, where he is ſaid to have taken his winter quarters. *Joſephus* calls the place *Baſca* (18).

(Z) This noble piece of architecture ſtood on an eminence, which commanded the whole country round about; and, being in itſelf raiſed to a great height, was ſeen at a great diſtance at ſea, and ſerved for a land-mark. It was made of white marble, curiouſly carved and poliſhed. *Simon* cauſed alſo ſeven pyramids to be built round it, *viz.* two for his father and mother, and four for his four brethren, and the laſt for himſelf. The whole was ſurrounded with a ſtately portico, whoſe arches were ſupported by marble pillars, each of a whole piece. The top of it was adorned with ſhields, armour, ſhips, and other ſuch embelliſhments curiouſly carved. All which were ſtill to be ſeen, not only in *Joſephus*, but in *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom*'s time (19).

(16) 1 *Macc.* xiv. 26, *& ſeq.* (17) *Ver.* 41. περι των τοπικων ονοματων. *Hier. Loc Hebr.* (18) *Ant. l.* xiii. *c.* 11. (19) *Ibid. Euſeb.*

a *Syria*, and to assist him in the recovery of his kingdom from the usurper, upon condition that he confirmed him in all his dignities, and his country in all their privileges and immunities, He backed his offers with a rich crown of gold and some other presents; and *Demetrius*, glad at heart to accept the conditions, sent him a letter under the royal signature, by which he granted all his demands, together with a general amnesty and oblivion for all past hostilities, and constituted *Simon* sovereign prince of the *Jewish* nation, and freed his land from all foreign yoke. From this time *Simon* took upon him the name and authority of prince and high-priest of the *Jews*, which dignities having been confirmed to him and to his descendants on the next year, by an act of the sanhedrin, all public acts were ordered from thenceforward to be made in

b his name (A).

Simon's main business now was to strengthen himself in this new dignity, to which end, he set about repairing and fortifying all his garisons afresh, especially that of *Bethzura*, which, being on the confines of *Judæa*, had been formerly made the chief magazine of the enemy, and was like to be one of the first places they would attempt. He therefore took care to secure it with good walls, towers, and ammunition, and with a garison of the stoutest *Jews*. About the same time he sent *Jonathan* the son of *Absalom* with a good army to besiege *Joppa*, which being taken, he drove out all its inhabitants, filled it with men of his own nation, repaired its fortifications; and liking the situation of it, built himself a house and settled there. The place from

c this time became the head sea-port to *Jerusalem* and all *Judæa*, being distant about forty miles from *Jerusalem*, and opening a trade to all the *Mediterranean* coasts and islands. *Strabo* [l] tells us, it was a port of the *Jews* in his time, and it has continued so ever since, notwithstanding its being a dangerous one, by reason of the great rocks that lie before it [m]; though in other respects very pleasant, being situate on a beautiful plain, and having *Jamnia* on the south, *Cæsarea* on the north, and *Ramah* on the east [n]. About the same time *Simon* went with another army to reduce the city of *Gaza*, or, as some more probably guess, that of *Gazara* (B), which had revolted ever since *Jonathan*'s death. He battered it some considerable time with his engines, and was just on the point of storming it, when the inhabitants appeared on the walls,

d men, women, and children, with their cloaths rent, and implored his mercy with such

Simon *fortifies* Judæa.

Takes Joppa.

And Gaza.

[l] Geogr. l. xvi. [m] Joseph. Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 15. [n] Vid. int. al. Rel. Palæst. illust.

(A) In pursuance, and by virtue, of this grant, the *Jews* from that time ceased to date their contracts and other instruments, as formerly, by the reigns of the *Syrian* kings, and dated them by the years of *Simon* and his successors (20). This change was made by the general assembly of the *Jews*, both priests and elders, wherein the supreme government and high-priesthood were bestowed on *Simon*, upon account of his great exploits and extraordinary merit, which are there enumerated (21); and with this further addition, that those dignities should be intailed on his posterity, as we observed in a late note. Moreover a copy of the grant, which was inscribed, *King* Demetrius *unto* Simon *the high-priest, and friend of kings, and to the elders and nation of the* Jews (22), was ordered to be ingraven on tables of brass, and to be hung up in the sanctuary, and the original to be deposited among the archives of the nation.

This grant, which continued some generations in his family, was dated on the eighteenth day of the month *Elul*, answering in part to our *August*, in the hundred and seventy-second year of the *Seleucidæ*, and the third of *Simon*'s pontificate. It is said to be given at the general assembly held at *Sarameel*, which the margin of our *English* version supposes, with *Vatablus* and others, to mean *Jerusalem*, by transposition of the letters. The vulgate reads it *Asaramel*, which, if right, may be properly enough supposed to be put according to the *Greek* way of writing *Hebrew* words and names, for *chazar-mello*, or *the court* or *porch of Millo*. *Millo* was the deep valley between old *Jerusalem* and the city of *David*, which that monarch, and after him *Solomon*, caused to be filled up at a vast labour and charge, and was therefore called by that name from the *Hebrew* root, which signifies *to fill*; but whether this conjecture be right, or what the meaning of *Sarameel* or *Asaramel* is, is hard to guess.

(B) Dean *Prideaux* justly suspects the former to have slipt in by the inadvertency of the *Greek* transcriber, instead of the latter (23), which is the *Gazer* or *Gezer* often mentioned by the sacred historians (24); and was likewise called *Gader*, *Gedara*, *Gaderoth*, and by *Strabo Gadaris* (25), who places it, as the book of *Maccabees* (26) doth *Gazara*, near *Asoth*, or *Azotus*, and *Eusebius* about two miles from *Nicopolis* (27).

For, first, as the learned dean above-mentioned rightly observes, *Gazara*, and not *Gaza*, is mentioned among the towns taken by *Simon* (28). Secondly, *Gazara* is often mentioned, as in the hands of *Simon* in this and the foregoing chapter; but *Gaza* only in this place. Lastly, he is said to have built him a house in that town (29), after he had taken it; and yet we find his son dwelling in *Gazara* and made governor of it; so that upon the whole, it is most likely, *Gaza* was only a slip of the pen.

(20) 1 *Macc.* xiv. 26, *& seq.* (21) *Ibid. ver.* 4, *& seq.* (22) *Ibid. cap.* xiii. 36. (23) *Connect. sub an.* 143, *note* (X). (24) *Vid. int. al.* 2 *Sam.* v. *ver. ult.* (25) *Geogr. ubi supra.* (26) xiv. 34. (27) *ubi supra.* (28) 1 *Macc.* xiv. 7, 34. (29) *Ibid.* xiii. 48. (30) *Ibid. ver ult.*

ſuch doleful cries, as prevailed upon him to ſpare their lives, and to ſend them away a to ſhift for themſelves where they could. He entered the town, and purified it of all its idolatrous monuments, put a ſtrong gariſon of *Jews* in it, and cauſed a houſe to be built for himſelf, to which he often retired, either for relaxation, or to keep the neighbourhood in order o.

Year of the flood 2857. *Before Chriſt* 142.

On the next year, the fortreſs of *Acra*, which had been inveſted, as we hinted above, near two years, without any ſupply from without, being now reduced by famine, began to capitulate, after it had been held by the *Syrians* about twenty-five years, to the great nuiſance of the *Jewiſh* nation. *Simon*, who wanted to be rid of them at any rate, gave them leave to march out peaceably, whilſt he and his troops

Acra *ſurrendered.*

entered it with palms in their hands at the ſound of their trumpets and other inſtru- b ments, accompanied with ſongs and other demonſtrations of joy. At firſt he ordered it to be luſtrated, and cleanſed from all the heatheniſh idols and other ſuperſtitious traſh, intending probably to put a *Jewiſh* gariſon in it. But having thought better on it, he called a grand council, and propoſed to them the demoliſhing of both it and of the hill on which it ſtood. He reminded them, among the other miſchiefs it had cauſed hitherto, of its having been a conſtant refuge for all the diſcontented and renegado *Jews*, and of the danger of its becoming ſo again, in caſe it ſhould

And is demoliſhed.

be taken from them p. This propoſal met with a general approbation; the work was immediately ſet about, and carried on with indefatigable aſſiduity, during the ſpace of three years, every man taking his turn in it, till the mountain was brought c down to the level of that of the temple, that it might never more be in a condition to annoy it (C). All this while *Simon* employed another ſet of hands in repairing and fortifying the outer wall, and other parts of the temple, building of new apartments, particularly a palace for himſelf, where he dwelt from thenceforth. In memory of the ſurrender of that fortreſs, *Simon* ordered a feſtival to be kept yearly; and that he might the more fully vacate on the religious and civil affairs of the nation, appointed his ſon *John* general of all his forces, and ordered him to fix his reſidence at *Gazara* q, as was obſerved in a late note. It was in this year that the great ſanhedrin and the whole aſſembly of the *Jews* confirmed to him all his dignities, and intailed them on his poſterity in conſideration of the eminent ſervices he had done to his country; which d are therefore recapitulated (D) in the preamble to their decree, which we have had occaſion to mention a little higher.

Year of the flood 2859. *Before Chriſt* 140.

We have ſeen in a former chapter *, how *Demetrius*, driven from his dominions, had been taken and kept priſoner by the *Parthians*, whilſt *Tryphon*'s tyranny cauſed a general defection from him to *Cleopatra*. This princeſs, deſpairing ever to recover her

o 1 Macc. xiii. & xiv. paſſ. Joseph ubi ſupra.
p Iid. ibid. ad fin.
q 1 Macc. xlii. 49. ad fin.
* Vol. III. p. 605, & ſeq.

(C) This circumſtance of demoliſhing the fortreſs and the hill, which we have mentioned out of *Joſephus* and thoſe who have followed him, is not only omitted, but ſeems even contradicted by the firſt book of *Maccabees*, which affirms (31), that *Simon* fortified and gariſoned it with *Jews*; and in the very next chapter, that *Antiochus* ſent *Simon* a challenge to ſurrender it to him (32), which was three years after.

However, ſince that fortreſs was actually demoliſhed, and the hill itſelf lowered to the level of the temple, it is likely, that *Joſephus* has only antedated it by ſome years.

(D) Among other things that are there mentioned to his great honour, it was not a ſmall one, that *Judæa* enjoyed a perfect peace during the whole time of his government, whilſt *Syria* and other neighbouring kingdoms were almoſt deſtroyed by the wars which were there raiſed by competitors to their crowns, by traytors, and hoſtile depredations; ſo that it is there obſerved, that the *Jews* lived quietly every man under his vine and fig-tree, enjoying without fear the fruits of their labours, and beholding with pleaſure the flouriſhing ſtate of their country; their trade increaſed by the reduction of *Joppa* and other maritime places; their territories inlarged; and their religion and liberties ſecured; their towns and other fortreſſes well gariſoned; their army under good diſcipline; the land free from heathen enemies and *Jewiſh* apoſtates; their friendſhip courted by all the nations about them, and even by the *Romans* and *Greeks*, and themſelves free from all foreign yoke and from danger of invaſion (33).

His panegyriſt adds, that he was no leſs zealous for the ſervice of God, in exterminating apoſtacy, ſuperſtition, idolatry, and every thing elſe that was contrary to his laws; that he was a great protector of the true *Iſraelites* and a friend to the poor; that he reſtored the ſervice of the temple to its ancient ſplendor, and multiplied its ſacred utenſils; ſo that we need not wonder, if the *Jewiſh* ſanhedrin thought no dignity or honour too great for a man of ſuch uncommon merit.

The *Jewiſh* chronologers tell us moreover, that in his days, and about this time, flouriſhed thoſe two great lights of their ſynagogue, *Simeon Ben Shetach* and *Jehuda Ben Tabbai*, directors of the divinity ſchools at *Jeruſalem*; and that the former was preſident, and the latter vice-preſident, of the ſanhedrin (34).

(31) *c.* xiv. 36, 37. (32) *c.* xv. 28. (33) *Ibid.* xiv. 4, *& ſeq.* (34) *Seph. Juchaſin, Shalſhel, &c.*

her captive husband, sent to invite his brother *Antiochus* out of his retirement, to make a push for the *Syrian* crown. Upon his coming therefore to her, he sent a very obliging letter to the *Jewish* high-priest, in which he confirmed to him all his dignities, revenues, and authority, and to his nation all the freedom and immunities which had been formerly granted to them by his brother, or which they were now in actual possession of. To this he added, besides many great promises, a power of coining their own money in *Judæa*, which *John* immediately made use of (E). But when that prince had established himself on his throne by the marriage of *Cleopatra* and the death of *Tryphon* *, *Simon*, whether he suspected the sincerity of his late promises, or was willing to make his friendship to him appear more considerable, sent a fresh b embassy to *Rome*, to renew and strengthen his alliance with that nation. Among other valuable presents which he sent, one was a shield of gold, which weighed a thousand *Minæ*, amounting, according to the lowest value of the *Attic* mina, to sixty thousand pounds of our money. His deputies were received with the usual honours, and procured letters from the senate to the kings of *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Pergamus*, and *Cappadocia*, and to other states, to notify their alliance with the *Jews*, and to threaten them with an immediate war, who should venture to commit any hostilities against them, and ordering them, if any *Jewish* criminals, apostates, or other *Jewish* outlaws had sheltered themselves in their dominions, to send them bound to the *Jewish* high-priest; if demanded by him.

Alliance renewed with Rome, &c.

c THAT to the king of *Syria* was indeed directed to *Demetrius*, it being written before that prince's falling into the hands of the *Parthians*; but had it been directed to *Antiochus*, it is likely he would have had as little regard to it, as he had to that which he had sent to the *Jewish* chief. For even whilst he was besieging of *Tryphon* in *Dora*, whither *Simon* sent him two thousand chosen men, with warlike stores, engines, and other ammunition, instead of accepting of them, he sent them all back, together with a threatning message to *Simon*, insisting upon his surrender of *Joppa*, *Gazara*, and the citadel of *Jerusalem*, which he said did belong to the crown of *Syria*, or else to pay him five hundred talents for each, and five hundred more for the ravages which the *Jews* had done in his dominions. *Athenobius*, one of that mo- d narch's favourites, was the person who was dispatched upon that errand, and came accordingly to *Jerusalem*, and beheld with wonder the richness and splendor of the high-priest's court, at the same time that he informed him of his master's demands (F). *Simon*, nothing terrified at this message, answered him coolly, that he was in possession of nothing but what was the inheritance of his ancestors; except indeed the fortresses of *Joppa* and *Gazara*, which he had been forced to seize, to suppress the continual ravages and devastations they made in *Judæa*: that for these therefore he was willing to pay the king a hundred talents; but as to the fortress of *Acra*, he could by no means think that he had any right to demand it from him. *Athenobius* did not stay to make any reply, but went off abruptly and returned to *Antiochus*, who e was still carrying on the siege of *Dora*, and to whom he returned the answer which the *Jewish* pontiff had given him. He likewise related to him the pomp and grandeur of his household, the great quantity of silver and gold vessels used at his table, and other such

Antiochus's *ingratitude to* Simon.

Athenobius *sent to* Jerusalem.

* Ibid. p. 607, & seq.

(E) Several pieces of this *Jewish* coin are still preserved by the curious: the inscription of some of them is, *The shekel*, or *half-shekel* of *Israel*; in others, the first or second, &c. year of the deliverance of *Israel*, of *Sion*, of *Jerusalem*, &c. Others again are f inscribed, *Simon prince of Israel*. What is remarkable in these inscriptions is, that they are not in the new *Assyrian* characters, adopted by *Ezra*, but in the old *Samaritan*; for which no other reason can be assigned, if they be authentic †, except that *Simon* was willing to preserve the ancient form of those that had been coined before the captivity, as well in the character, as the metal, and figure, and weight.

Accordingly, these, like the old ones, have on the one side a cup or pitcher, supposed to have been the pot of manna, and on the other a branch, or the budding rod of *Aaron*, or a palm branch; some a vine, others a bunch of grapes, or a wheat-sheaf; some have two doves, others two towers, or the front of an edifice, supposed to be that of the temple.

Those we have left of him are all of silver; whether he coined any gold, is not certain; the king's letter mentions neither metal, but permits him in general to coin his own money.

(F) Thus says the book of *Maccabees* (35); but *Josephus*, who takes no notice of this message by *Athenobius*, relates the story somewhat otherwise, and tells us (36), that *Antiochus* having writ to *Simon* to send him men and provisions for the siege, did alter his mind before they were come, and sent *Cendebeus* presently after to invade *Judæa*.

† *See what has been said, Vol.* I. *p.* 721, *b.* & 722, *sub note.* (35) *Ch.* xv. 28, & *seq.* (36) *Antiq. l.* xiii. *c.* 12 & 13.

ſuch marks of the *Jewiſh* wealth, which he knew would not fail to incenſe that monarch againſt him; for, as *Joſephus* obſerves, he was very covetous, and conſequently ungrateful, and could not fail envying him ſo much riches and grandeur; and juſt ſo it happened. *Antiochus*, forgetting at once his letter and *Simon*'s ſervices, ordered *Cendebeus*, one of his nobles, to invade *Judæa* with a powerful army, whilſt himſelf went with another in purſuit of the traytor *Tryphon* *. a

Judæa invaded. Year of the World 3868. Before Chriſt 139.

Cendebeus, having received the government of all the coaſts of *Phœnicia* and *Paleſtine*, and being at the head of a powerful army of horſe and foot, began his expedition with fortifying the town of *Cedron*, or, as the vulgate perhaps more properly calls it, *Gedor* [r], a place advantagiouſly ſituated, and putting a ſtrong gariſon in it. In the mean time he himſelf marched towards *Jamnia* and *Joppa*, from whence he made many inroads into *Judæa*, took a great number of priſoners, and laid waſte all that part of the country. The news of it ſoon reached *John*, who, as we hinted above, was made general of the *Jewiſh* forces, and kept his reſidence at *Gazara*. He went immediately to *Jeruſalem* to acquaint his father with it; and *Simon*, being by this time too old to head his *Jewiſh* troops, called his two brave ſons, *viz.* this *John* and his brother *Judas*, to whom he committed the command of them, charging them on his bleſſing, to imitate the valour of their brave uncles, and to venture their lives in defence of their religion and liberties (G). On theſe two ſetting out at the head of twenty thouſand choice foot, beſides ſome horſe, they incamped on the firſt night at *Modin*; and on the morrow, as they advanced towards the plain, they came in ſight of the enemy, and drew ſo near each other, that only a brook parted the two armies. That of *John* at firſt expreſſed ſome reluctancy to croſs it; but he, aſhamed to ſee their backwardneſs, flung himſelf firſt into it, and moved forward; which ſo animated his men, that they immediately followed him. As ſoon as they were got over, he ranged them in order of battle, with his cavalry in the centre. An obſtinate onſet immediately enſued, in which the enemy, being ſeized with a ſudden fright at the ſound of the ſacred trumpets, did immediately give way. Many of them were killed and wounded, and the reſt fled, ſome to the ſconces, which they had in the plains of *Azotus*, where about two thouſand of them periſhed in the flames, *John*, now ſurnamed *Hyrcan* (H), having cauſed them to be ſet on fire. The reſt with *Cendebeus* fled as far as *Cedron*, the place lately fortified by him, and *John* purſued him all the way thither; after which he faced about, and came and rejoined his brother *Judas*, who, having received ſome wound in the action, had been forced to ſtay behind. The two brothers, having by this defeat cleared thoſe parts from the *Syrian* troops, led their victorious army back to *Jeruſalem*, without any conſiderable loſs [t]. After this *Judæa* continued quiet and free from inva- b c d

ſion, till the murder of their worthy high-prieſt, which happened about three years after, and brought *Antiochus* again with an army againſt that metropolis. The manner in which this perfidious act was perpetrated, is as follows.

Simon had then a ſon-in-law named *Ptolemy*, the ſon of *Abadus*, whom he had made governor of *Jericho* and its territories, and who was grown exceeding rich in that government; but ſuch was his ambition, that nothing leſs could ſatisfy him, than his being maſter of all *Judæa*. This wretch took the opportunity of *Simon*'s taking a progreſs about the country with his two ſons *Judas* and *Mattathias*, to invite them to e

* 1 Macc. xv, 38, & ſeq. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12. & 13. [r] De hac vid. Joshua xv. 58. [s] 1 Macc ibid. 40, & ſeq. Joseph. ubi ſupra. [t] 1 Macc. xvi. 1. & ſeq.

(G) Here again *Joſephus* (37) differs from the book of *Maccabees*, and makes the good old prieſt to forget his age, and to ſally out at the head of his troops, with as much vigour and reſolution, as if he had been but in his prime; ſo fond is he to raiſe the character of his own anceſtors.

(H) The fourth book of the *Maccabees*, of which we have given an account in a former note †, tells us, that *John* received the ſurname of *Hyrcan* on account of his defeating a famous general of that name, and killing him with his own hand, which ſome think may be the *Cendebeus*, who might be alſo ſurnamed *Hyrcanus*, either becauſe he waas a native of *Hyrcania*, or on ſome other account (38).

Joſephus Bengorion ſays, it paſſed from the eldeſt ſon of *Simon*, who was called *Hyrcan*, to this brother *John* (39). Others think he had it given him on account of his beating the *Hyrcanians* (40), all without any certainty; ſince neither the firſt book of *Maccabees*, nor *Joſephus*, give us any reaſon for it; beſides we have ſeen that all the ſons of *Mattathias* had their particular ſurnames; ſome of them more uncommon, and as little to be accounted for as this of *Hyrcan*.

(37) *Ibid.*
(38) *Calmet. hiſt. V. T. ſub A. M.* 3869
(39) *l. iv. c. 2.*
† *ſup. p.* 44, *in fin. note* (Q).
(40) *Euſeb. in Chron. S. Sever. hiſt. l. ii. & al.*

a to his caſtle of *Dog*, where he had prepared a ſumptuous entertainment for them. The old pontiff, who ſuſpected nothing leſs than what was deſigned againſt him, was eaſily perſuaded to accept of the invitation; but after they had feaſted and drank pretty freely, ſome ruffians, whom he had privately poſted, ruſhed upon the three gueſts and murdered them. His deſign was to have cut off *Hyrcan* alſo, who was then at *Gazara*; and to this end he diſpatched ſome meſſengers to invite or bring him to him: but, happily for him, one of his father's retinue had eſcaped the ſlaughter, and had brought notice to him of what had paſſed; ſo that *Hyrcan* was before-hand with him, and cauſed his meſſengers to be taken and put to death (I). *Hyrcan*, thinking himſelf now no longer ſafe there, made the beſt of his way to *Jeruſalem*, b whither *Ptolemy* arrived as ſoon as he. Both offered themſelves at different gates and demanded admittance; but *Hyrcan* was received out of reſpect to his worthy father, whilſt his murderer, and the men that came with him, had the mortification to be repulſed. *Hyrcan* was immediately declared prince and high-prieſt in his father's ſtead, and put himſelf at the head of his army, fortified himſelf in the mountain of the temple, and provided every way for his own ſafety, and for that of the city and country. On the other hand, *Ptolemy*, ſeeing himſelf diſappointed of his deſigns on *Hyrcan* and *Jeruſalem*, and having in vain endeavoured to bribe ſome of the heads of the *Jews* over to his intereſt by ſumptuous promiſes, was at length reduced to the neceſſity of writing to *Antiochus*, to acquaint him with what he had done, and c to beg of him to come to his aſſiſtance; promiſing him at the ſame time to reduce all *Judæa* under him, provided he made him governor of it. *Antiochus*, whom the late defeat of *Cendebæus* had ſtill more exaſperated againſt the *Jews*, did eaſily embrace his offer, and was actually coming with a powerful army to his aſſiſtance; but whether through fear, or for whatever other reaſon, the rebel did not think fit to ſtay till his arrival, but fled to *Zeno*, tyrant of the city of *Philadelphia*. What became of the wretch afterwards, we cannot find. The author of the fourth book of *Maccabees* adds to what we obſerved in the laſt note, that after he had killed the mother and two brothers of *Hyrcan*, he fled, and retired into ſome place where he could not be come at, whilſt *Hyrcan* was detained at *Jeruſalem* to perform the prieſtly function, it being then the d feaſt of tabernacles. All that we know is, that no further mention is made of him, either

Simon *treacherouſly murdered.*

(I) Thus far goes the firſt book of the *Maccabees*, which concludes its epocha of forty years with this eſcape of *Hyrcan*, and refers us for the remainder of his life and actions to a book of chronicles (41) long ſince loſt; ſo that we muſt now fill up the ſequel of the *Jewiſh* hiſtory for the moſt part out of *Joſephus*; in the following of whom care ſhall be taken to diſcover ſuch errors of his, as are either accidental or otherwiſe, by comparing him with himſelf or other hiſtorians, till we come to the ſacred ones of the New Teſtament; ſo that whatever we find in him, either that bears not an authentic face, or claſhes, or has been confuted by other authors, will be either thrown into the margin, or, if of ſmall moment, quite ſet aſide.

To begin then with ſome of the improbabilities with which he continues the hiſtory of this high-prieſt, he tells us (42), that as ſoon as he was inſtalled in his new dignities, he put himſelf at the head of the *Jewiſh* army, and went and beſieged *Ptolemy* in his caſtle of *Dog* or *Dagon*, where he ſtill kept alive *Simon*'s wife and his two ſons, contrary to the book of *Maccabees*, which ſays, that he aſſaſſinated the two latter with their old father, and mentions nothing of the wife.

He goes on, and tells us, that, as *Hyrcan* went on with the ſiege, *Ptolemy* cauſed his mother and two brothers to be brought upon the walls of the caſtle, and there had them ſeverely ſcourged, threatening at the ſame time to caſt them headlong down, if he did not deſiſt; and that the old lady, obſerving her ſon to relent at the ſight of her danger and cruel uſage, made ſigns for him to go on with the ſiege, and to take no thought of her ſafety or life; and that her ſon, being unable to ſee them ſo cruelly tortured, did as often ſlacken his hand.

At length, continues he, the *ſabbatic*, or ſeventh, year being come, which was a year of reſt as well as the ſeventh day, and *Hyrcan* upon that account being obliged to raiſe the ſiege, gave the murderer an opportunity to eſcape beyond *Jordan*; ſo that having put to death his three priſoners, he retired to *Zeno* ſurnamed *Cotylas*, who had uſurped the government of the city of *Philadelphia*.

The fourth book of the *Maccabees* tells us much the ſame ſtory, and only differs in two circumſtances from *Joſephus*. The firſt is, that *Gaza*, and not *Jeruſalem*, was the place where *Hyrcan* was received and preferred to the aſſaſſin; and the ſecond, that the feaſt of the tabernacles, and not the ſabbatic year, obliged that pontiff to repair to *Jeruſalem* to perform the function of his office; during which ſolemnity *Ptolemy* found means to eſcape far enough out of his reach.

This account, did it not contradict the firſt book of *Maccabees*, which expreſly ſays, that the father and the two ſons were murdered at the ſame time (43), would be much more probable than that of *Joſephus*, at leaſt with regard to the ſuſpenſion of the ſiege; ſince there is no law that obliged the *Jews* to abſtain from war, eſpecially a defenſive one, during the ſabbatic year: if there had, how could they have continued a nation without a miracle? And yet *Joſephus* not only affirms it to have been the cauſe of *Hyrcan*'s raiſing the ſiege of *Dagon*, but of *Antiochus*'s taking the advantage of it to invade *Judæa* and beſiege its metropolis. This ſiege of *Dagon* is therefore juſtly called in queſtion by ſeveral learned men (44).

(41) *Cap. ult. ver. ult.* (42) *Antiq. l.* xiii. *c.* 14, & 15. & *bell. Judaic. l.* i. *c.* 2. (43) *Cap. ult. ver.* 16. (44) *Vid. int. al. Salien. annal. ſub A. M.* 3919, & 3920. *Vide & Uſſer ſub A. M.* 3869.

either by *Josephus* or the first book of the *Maccabees*, since his flight into *Philadelphia*. a

Judæa *invaded.* *Year of the flood* 2864. *Year before Christ* 135.

Antiochus, allured into *Judæa*, partly at the news of the brave *Simon*'s death and of the riches of his successor, and partly by the fair offers which the traitor *Ptolemy* had made to him, entered *Judæa* on the ensuing year with a powerful army, and went directly to besiege *Jerusalem*, driving *Hyrcan* all the way before him, till he had shut himself up with his men into that metropolis. To inclose him the more effectually, *Josephus* tells us[u], that he caused two deep and spacious trenches to be dug round the city, and divided his army into seven camps; so that all possibility of ingress or egress was intirely stopped. He reared likewise one hundred towers; the fourth book of the *Maccabees* says one hundred and thirty, which were three b stories high, upon which he placed his men to annoy those that defended the walls, whilst he was battering them from below. *Josephus* adds, that his army suffered some time for want of water, and was at length relieved with a good lasting rain. On the other hand, the besieged made a vigorous defence, and, by their frequent sallies,

Jerusalem *besieged.*

did greatly annoy the besiegers (K). As therefore no relief could be expected from without, either of men or provisions, *Hyrcan* bethought himself at first of a way of ridding himself of all useless mouths, by putting them out of the city; by which means they, being pent up between the wall and the enemies ditch, must infallibly have been starved in a little time, had they not been taken in again. What raised the compassion of those within the walls was the approaching feast of tabernacles, c which was usually solemnized with great joy and feasting, and could not but have been very much disturbed by the cries of their perishing brethren without. *Hyrcan* then sent to *Antiochus* to desire a truce of seven days, that they might quietly cele-

Antiochus's piety.

brate that festival; which was not only readily granted, but that prince, being thereby stirred up to some sense of religion, sent them a considerable number of victims, with their horns gilt, together with several rich vessels of gold and silver[w], filled with precious perfumes, and some money and other necessaries, which were, by *Hyrcan*'s orders, thankfully received by the priests at one of the gates of the city, and thence conveyed into the temple (L). This unexpected instance of the king's piety and liberality gave him some hopes, that a peace might probably be obtained from d him with the same ease. He was not mistaken, and *Antiochus*, whether tired with the brave and constant defence of the besieged, which is not unlikely, if the account we have just now given in a note out of the fourth book of the *Maccabees* is not exaggerated, or moved by some other reason, granted it to him, upon the conditions following:

Grants peace to the Jews.

That the *Jews* should deliver up their arms; that the city wall should be demolished; and that *John* should pay him a certain tribute for *Joppa* and other towns he held out of *Judæa*. The king insisted hard upon two other conditions, namely, that they should receive a *Syrian* garison into their metropolis; and secondly, that the fortress of *Acra* should be rebuilt. The first of these they bought off at the price of e five hundred talents, three hundred of which were to be paid instantly, and the rest at some distance of time. They likewise engaged to put into the king's hands a sufficient number of hostages to secure him of their future allegiance, that they might be wholly free from any commerce with strangers. As for the second, *Hyrcan*, who remembered what a grievous thorn in their side the late fortress had been to them, would by no means agree to the building of a new one; and the king, according to his usual clemency, remitted this also. And yet *Josephus* tells us, that when this peace was transacting, the city was reduced to the last extremity, having quite exhausted all their provisions; and, which is still more surprising, that the besiegers were so f well informed of it, that they earnestly pressed the king to make use of so favourable an opportunity to destroy and extirpate the whole *Jewish* nation, which they traduced

[u] Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16. [w] Idem ibid. Vide & Plut. in Apophtheg.

(K) To what we have related of this siege out of *Josephus*, the fourth book of *Maccabees* adds, that as *Antiochus* was ordering the sapping of the walls, he observed, that the foundations were of timber; upon which he caused them to be set on fire, which soon brought down a great part of the wall; but that the besieged coming instantly to defend the breach, not only hindered the besiegers from entering the town, but drove them back, and made a stout sally after them, in which, besides a great number of the *Syrians*, which they killed, they destroyed most of the enemies towers.

(L) In this, and the following particulars relating to the peace, *Josephus* and the fourth book of *Maccabees* agree, tho' they seem to differ in those which relate to the siege and the defence made by the besieged.

a traduced to him in the bittereſt terms. as the peſt of mankind, and ſworn enemies of all other nations; ſo that, all things conſidered, it ſeems as if providence had interpoſed in their behalf, and had mollified that monarch's heart towards them. And a heathen author owns [x] with *Joſephus*, that it was owing to his ſurpriſing goodneſs and generoſity, that the whole nation had not then been intirely deſtroyed, and that they obtained a peace upon ſuch eaſy terms.

HOWEVER that was, the peace was ſigned on both ſides, and the proper hoſtages ſent to *Antiochus*, among whom was *Hyrcan*'s brother; the city was diſmantled; the money paid; and the ſiege raiſed: but *Hyrcan* was forced to make uſe of a ſtrange expedient to procure the three hundred talents ſtipulated. It ſeems their treaſury was
b then at ſo low an ebb, that it could not furniſh him with that ſum; ſo that *John* was forced to open a hidden treaſure, which had been laid up by ſome of the kings of *Judah* [y]; *Joſephus* ſays the tomb of *David* [z], from which he took out three thouſand talents; a thing which had never been attempted before by any of his predeceſſors, nor was after him by any, except by *Herod* (M). With this freſh ſupply he paid *Antiochus*, and undertook, what had never been done before, to take a number of foreign troops into his ſervice. This peace was followed with an alliance with *Antiochus*, after which that monarch was invited into *Jeruſalem* with his chief officers, where he was received and feaſted in a ſumptuous manner, and, after mutual aſſurances of friendſhip and aſſiſtance, the king ſet out for *Syria*, and *Hyrcan* about
c repairing the breaches and damages which had been made during the ſiege. This peace was made on the ninth month after *Simon*'s death (N). *Hyrcan* was punctual in his promiſes to that prince for ſome years after, and did him ſeveral ſignal ſervices in his war againſt *Phraartes*, ſpoken of a little higher *, and bore a great ſhare in the victories which that prince gained againſt him. Some authors think [a], that it was in this war that *John* got the name of *Hyrcan*, on account of ſome ſignal victory he gained

Year of the Flood 3868. *Year before Chriſt* 131.

x DIODOR. SICUL. Bibl. l. xxxiv. & apud Phot. cod. 244. y Lib. 4. MACCAB. z Ubi ſupra ad fin. & bell Judaic. l. iv. c. 2. & alib. * Vol. III. p. 608, c, d. a EUSEB. in Chron. SULP. SEVER. & al.

(M) The ſtory of a hidden treaſure, whether laid up by *David*, or by any of his ſucceſſors, is juſtly ſuſpected by the judicious, as a fable invented by thoſe two authors, without any foundation; only that of the *Maccabees* delivers it as a common report; wher as *Joſephus* affirms it both of *Hyrcan* and *Herod* without heſitation.

That both *David* and *Solomon* heaped immenſe riches, we have formerly ſeen; but that they cauſed any part of them to be hidden under ground, much leſs in their own tombs, is no-where ſaid, either by the ſacred or apocryphal writers; but the contrary may be fairly deducted from them. For, if they had left any ſuch hidden treaſure, is it likely, that their wicked ſucceſſors, who made no ſcruple to rifle the temple of its ſacred utenſils and ornaments (45), would have left it untouched? Is it likely, that good king *Hezekiah* would have choſen to take all the ſilver and the gold veſſels of the temple, and even tear off the gold with which the gates, pillars, and other parts of that ſacred building were covered (46), rather than to break into this immenſe, but uſeleſs, treaſure?

Again, is it probable, had there been any ſuch depoſitory, that ſo many *Aſſyrian* and *Chaldean* monarchs, as had formerly rifled both city and temple, would not have got ſome knowledge of it, and gutted it of all its riches? And if they had till then been preſerved by ſome kind of miracle (for nothing leſs could do it) how ſhould *Hyrcan* dare to break in upon them, and not rather, like the good king above-mentioned, have rifled the temple of ſome of its valuable ornaments, which, by what we have ſeen hitherto, were by this time grown very numerous and coſtly, by the generoſity not only of his predeceſſors, but of foreign princes?

We have lately ſeen, that there was a treaſury or bank in the temple. part of which conſiſted of donatives for the ſupport of the poor, partly of the portions and dowries of the fatherleſs and widows, and partly of the ſubſtance of the richer ſort, who depoſited their wealth there for ſecurity *, beſides that which was allotted for the maintenance of the divine ſervice (47). Now, if we conſider, that they were ſo continually haraſſed with wars, invaſions, and oppreſſions, it is not improbable, that they kept theſe riches in ſome proper ſubterranean places, known but to a few truſty men at the head of affairs, and kept the whole as much a ſecret as poſſible; if therefore *Hyrcan* was now hard put to to raiſe money, is it not more probable, that he borrowed it out of this bank, till better times enabled him to repay it?

But when *Herod* did totally rifle it for his own uſe, if ever he really did it, might he not trump up this plauſible ſtory, that it had been depoſited there by *David*, or his ſucceſſors, againſt times of need? And might not that cunning monarch colour this wicked deed with the ſpecious pretence, that *Hyrcan*, a perſon of unexceptionable character, had done the ſame thing upon the like emergency †?

(N) *Joſephus* (48) tells us, that, in the firſt year of *Hyrcan*'s pontificate, a prieſt of the family of *Joarib*, named *Matthias Aphlias*, was married to a daughter of the late *Jonathan*, by whom he had *Matthias Curtus*, who begot *Joſephus*, who was his grandfather.

In the ſecond year of the ſame *Hyrcan*, came from *Jeruſalem* into *Egypt Jeſus* the ſon of *Sirac*, a learned *Jew*, who there tranſlated the book of *Wiſdom*, written by *Jeſus* his grandfather, into *Greek*, for the uſe of the helleniſtical *Jews* (49). We have already ſpoken of that work and its author in a former note, to which we refer (50).

(45) *Vide int. al.* 2 *Kings* xvi. 8, & *ſeq.* xvii. 18. (46) *Ibid.* xviii. 15, & *ſeq.* * *Supra* p. 46, b. *ex* 2 *Maccab.* iii. 10. (47) *Ibid. ver.* 6. † *Vide Salian. Uſſer. & Prid.* (48) *In vita ſua.* (49) *Vide prolog. in eund.* (50) *Pag.* 51. *note* (F).

gained over the *Hyrcanians*. However that be, *Josephus* tells us [b], on the authority of *N. Damascen*, that *Antiochus* shewed him so much regard, as to halt two days on account of the feast of pentecost, because it beginning that year on the day immediately following the sabbath, it was not lawful for the *Jews* to march on these two days. *Antiochus* was soon after defeated and killed, as has been elsewhere related [†]; and *Hyrcan*, in his return to *Jerusalem*, took *Aleppo*, and laid it under a tribute [c]. After this, finding that the kingdom of *Syria* was rent with intestine disturbances, and their cities naked and defenceless, he marched thither with a good army, resolved to seize upon such of them as lay most convenient for him. The first he took was that of *Madeba*, which cost him a six month's siege. From thence he went to that of *Samega*, which he subdued, with several others both in *Arabia* and *Phœnicia* [d]. From this time we may date the total deliverance of the *Jews* from the *Syrian* yoke; for neither he nor any of his descendants paid either homage or obedience to those monarchs ever afterwards, but lived free and independent from them [e]. From thence he turned his arms against the *Samaritans*, and took *Shechem* and mount *Garizzim*, and the temple formerly built by *Sanballat*, and demolished it, after it had stood two hundred years; together with all the edifices, altars, and monuments which had been built there by *Jezabel*, and put several of the *Samaritan* priests to death (O). The following year *Idumea* was likewise conquered by him [f], where he caused proclamation to be made throughout that province, obliging all those that would not be circumcised to depart out of the land; but the *Idumeans* chusing rather to forsake their old idolatry than their country, submitted to his conditions, and were from that time incorporated into the *Jewish* commonwealth (P).

Antiochus's death. *Year of the flood 2850. Before Christ 130.* *Hyrcan frees off the Syrian yoke.* *His conquests.*

In the year following *Hyrcan* sent *Simon* the son of *Dositheus* and *Apollonius* the son of *Alexander*, on an embassy to the *Roman* senate, to renew the alliance they had lately made with *Simon* his father, and sent some valuable presents by them (Q). These met with an honourable reception at *Rome*, and a ready compliance with all their demands. The senate, besides the renewing of the alliance, granted the *Jews* the possession of *Joppa*, *Gazara*, and some other places, which *Antiochus* had taken from them, and ordered the embassadors a sum out of the public treasury, to defray their

Hyrcan renews the alliance with Rome

[b] Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16. [†] Vol. III. p. 609. [c] 4 Maccab. [d] Idem. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17. Strabo, Geogr. l. xvi. [e] Justin. ex Trog. l. xxxvi. c. 1. [f] Joseph. ubi supra, & al xv. c. 11. Strabo, ubi supra. See also Vol. I. p. 317, d.

(O) These two last particulars, which we have out of the fourth book of the *Maccabees*, *Josephus* says nothing of; but only mentions the demolishing of their temple, which was from that time never attempted to be rebuilt; however, the *Shechemites* built themselves an altar there, on which they offered their sacrifices, according to the *Mosaic* law, and have continued to do so ever since.

(P) From that time downward to the destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*, they continued in the *Jewish* religion; so that the word *Idumean* signified no more than incorporated *Jews*, in contradistinction to those that were so by natural descent (1); and from their total dispersion, the former name has been intirely absorbed in the latter.

With respect to these *Idumean* proselytes, it will be proper to observe here, that *Herod*, who obtained afterwards the kingdom of *Judæa*, was of that race. From his reign therefore the *Jewish* writers began to style it מלכות הגרים *malkuth hagerim*, *the kingdom or reign of proselytes or strangers*; which not being observed by *Scaliger* and *Munster*, they have translated it the kingdom of the *Hagarens*; but our learned *Usher* has sufficiently confuted that mistake (2); and we shall further shew, when we come to the reign of that prince, that he was really one of these *Idumeans*, incorporated into, and thereby intitled to all the privileges of a natural *Israelite*. There was indeed to be this difference in the true *Edomites*, that they could not intermarry with them till the third generation, according to the law of *Moses* (3); but as we have shewn these *Idumeans* to be of a different race, or rather a mixture of other nations, how that matter was regulated by the sanhedrin, we know not.

We have heretofore observed [†], that the word *Edomite* and *Idumean*, which often occurs in the rabbinic writings, is not that of any nation, but the name by which they call the *Christians*, against whom they write, and is indeed one of the civilest; but they oftner use those of *goi*, *heathen*, and *Nozri* or *Nazarite*, and sometimes that of *Samaritan* and *Cuthean*; which caution we here repeat, to prevent those that read them being mistaken by any of those feigned names.

(Q) Among these the fourth book of *Maccabees* mentions a large dish and a shield, amounting to fifty thousand pieces of gold. That author mentions some other particulars, which are not in *Josephus*; such as, that the embassadors were made to sit down with the *Roman* consul; that they were allowed the free exercise of their religion; and that the letter which they brought from the senate to *Hyrcan*, did give him the name and title of king, which that pontiff took upon him, and bore it from thenceforward. The letter is there related at full length; but as it contains nothing particular except that inscription, we shall refer the reader to that book for it.

(1) *Vide Prid. connect. sub ann.* 129. *note* t. & *Buxtorf. lexic. Rabbin. sub voce* ארום (2) *Sub A. M.* 3875. (3) *See before, Vol.* I. *p.* 317, d. & *p.* 665, c. *Vide & Deut.* xxiii. 7, 8. [†] *Vol.* I. *p.* 317. *note.*

their charges homewards. They likewiſe ſent letters to all the governors of the provinces through which they were to paſs in their return, to ſee them treated with all the marks of honour due to their character. The ſenate likewiſe ordered, that all the complaints they had exhibited againſt the *Syrians* ſhould be redreſſed; declared null and void all that *Antiochus*, or his ſucceſſor, had done, or ſhould do, contrary to their late league with the late *Jewiſh* high-prieſts; that the *Syrians* ſhould reimburſe to them all the loſſes ſuſtained by them, and appointed commiſſaries to come and ſee the purport of their decree fully executed. The embaſſadors had likewiſe deſired letters from the ſenate, directed to all the princes and free ſtates with whom they were in alliance, to recommend the *Jewiſh* intereſt to them; but there being at
b that time other important matters on the tapis, the affair was deferred for further deliberation; and they returned to *Jeruſalem* highly ſatisfied with what they had.

THIS embaſſy having ſo well ſucceeded, *Hyrcan*, on the next year, ſent a new one with freſh preſents, to thank the ſenate for their laſt favour, and to obtain a ratification of all their former decrees in their behalf; all which was readily granted, and the embaſſadors returning, brought this new act, which the reader may ſee at full length in *Joſephus* (R). By theſe alliances *John* ſaw himſelf more and more ſtrengthened in his dominions, whilſt the kingdoms of *Syria* and *Egypt* were ſtill troubled with continual wars. *Alexander Zebina* having by this time mounted the *Syrian* throne*, was glad to make him his friend; but being ſoon after killed, and ſucceeded
c by *Antiochus Gryphus*, this laſt did ſo reſent it, that he was preparing himſelf to invade *Judæa*; but was happily prevented by his brother, who was then levying an army at *Cyzicum*, and coming againſt him. *Hyrcan* left them to fight it out between them, without concerning himſelf on either ſide, chuſing rather to enjoy his ſovereign authority peacefully, which gave him an opportunity of heaping up immenſe treaſures, by the tributes which he received both from his own now flouriſhing land, and from thoſe countries which he had lately ſubjected to his dominions. At length ſome hoſtilities, which the *Samaritans* committed againſt the *Mareſſans* (S), who were then in friendſhip with him, gave him a fair handle for renewing the war, which he had lately begun againſt thoſe of the city of *Shechem*. He went therefore with

A ſecond embaſſy ſent to Rome.

* Vol. III. p. 611, & ſeq.

(R) Here *Joſephus* has again committed a manifeſt blunder, by inſerting this decree in the wrong place (4), and inſtead of another then granted by the ſenate upon another occaſion, and at the recommendation of *Julius Cæſar*, to *Hyrcanus* the ſecond. This has been fully proved by ſeveral learned men, whom the reader will find in the margin (5); and he may further convince himſelf, by comparing the contrariety between the decree itſelf and the occaſion upon which the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian there quotes it, with reſpect to the following particulars:

1. He ſays it was obtained for the rebuilding of the city wall demoliſhed by *Pompey*; but there is not a word in the decree about the wall, but only of renewing and confirming the former alliances. 2. The decree was dated on the ninth year of *Hyrcanus*, who could not be the ſecond of that name; for if it had been obtained to this laſt by *Julius Cæſar*, it muſt have fallen in the ſeventeenth, not of his reign, for that he had been diſpoſſeſſed of by *Gabinius*, but of his prieſthood, which was all the dignity that was left to him, as *Joſephus* himſelf owns in another place (6); and if his reign were to be dated, not from his reſtauration by *Pompey*, but from the death of his mother, it muſt have been the twenty-third, and not the ninth of his reign.

Again, there is a manifeſt difference between the dates of the preamble to and the decree itſelf. The one dates it the ninth of *Hyrcan*, in the month *Panemus*, anſwering to our *July*, and the other the *ides* (or thirteenth) of *December*. From all which it is evident, that *Joſephus* has, by a miſtake, inſerted here one decree for another; and that this belonged not to any year of *Hyrcanus* the ſecond, but to the ninth year of *Hyrcanus* the firſt.

Another ſtrong proof of this is; *Numenius* the ſon of *Antiochus*, who is mentioned in the decree as one of the embaſſadors ſent by *Hyrcan* to procure it, is the ſame who had been ſent about ſeventeen years before, on the like errand, to *Rome* by *Jonathan*, as we have lately ſeen; he might therefore be ſtill young enough to be ſent on this new embaſſy in the ninth year of *Hyrcanus* the firſt; but muſt have been long dead and rotten before the decree obtained by *Cæſar* in favour of *Hyrcanus* the ſecond, there being near eighty years diſtance between them. To all this may be added, that the decree here inſerted is that of an alliance made by proper embaſſadors between the *Roman* ſenate and a free ſtate, ſuch as the *Jewiſh* was in *Hyrcan* the firſt's time; whereas that obtained by *Cæſar* for *Hyrcan* the ſecond, was not an alliance by embaſſy, but a favour conferred on the *Jews*, in conſideration of the ſervices they had done the *Roman* general in the *Alexandrian* war; at which time they were no longer a free, but a conquered, nation, as the ſequel of this hiſtory will ſoon ſhew.

(S) The city of *Mareſſa*, or *Mareſa*, which ſtood at about two miles diſtance from *Eleutheropolis*, had been ſome time before taken by him, and ſince retaken by the *Syrians*, under whom it now was; but ſtill in alliance and friendſhip with the *Jews* (7).

(4) *Antiq. l.* xiv, *c.* 16. (5) *Scalig. animad. in chron. Euſeb. num.* 1971. *Uſſer. annal. ſub A. M.* 3877. *Salien. ſub. A. M*, 4007. *ſect.* 36. *Prid. connect. ſub ann.* 127. (6) *Antiq. l.* xiv. *c.* 10. (7) *Vide antiq. l.* xiii. *c.* 17.

with his two ſons *Ariſtobulus* and *Antigonus*, at the head of a powerful army, and with a all the proper engines for the ſiege of *Samaria*, which had been ſince rebuilt and fortified (T). Theſe encompaſſed the city with a wall and a deep ditch, of about eighty furlongs, or four thouſand paces circuit; by which they ſoon reduced the city to ſuch ſcarcity of proviſions, that they began to eat all manner of unclean beaſts, ſuch as cats, dogs, and other carion. In this extremity they found means to ſend and implore the aſſiſtance of *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, who was now on the *Syrian* throne*, and who came accordingly with a great army to their relief g.

Samaria *beſieged. Year of the flood* 2889. *Before Chriſt* 110.

In the mean time, the grand expiation day being at hand, *Hyrcan* was obliged to go to *Jeruſalem* to perform the office of it, and left his two ſons to carry on the ſiege. Upon their hearing that *Antiochus* was coming againſt them, *Ariſtobulus* was diſpatched b with part of the army to meet him. A bloody engagement enſued, in which the *Syrians* were totally routed, and purſued as far as *Scythopolis*; and *Antiochus* eſcaped with great difficulty. After this defeat, the ſiege was renewed with ſuch vigour, that *Antiochus* was again applied to; but he not caring to hazard a ſecond battle, contented himſelf with ſending ſix thouſand men to make a diverſion in *Judæa*, in hopes to oblige the *Jews* to raiſe the ſiege; neither were theſe his own troops, but ſuch as he had with ſome difficulty obtained from the king of *Egypt*. We have already ſeen the ill ſucceſs of this expedition in a former volume, as well as the betraying of *Scythopolis* to *Hyrcan* by *Epicartes*, and the ſurrender and utter demolition of *Samaria* †. From this time *Hyrcan* became more and more powerful, and c made himſelf maſter not only of all *Paleſtine*, but added alſo unto it the provinces of *Samaria* and *Galilee*; all which he enjoyed to the end of his life, without any moleſtation from without, or diſcords from within his dominions. His reign was no leſs remarkable on the account of his great wiſdom and piety at home, than his conqueſts abroad. Never did the *Jewiſh* religion or commonwealth appear in greater luſtre ſince the return from captivity; but that which raiſes his glory, above any of his predeceſſors or ſucceſſors, was, if we may believe *Joſephus* h and the fourth book of *Maccabees* i, his enjoying three dignities, which never all met in any but him; namely, the royal dignity, the high-prieſthood, and the gift of prophecy. Of the laſt of theſe we ſhall give two or three inſtances out of thoſe authors in the margin (V); but the ſecond, d or high-prieſthood, tho' he had exerciſed it in ſuch a manner as ought to have rendered him doubly venerable, yet in the end proved the ſource of ſuch perſecutions from the proud and hot-headed *Phariſees*, as quite imbittered the latter end of his reign, if not ſhortened his days. It is under his reign that this ſect, as well as thoſe of the *Sadducees* and *Eſſenians*, of which we have already ſpoken ſomething, are ſuppoſed to have ſtarted up. This therefore may be thought a proper place of ſpeaking of them more at large, as well as of that of the *Caraites*, which ſprung up afterwards; but as each of thoſe four ſects had many favourite tenets, quite oppoſite to the ſpirit and doctrine of the goſpel and its divine author, and proved ſo many invincible obſtacles againſt its reception, we ſhall defer ſpeaking of them, till we e come

* Vol. III. p. 615, c. g Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18. † Vol. III. p. 614, f. h Antiq. ubi ſupra, & bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 3. i Cap. vii.

(T) It will be proper here to remind our readers, that theſe *Samaritans* were not now of the old race and ſect ſo much hated by the *Jews*; for theſe, we have ſeen a little higher, had been either deſtroyed, or driven out of that metropolis, by *Alexander the Great*, for the murder of his favourite *Andronicus*; immediately after which he repeopled the place with *Syro-Macedonians*, or a mixture of *Syrians*, *Macedonians*, and *Greeks*.

Theſe being ſettled there did incompaſs the town with a double high wall, a deep ditch, and other fortifications; thoſe therefore are miſtaken, who think, that the *Jewiſh* hatred againſt the former ſort of *Samaritans* was the occaſion of this war; for theſe were all heathens, and conſequently ſtrangers to the diſputes and intailed enmity between thoſe two.

(V) *Joſephus* affirms him to have had very extraordinary viſions and revelations, more particularly about his own children. He tells us for inſtance, that on the day in which his forces defeated thoſe of *Antiochus*, himſelf was then offering up incenſe in the moſt holy place, where he heard a voice telling him of the victory gained by his ſons.

As he was very fond of thoſe two brave youths, he was no leſs importunate with heaven to know which of them was to ſucceed him; but, to his great mortification, he ſaw in a viſion a third ſon, not yet born, who was pointed at as his ſucceſſor. This grieved the good old man ſo much, it ſeems, that when *Alexander* was ſoon after born, he ſent him to be privately brought up in *Galilee*; but this did not hinder the viſion being verified by the ſequel; of which he was made, however, ſo ſenſible before he died, that he foretold the reigns of his two eldeſt ſons *Ariſtobulus* and *Antigonus* to be but ſhort, after which *Alexander* would ſucceed them.

There are ſome other ſingularities related of him, which have ſtill more the air of fables, and therefore not worth mentioning; only this one is very remarkable, if true, that the ſtones of the breaſt-plate and the carbuncle on his ſhoulder quite loſt their luſtre after his death, and never recovered it ſince.

come to that glorious epocha. By this means the reader will have them ſo freſh in his mind, and, as it were, in one view, that, inſtead of wondering at the *Jews* rejecting ſo univerſally the perſon and doctrine of the Meſſiah, he will rather look upon it as a kind of miracle, that ſo many of that blind and prepoſſeſſed nation ſhould ſo readily embrace them.

BUT, to return to our ſubject, *Hyrcan* had always ſhewed himſelf a zealous ſtickler for the *Phariſees*; they had hitherto monopolized his favours, and enjoyed the moſt conſiderable poſts under him, whilſt the other two were deſpiſed and kept under by him. But an untimely piece of condeſcenſion towards them, or perhaps rather of vanity, from which the beſt of men are not always exempt, gave one of the heads of
b that imperious ſect, named *Eleazar*, an opportunity to caſt a reflection againſt him, which touched him in the moſt ſenſible part. It was no leſs than calling in queſtion his legitimacy, at leaſt as being leſs pure and undefiled than the *Moſaic* law requires in a high-prieſt; and this he did by pretending, that his mother had been formerly a ſlave, intimating thereby, that either ſhe was not of *Jewiſh* extraction, or elſe, that being ſo, ſhe had been taken captive by the enemy, and forced to proſtitute herſelf for a maintenance. The ſtory being, as *Joſephus* aſſures us, abſolutely falſe, and only trumped up by that proud *Phariſee* to mortify the good old prelate, we ſhall throw it in the margin (W), and only add, that *Eleazar*'s baſe ſuggeſtion, and the partiality of his brotherhood in aſſigning him a condign puniſhment, did ſo exaſperate the
c high-prieſt againſt the whole ſect, that from that time he gave himſelf up wholly to that of the *Sadducees*, who were not a little glad to aggravate the affront as hatched againſt him by the whole *Phariſaic* body, tho' one only of them had had the courage to blab it out. From thenceforth therefore there grew the bittereſt enmity between him and that revengeful ſect, who ceaſed not to raiſe troubles and ſeditions againſt him during the ſhort time he lived, and againſt his ſons after him. *Hyrcan* was then in the twenty-eigth year of his pontificate when this quarrel happened, and he died in the very next year, greatly lamented by all but the *Phariſaic* crew, who left no ſtone unturned to blacken his memory, and to get into the ſame credit and authority they had formerly enjoyed under him (X) [k].

Hyrnan

[k] Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18.

(W) *Hyrcan*'s deſire to ingratiate himſelf ſtill farther to this imperious ſect, which he obſerved to grow daily more and more the darling of the people, by reaſon of their ſpecious pretence to a greater degree of ſanctity, made him one day, after he had given ſome of the heads of them a moſt ſumptuous entertainment, aſk them, if they had any thing to object or to find fault with againſt his government, that he might rectify it; ſince he had always made it his chief ſtudy and delight to act with the utmoſt regard to God, and according to the rules and maxims of their ſect.

Whilſt therefore the reſt of the company were extolling his piety, zeal, valour, and conduct up to the ſkies, the ſurly and turbulent *Eleazar* ſtarted up, and, with his wonted ill-nature, told him, that if he was really deſirous to deſerve the praiſes which his brethren had ſo laviſhly given him, he ought to diveſt himſelf of his high-prieſthood, and be content with the civil government of the nation. Being aſked the reaſon of ſo ſtrange a propoſal, he anſwered him, That they were well aſſured, upon the teſtimony of ancient perſons ſtill living, that his mother had been taken captive in the wars, which rendered him incapable by the law of *Moſes* † to ſucceed to the pontifical dignity.

This malicious ſuggeſtion, it ſeems, was reſented by all the company; but much more by the old pontiff, who thereupon reſolved to take ſome ſignal ſatisfaction for the calumny caſt on his mother and himſelf. He had then a favourite friend named *Jonathan*, a zealous *Sadduce*, who took occaſion from it to intimate to him, that *Eleazar* was but the tool and mouth of the *Phariſaic* ſect; but that the ſlander muſt have been concerted by the whole party. To convince him of it, he adviſed him to conſult the brotherhood concerning the puniſhment of the calumniator, and he would ſoon find, either by their lenity or ſeverity towards him, whether they had any hand in the calumny.

Hyrcan took his advice, and aſked the heads of that ſect, What puniſhment they thought *Eleazar* deſerved for raiſing ſuch an impious and unjuſt ſlander on the prince and high-prieſt of their nation? expecting, no doubt, but they would have condemned him to death; but, to his ſurprize, they told him, that as calumny was no capital crime, the ſevereſt puniſhment, he could inflict on him, was that of ſcourging and impriſonment.

There wanted no more to convince the pontiff of the truth of what *Jonathan* had ſuggeſted to him; ſo that from that time he became an irreconcileable enemy to the whole ſect, forbad, under ſevere penalties, the obſervance of their commandments and traditions, and became a zealous patron of the oppoſite ſect of the *Sadducees*. On the other hand, the *Phariſees* became mortal enemies, not only to him and his family, but to the whole *Sadducean* party, and never ceaſed plotting againſt them till they had gained the ſaddle again; which they did in ſome few years after, as the ſequel will ſhew.

(X) *Joſephus* is very inconſiſtent in the years of this prelate's reign, if there be not ſome error crept into the copies we have of him, and in the *Latin* verſion of *Ruſinus*; for in one place (8) he gives him thirty-three, and in two others (9) thirty-one; yet *Euſebius* out of him gives him but twenty-nine (10), and ſo doth St. *Jerom* in his *Latin* verſion of him,

† *See what has been ſaid of theſe marriages, Vol.* I. *p.* 634, b, c.

(8) *Bell. Judaic. l.* i. *c.* 3 (9) *Antiq. l.* xiii. *c.* 18. & *l.* xx. *c.* 8. (10) *In chronic. & demonſt. Evang. l.* viii. *c.* 2.

Hyrcan is affirmed by *Joſephus* to have built the ſtately tower, or rather caſtle, of *Baris* (Y), the ſame which ſerved afterwards for a palace for the *Aſmonean* princes, and was ſome time after rebuilt, inlarged, and fortified by *Herod*, and called by him *Antonia*, in honour of *Marc Antony*. This caſtle was built upon a ſteep rock, fifty cubits high from the valley that ran beneath it to the top on which the building ſtood, and was inacceſſible on all ſides, except that towards the temple, with which it was even. It was of a ſquare figure, two furlongs in compaſs; that is, half a furlong, or three hundred feet, on every ſide. The rock ſtood without the outer ſquare of the temple, and upon the ſame mountain with, and on the north-ſide of it, running parallel with its outer wall, but incompaſſed with that which *Simon* had built to ſtop the communication between the temple and the fortreſs of *Acra*. Here *Hyrcan* built an apartment, where he depoſited his pontifical robes and ornaments, whenever he diveſted himſelf of them to vacate on his other affairs; which method was afterwards obſerved by his ſucceſſors. Here he kept his court, and ſpent moſt of his time; and ſo did they after him [l], till *Herod*, obſerving the ſtrength of its ſituation, turned it into a fortreſs; in which, however, the prieſtly attire was ſtill kept, even after the *Jews* were ſubdued by the *Romans*, and under the cuſtody of the commander of that gariſon, called by St. *Luke the captain of the temple* [m]. This officer kept them in his cuſtody under lock and ſeal, and delivered them up to the high-prieſts upon all ſolemnities in which they were required; immediately after which they were put into his hands again, as we ſhall ſee in the next ſection.

Hyrcan left three ſons, according to the fourth book of *Maccabees* (Z), or five, according to *Joſephus* [n], who gives us, however, the names but of four of them; namely, *Ariſtobulus*, who was alſo called *Judas*, and ſurnamed *Philellen*, by reaſon of his fondneſs for the *Greeks*; 2. *Antigonus*; 3. *Alexander*, and *Abſalom*, who was the youngeſt. What was the name of the fourth he no-where tells us. *Ariſtobulus* ſucceeded his father in all his dignities in right of primogeniture, according to the *Moſaic* law; and having a great affection for his brother *Antigonus*, he admitted him to ſhare the government with him for ſome ſhort ſpace; after which, upon ſome ſuſpicion or diſlike, he cauſed him to be put to death. The other three he kept cloſe priſoners during his ſhort reign, which laſted but one year, which he yet ſtained with his own mother's blood; for that princeſs having claimed a right to the ſovereignty, by virtue of *Hyrcan*'s will, her unnatural ſon not only ſhut her up in a priſon, but there barbarouſly ſtarved her to death. Soon after this he aſſumed the title of king, and began to wear the royal diadem, which, if we may believe *Joſephus*, had never been done by any of his predeceſſors [o], who had till then contented themſelves with the title of governors, or at moſt with that of prince (A). As ſoon as he had

Ariſtobulus aſſumes the Royal Diadem.

[l] Bell. Judaic. l. vi. c. 5. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 6. Vide & Lightfoot's view of the temple, c. 7.
[m] Acts xxi. 31. & ſeq. & alib. [n] Antiq. l. xiii. c. 19. & l. xiv. c. 8. bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 3.
[o] Antiq. l. xiii. c. 19. & bell. Judaic. ubi ſupra.

him and elſewhere (11), and rightly too; for, as the learned *Uſſher* obſerves in the place laſt-quoted, *Simon*, *Hyrcan*'s father, died in the 177th year of the *Grecian* kingdom, and in the 11th of month *Sebat* (12) anſwering to the 4579th of the *Julian* period; and his wife *Alexandra*, who reigned after his ſons, died, as the ſequel will ſhew, in *December* 4644 of the ſame period; ſo that the diſtance is 65 years, and about 9 months; from which if we ſubtract the 37 years which *Joſephus* allows to her and her ſons, the remainder will be 28 years and 9 months.

(Y) St. *Jerom*, in his comments on thoſe ſacred books, which were written after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, ſuch as thoſe of *Daniel*, *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah*, and on ſome other prophets (13), obſerves the word *Baris* to be of *Chaldee* extraction, peculiar to *Paleſtine*, and to ſignify a *houſe* or *caſtle incloſed on every ſide*. In the ſame ſenſe the *Septuagint* have uſed it likewiſe; and as that word in the plural is Βαρεις, which likewiſe ſignifies *heavy*, their interpreters have ſometimes taken it in the latter ſenſe without any reaſon, and puzzled thereby ſeveral places of ſcripture, which were plain enough in the former ſignification, particularly the ivory palaces mentioned by the pſalmiſt (14).

(Z) This author adds (15), that *Hyrcan* was ſo exceſſively fond of his two eldeſt ſons, that he would name neither to the ſucceſſion, but left it wholly to providence to direct it. On the other hand he bore as great an averſion to *Alexander*, who had been pointed out to him as his ſucceſſor in a viſion, of which we have ſpoken in a late note, but yet without attempting any thing againſt him to prevent it.

Joſephus, on the contrary, tells us, that he left the government to his wife during her life, tho', by the cruelty with which her eldeſt ſon uſed her, one would rather think, that ſhe had forged ſome ſuch will againſt him.

(A) We have ſeen, however, in a late note *, that *Hyrcan* took the royal name and dignity upon him long before. *Strabo* ſays (16), that it was *Alexander*, *Ariſtobulus*'s ſucceſſor, who firſt took that title upon him.

(11) *Comm. in* ix. *Dan.* *Vide & Uſſer. annal. ſub A. M.* 3596. (12) *Vide* 1 *Maccab.* xvi. 14. (13) *Vide & comm. in Jerem.* xvii. & *Hoſ* ix. (14) *Pſal.* xliv. 8. *Vide Calm. ſub voce Baris.* (15) *Cap.* vii. * *Supra, p.* 94. (Q). (16) *Lib.* xvi.

had ſettled his affairs at home, he marched at the head of his army to invade *Iturea*; but being taken ill in the midſt of his ſucceſſes, he was forced to be brought back to *Jeruſalem*, and to leave his brother to complete the conqueſt of that province (B); which he ſoon after did, cauſing all the *Itureans* either to be circumciſed and incorporated with the *Jews*, or elſe to depart into ſome other country [p]. *Invades* Iturea.

WHILST he was carrying on this ſucceſsful war, there wanted not thoſe at court, who, envying his happineſs, endeavoured to prepoſſeſs the ſick king with ſtrange ſuſpicions againſt him. The queen more particularly ſeemed to have conceived ſome irreconcileable hatred againſt that prince, and to have been the chief engine of his ruin; which happened ſoon after, when *Antigonus* innocently furniſhed her with the means of working it more effectually. For as ſoon as he had finiſhed the conqueſt of *Iturea*, he marched directly to *Jeruſalem*, it being then the feaſt of tabernacles; and being in haſte to repair to the temple, to offer up his thanks for his ſucceſs and his vows for his brother's recovery; he went directly thither in his armour, without ſtaying to ſhift his cloaths, and accompanied with a number of his men. This was immediately interpreted to the timorous king as a manifeſt attempt upon his life, to which he gave but too eaſy credit. However, to ſatisfy himſelf more fully about it, he ſent him orders to put off his armour, and to come immediately to him, which, if he complied with, would ſufficiently juſtify him; but if not, would fully prove his treaſonable intent. The king was then at his caſtle of *Baris*, mentioned a little higher, where he ordered ſome of his guards to be privately poſted in the ſubterranean gallery, through which *Antigonus* was to paſs, and who were charged to murder him, if he preſumed to come armed to him. But the miſchievous queen corrupted the meſſenger, and made him go and tell the young prince, that his brother having heard his armour highly commended, deſired to ſee him in it immediately; ſo that when *Antigonus* came to paſs through the gallery, the guards fell immediately upon him and killed him (C). The king, however, was ſoon undeceived, and could not think upon his brother's murder without reflecting on the more cruel one, which he had lately committed on his own mother; the remorſe of which increaſing his diſeaſe, he fell into a violent vomiting of blood. A ſervant happening ſoon after to ſpill ſome of that blood, which he was carrying away in a baſon, upon the very ſpot where that of his brother *Antigonus* was ſtill to be ſeen; ſome of the by-ſtanders, thinking he had done it wilfully, gave a great cry, which was heard by the king. He ſent to aſk the meaning of it, and found them unwilling to acquaint him with it; which made him ſtill more deſirous of knowing it. At length he forced the fatal ſecret from them, which threw him into an exceſs of grief and deſpair, which he vented in words to this effect: Since the privacy of the place could not hide from God's all-ſeeing eye the deteſtable deed I have committed, but muſt now vomit up my own blood, as it were, by drops, to attone for that which I have ſo inhumanly ſhed, would not a ſpeedy death be much more deſirable to me? He gave up the ghoſt ſoon after, having *Antigonus murdered.*

[p] Id. ibid. c. 20.

(B) This province was ſo called from *Itur* the ſon of *Iſhmael*, whom our *Engliſh* and ſome other verſions wrongly call *Jetur*. It was ſituate on the other ſide of *Jordan*, on the north ſide of the half tribe of *Manaſſeh*, between that and the territories of *Damaſcus*; ſo that it made one part of *Cœle-Syria*, and did lie on the one ſide of *Judea*, as *Idumæa*, formerly conquered in the ſame manner, did lie on the other. It had the province of *Battanea* on the eaſt, and the *Trachonitis* mentioned by St. *Luke* (17) on the ſouth (18). The *Reubenites*, *Simeonites*, and *Manaſſites*, are ſaid in the chronicles to have invaded theſe territories (19), and to have ſubdued the *Itureans*.

(C) The gallery here ſpoken of was, it ſeems, under one of the towers of the caſtle, called upon ſome account or other *Straton*'s tower; and ſo verified according to *Joſephus*, the prediction of one *Judas*, of the ſect of the *Eſſenians*, concerning this prince's death. This man, who was then at *Jeruſalem*, had foretold, ſome time before, that *Antigonus* ſhould be killed on that very day at *Straton*'s tower; but as he underſtood it of another more famed on the ſea-coaſt, and at a diſtance from this, he was not a little ſurprized to ſee that prince come to the temple, looking upon it as a demonſtration of the falſhood of his prediction, ſince, the day being already far advanced, it was impoſſible for him to reach it, it being above ſix hundred furlongs from *Jeruſalem*.

This threw him into ſuch a fit of raving, that he vented his complaints for the ſuppoſed deluſion in a very indecent manner, and, *Jonas* like, cried out, it had been better for him to have been dead, before he had been found a falſe prophet. Whilſt he was in the height of his murmuring, news was brought of *Antigonus*'s murder, and the name of the tower convinced both him and the reſt of the truth of his prediction (20).

(17) c. iii. 1. (18) *Vide Reland. Paleſt. l.* i. *c.* 22. (19) 1 *Chron.* v. 19. (20) *Antiq. l.* xiii. *c.* 19. *Bell. Jud. l.* i. *c.* 3.

having reigned but one year (D), and was ſucceeded by his brother *Jannæus*, or *Alexander*, whom the queen *Salome*, called by the *Greeks Alexandra*, releaſed out of priſon with his other two brethren, and cauſed him to be proclaimed king, as being the eldeſt of the three, and of a milder diſpoſition than either of them.

He was, however, forced to begin his reign with the death of his fourth brother, who had made ſome treaſonable attempt againſt him; but was much kinder to *Abſalom* the youngeſt of all, whom finding contented to lead a private life under him, he took under his protection as long as he lived; and ſo privately did this prince live, that we hear no more of him, till above forty-two years after, when, having ingaged in the war againſt the *Romans*, he was taken by *Pompey* and ſent priſoner to *Rome*. *Alexander* being a ſubtle and warlike prince, and *Syria* being then torn by b
civil wars between the contending brothers, *Antiochus Cyzicus* and *Antiochus Gryphus**, and therefore in no capacity to oppoſe him, he led an army in the very firſt year of his reign againſt the city of *Ptolemais*; but met with worſe ſucceſs in that ſiege than any of his predeceſſors had done, being forced to raiſe it to ſuccour his own territories, which were invaded by *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, who took from him the city of *Azochis* in *Galilee*, and carried off ten thouſand captives, and gave him ſoon after a
Year of the Fl. 2895. Before Chriſt 104. dreadful overthrow near the banks of the *Jordan*, as we have ſeen in a former chapter †. This defeat, in which he loſt thirty thouſand men, beſides thoſe that were taken priſoners, and which was a juſt reward for his treachery to that prince, would infallibly have opened a way for the latter into *Judæa*, *Alexander* being now in no c
condition to have ſtopped his progreſs; had not *Cleopatra* come to his aſſiſtance. It was indeed that princeſs's intereſt not to let *Lathyrus* grow too great, and be thereby enabled to come and wreſt the crown from her; but there was another ſpring that
Year of the Fl. 2897. Before Chriſt 102. moved her to what ſhe did. The *Jews* of *Alexandria* were highly in her favour, and *Chelkias* and *Ananias*, two of the moſt conſiderable, being the ſons of *Onias* the high-prieſt, who built the *Jewiſh* temple at *Alexandria*, were at the head of affairs: and theſe could not behold *Judæa* in ſuch imminent danger from an exaſperated enemy, without uſing all their intereſt with that queen to prevent it. We ſhall not repeat what has been ſaid in a former chapter ** concerning the ſucceſs of her arms againſt that competitor. *Alexander* reaped ſo far the benefit of it, that it obliged *Lathyrus* to ſet aſide the invaſion of *Paleſtine* for ſome time; and *Cleopatra* being d
come to *Ptolemais*, which had ſurrendered to her, the *Jewiſh* monarch came to acknowledge her favour to him by preſents ſuitable to her dignity. He was received outwardly like a prince in diſtreſs, and who had no other refuge than her friendſhip; but that which ingratiated him moſt to that politic princeſs was, his being an enemy to her ſon *Lathyrus*, who was by that time returned into *Palæſtine*, and had taken his winter quarters at *Gaza*.

During *Alexander*'s ſtay with *Cleopatra*, ſome of her friends adviſed her to take ſo favourable an opportunity to make herſelf miſtreſs of *Judæa*; which would at once increaſe her dominions and ſtrength, and give her a ſuperiority over her competitor. But *Ananias* the *Jew* lately mentioned, who was one of her head generals, diſſuaded e
her from ſuch an attempt, alledging, that it would be very ungenerous and unjuſt to diſpoſſeſs of his dominions an ally, who was come to implore her friendſhip and aſſiſtance; that it would leſſen her character in the eyes of the world, and, above all, make her deteſted by all the *Jews*. Theſe reaſons, joined to the influence which that general, who was *Alexander*'s kinſman, had over her, did not only divert her from her deſign, but procured an alliance between them, which was concluded in the city of *Scythopolis*; after which *Alexander* returned to *Jeruſalem*, where, being now pretty ſecure of any danger from *Lathyrus*, he recruited his broken army, and, croſſing the
Takes Gadara *Jordan*, went to beſiege *Gadara*, and took it at the end of ten months. From thence he marched to *Amathus*, another ſtrong fortreſs on that ſide of the river, into which f
Theodotus the ſon of *Zeno*, tyrant of *Philadelphia*, had laid up an immenſe treaſure; and took it in a much ſhorter time than he had that of *Gadara*; and with it all *Theodotus*'s

* See before, Vol. III. p. 612, & ſeq. † Ibid. p. 660, & ſeq. ** Ibid. p. 659, & ſeq.

(D) *Ariſtobulus* had ſo far ingratiated himſelf to the *Greeks*, of whom he was exceſſive fond, that they were great admirers of him; and *Joſephus* quotes one of their authors (21), who gives him the character of a prince of great equity and beneficence; but the actions of his ſhort reign ſhew him to have been of a quite different diſpoſition.

(21) *Timagen. ap. Strabon. ex Joſeph. Antiq. ubi ſupra.*

T

a *Theodotus*'s treaſure. But he did not keep it long; that prince, having got together a numerous army, fell ſuddenly upon him, as he was returning from the siege, killed him ten thouſand men, routed the reſt, recovered all his wealth, ſeized on *Alexander*'s baggage, and carried off a conſiderable plunder from his men [q]. This defeat, however, did not diſcourage *Alexander* from purſuing his warlike views, only it afforded great matter of triumph to the *Phariſees*, his implacable enemies, who took occaſion from thence to vilify him to the people, and to uſe all poſſible means to make his crown ſit uneaſy on him. *Before Christ* 100.

As ſoon as *Alexander* had recruited his army, he ſtayed not in *Jeruſalem* to quell the *Phariſaic* faction, but left them to make the moſt of his late diſgrace, whilſt he b went to vent his reſentment on the treacherous *Gazeans*, who, by inviting *Lathyrus* againſt him and furniſhing him with auxiliaries, had been the cauſe of his late overthrow. He immediately beſieged the towns of *Raphia* and *Anthedon*, ſince called *Agrippias* by *Herod*: theſe two places ſtood at a few miles diſtance from *Gaza*, by which means having in ſome meaſure blocked up this laſt, he on the next year ſet about beſieging it with a powerful army. The city, being then under the command of *Apollodotus*, a man of great valour and conduct, made a ſtout defence againſt him one whole year, and in one ſally were like to have routed him and his army; and much longer it might have held out in all likelyhood, had not the brave governor been treacherouſly murdered by his own brother *Lyſimachus*, and the place betrayed by him c to the beſiegers. *Alexander* upon his entering it made great ſhew of clemency to the *Gazeans*, but ſoon betrayed his rancour and cruelty againſt them, by abandoning them to the fury of his men; who thereupon made ſuch horrid ſlaughter of them, as was like to have proved a dear revenge to him; for the *Gazeans*, ſtanding deſperately on their own defence, killed him almoſt as many of his men as he did of theirs. Having at laſt glutted himſelf with the blood of thoſe unfortunate wretches, he vented the reſt of his reſentment on that great and ancient city, by reducing it into a heap of ruins; after which he returned with his army to *Jeruſalem* [r]. The fourth book of *Maccabees* adds [s], that he took afterwards the cities of *Emath* and *Tyre*, but *Joſephus* ſays nothing of it.

Goes againſt Gaza.

His cruelty to the Gazeans.

d But whilſt he had been abroad with his army, the *Phariſees*, who, as we hinted before, bore a mortal hatred to him and his whole family, had taken ſuch means to exaſperate the people againſt him by evil ſurmiſes and ſlanders, which they privately inſtilled into them, that it broke out at laſt into an open affront, which came little ſhort of a rebellion. They choſe the feaſt of tabernacles, on which ſolemnity they go to the temple with palm and other branches in their hands, eſpecially that of a kind of citron, which they call *attrog*, with the fruit upon it (E); and when he was performing the prieſtly office at the great altar, probably on the laſt day of that ſolemnity, they pelted him, not only with thoſe *attrogs*, but with the moſt injurious reflections and opprobrious language, crying aloud, that ſuch a ſlave as he (F) was e unworthy of either the pontifical or regal dignity. This inſolence, which ſeemed the

Alexander *pelted by the people.* *Year of the flood* 2904. *Year before Chriſt* 95.

[q] Antiq. xiii. 21. [r] Ibid. [s] cap. xxix.

(E) This *attrog*, which the *Jews* imagine to have been the forbidden fruit which our firſt parents eat in paradiſe, very much reſembles a citron or lemon, except that it has on the rind ſome unevenneſſes, (ſuch as we obſerve ſometimes in the *Seville* orange) and which they fondly believe to have been originally impreſt upon it by *Eve*'s planting her teeth upon it, from which time they think that fruit has retained the print of it on both ſides.

Where ever therefore it is to be had, they carry it during this feſtival in their hands to the ſynagogues, as they did then to the temple, and are very curious in the choice of ſuch only as beſt repreſent that fatal bite; and as our *Jews* here, and in *Holland*, *Germany*, &c. are forced to have it from ſome parts of *Greece*, none but the richer ſort are able to purchaſe it; and it ſometimes happens, either through contrary winds, ſhips being taken or caſt away, that there is ſuch a ſcarcity of them, that the price of them advances to a guinea a ſprig. Thoſe who are curious enough may ſee them on that feſtival in their ſynagogues, it ſeldom or never happening but ſome quantity is brought over againſt that time. But when it doth, they are forced to ſubſtitute ſome other odoriferous tree inſtead of it; but the poorer ſort content themſelves with branches of willows.

On the ſeventh day, which cloſes the feſtival, they break their branches or throw them away; and we ſuppoſe it was on this day that the mutinous crowd did pelt the high-prieſt with thoſe *attrogs*, they being ſo common at that time in *Paleſtine*, that the meaneſt people might purchaſe them.

(F) By calling him a ſlave, it is plain, they harped upon that ſcandalous ſuggeſtion of *Eleazar* mentioned in a late note, of his mother having been a ſlave. But the true foundation of the *Phariſaic* grudge was his treading in his father's ſteps, not only in careſſing the oppoſite ſect, but in continuing the penal laws againſt thoſe who ſhould obſerve the traditions and cuſtoms introduced by the *Phariſees*. This was ſuch a crime againſt them, that nothing but his blood could expiate, and they did not ſcruple to tell him ſo ſoon after, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

fore-runner of ſomething worſe, did ſo exaſperate the pontiff, that, ſuſpending his a
office for a while, he ordered his ſoldiers to fall upon the mutinous mob; which they
did with ſuch ſpeed and fury, that they killed ſix thouſand of them, and diſperſed
the reſt [t]. As ſoon as the tumult was quelled, he cauſed the court of the prieſts to
be incloſed with a wooden wall, to prevent ſuch inſults being offered to him for the
future, and at the ſame time provided for his further ſafety, by taking into his pay
ſix thouſand auxiliaries out of *Piſidia* and *Cilicia*, being afraid to truſt his perſon any
longer to the guard of thoſe of his exaſperated nation, who, as he found now to his
great grief, were not to be quelled by the greateſt ſeverities, nor mollified by the
greateſt lenitives. So that being quite wearied out with their continual clamours, he
marched out of *Jeruſalem* at the head of his army, croſſed the *Jordan*, and went and b
deſtroyed the city of *Amathus*, without meeting with any oppoſition from *Theodotus*,
who contented himſelf with carrying off his treaſure and gariſon, leaving the city to
his mercy; ſo dreadful was become the name of *Alexander* by this time to all the
nations round about. From thence he marched againſt the *Arabians*, whom he ſub-
dued; after which he laid the *Moabites* and the mountaineers of the land of *Gilead*
under tribute. Soon after this, as he was carrying on the war againſt *Obedas* king of
Mad s war abroad. the *Arabians*, he fell into an ambuſh near *Gadara*, where he was forced by a large
drove of camels into a ſtreight ſo narrow and craggy, that it was with the greateſt
difficulty that he eſcaped and regained his own metropolis (G). Here he found, to
his great mortification, that the news of this laſt defeat had not only reached the c
place, but had given a new life to his enemies, who began to exclaim louder than ever
againſt him. His endeavours to quell them, as he had done before, did now but
The Phariſees cauſe a rebellion. increaſe the tumult, till it broke out into an open inſurrection againſt him. He was,
however, too wiſe and brave to be either ſurpriſed or terrified by it, but quickly
gathered a number of forces to make head againſt them. A civil war immediately
enſued, which laſted ſix whole years, during which above fifty thouſand of the rebels
loſt their lives, beſides thoſe he loſt on his own ſide (H), and the innumerable cala-
mities it brought on the *Jewiſh* nation.

Alexander, however, though he ſtill got the better of them, was ſo weary with d
deſtroying both his people and country, that he ſpared no means, no offers or pro-
miſes, to bring matters to a pacification. But as he had to do with a crew of rebels,
and they of the *Phariſaic* leaven, every advance he made did but harden them the more.
At length, being reſolved, if poſſible, to bring them to a better mind, he ſent ſome of
his friends to know what would ſatisfy them, promiſing to grant them whatever they
ſhould in reaſon and juſtice demand. To this they unanimouſly cried out, that he
muſt cut his own throat, telling him at the ſame time, that he ought to think highly
of them, if they thought his death a ſufficient recompence for the blood he had ſhed,
and the miſchiefs he had brought upon his nation [u]. This anſwer made him loſe all
hopes of an accommodation, and look out for ſome more effectual means to ſuppreſs
their horrid inſolence, whilſt they, on the other hand, ſent to *Damaſcus*, to beg of e
Demetrius, ſirnamed *Eucherus*, to come to their aſſiſtance [w].

Demetrius came accordingly into *Judæa* with an army of three thouſand horſe and
forty thouſand foot, who were partly *Jews* and partly *Syrians*; and *Alexander* came
againſt him with another, conſiſting of ſix thouſand *Greek* auxiliaries and twenty
thouſand *Jews*; each of them tried for ſome time to gain over the troops of his com-
petitor, *Demetrius* to debauch the *Greek* auxiliaries to forſake the *Jewiſh* king, and
this latter to bring over thoſe *Jews* that were in the *Syrian* army. But all their efforts
proving vain, they came at length to a deciſive battle, in which *Alexander* was de-
feated,

[t] Antiq. xiii. 21. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 3. [u] Id. ibid. [w] Ibid. c. 22. Bell. Judaic. ubi ſupra.

(G) *Joſephus* mentions theſe wars ſo confuſedly, that it is impoſſible to gueſs at what time they happened, or how long they laſted. It ſeems as if he had lumped them thus together at the fag end of a chapter 22), to ſhew his readers what a warlike prince *Alexander* was, and that his neighbours led but a weary life during his reign. Perhaps it would have been better for him to have continued them longer, ſince his return to *Jeruſalem* proved the cauſe of freſh tumults, which ended at laſt in an open rebellion.

(H) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* tells us, that this inteſtine war was between the *Phariſees* and *Sadducees*; and that *Alexander* having declared himſelf againſt the former, had put fifty thouſand of them to death, within the ſpace of theſe ſix years; which did ſo exaſperate the reſt of them, that they would hearken to no accommodation, but ſent to invite *Demetrius* king of *Syria* to come to their aſſiſtance againſt him (23).

(22) *Ant. l.* xiii. *in fin. cap.* 21. *& Bell. Jud. l.* i. *c.* 3. (23) *Cap.* 29.

a feated, and forced to flee to the mountains for ſhelter, with the ſmall number of men that ſtuck cloſe to him. This is the account which *Joſephus* gives us of this action, wherein he again claſhes with the fourth book of *Maccabees*, which makes the advantage to have been vaſtly on *Alexander*'s ſide, as the reader may ſee in the margin (I). But be that as it will, the former tells us, that he was reduced by this defeat to ſuch a low ebb, that he ſeemed irrecoverably loſt, when an unexpected accident turned again the balance on his ſide. Thoſe *Jewiſh* troops, whom he could not, with all his art and fair promiſes, withdraw from the enemies army, before the battle was fought, were now, upon his loſing it, taken with ſuch a fit of compaſſion, that they came all over to him; ſo that *Demetrius*, fearing leſt the defection ſhould ſtill increaſe, left *Judæa*
b and marched againſt his brother *Philip*. This retreat gave *Alexander* an opportunity of getting his army together, with which he marched againſt the rebellious *Jews*, and beat them in every engagement he had againſt them; though without being able to bring them to ſubmiſſion, or in the leaſt abate the fury of their reſentment againſt him, till a deciſive battle put an end to the war. In this laſt action *Alexander* cut off the greater part of their army, and drove the reſt, at leaſt the chief of them, to *Bethome*, where he cloſely beſieged them, and on the next year made himſelf maſter of the place; and here it was that he began to let looſe the reins of his fury againſt them, in ſuch barbarous manner, as can hardly be read without horror, if our hiſtorian has not exaggerated the matter. He cauſed eight hundred of the principal of them to be carried to
c *Jeruſalem*, and there to be all crucified, in one day and at one place; and as if this had not been puniſhment ſufficient to appeaſe his reſentment, he cauſed their wives and children to be brought and butchered before their faces, whilſt they were hanging each upon their croſs. But what ſwells the account of his barbarity almoſt beyond all credibility is, that he cauſed a banquet to be prepared for himſelf and his concubines, near enough to this ſcene of horror, from whence he might glut his eyes with their ſufferings. Hence the hiſtorian adds [x], that he had the name of *Tracidas* or *Thracian* given him, that nation being infamous above all others for their horrid barbarities; and was indeed a name rather too good for him, if he was really guilty of all theſe cruelties.

d After this dreadful havock the rebels did quite diſperſe themſelves, and eight thouſand of them diſappeared on the very night following, and never more moleſted him during the remainder of his reign, ſo that from that time forth the *phariſaic* faction never dared to lift up their heads as long as he lived. Soon after this, the king of *Syria*, intending to invade the territories of *Arabia Petrea*, marched his army through part of *Judæa*, which was the only paſſage he could have to come thither. *Alexander*, who ſuſpected him to have ſome deſign againſt him, endeavoured in vain to obſtruct him, by drawing a deep trench twenty miles long, that is, from the town of *Capherſaba*, now *Antipatris*, quite to the ſea of *Joppa*, and fortifying it with wooden towers at convenient diſtances. *Antiochus* forced his way through them and penetrated into *Arabia*,
e where he loſt his life, as we have ſeen elſewhere*; and *Alexander*, being rid of that fear, marched his army over *Jordan*, to recover ſome of thoſe places in *Arabia* and the lands of *Moab* and *Gilead*, which he had formerly taken, but had been forced to ſurrender during the civil wars, to prevent the *Arabian* king's ſupporting his rebellious ſubjects. This brought *Aretas*, now king both of *Arabia* and *Cœle-Syria*, into *Judæa*, where he defeated *Alexander*; but having ſoon after made a treaty with him, he retired with his forces, and left him to purſue his other conqueſts. *Alexander* accordingly marched againſt the city of *Dion*, and took it by aſſault [y]. *Pella* was taken next [z], after

Alexander *defeated by* Demetrius.

Relieved.

Year of the flood 2913. *Before Chriſt* 86.

His cruelty to the rebels.

His conqueſts.

f [x] Id. ibid. * See Vol. III. p. 616, c. [y] Antiq. ibid. c. 23. [z] Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 4.

(I) This author tells us (24), that *Alexander* defeated the *Syrian* king, and purſued him quite to *Antioch*, where he kept him beſieged three whole years; that at length *Demetrius*, having ventured out with his army againſt him, was killed; and that *Alexander* after this ſecond victory came back to *Jeruſalem*, where he was well received by the people; that he went afterwards and ſubdued the *Idumeans*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Philiſtines*, and *Arabian* mountaineers; but all this ſeems exaggerated, and *Joſephus*'s account perhaps more juſtly preferred to it, who is ſeldom leſs liable to ſuſpicion, than when he ſpeaks againſt his own nation. Yet it muſt be remembered here, that *Joſephus* was a zealous *phariſee*, and *Alexander* an inveterate enemy to, not to ſay in ſome meaſure a proſecutor of, that whole ſect; and how far this conſideration may have ſowered the *phariſaic* leaven in that hiſtorian, and have made him repreſent that prince as leſs ſucceſsful than he really was, and guilty of ſuch cruelties as he was a ſtranger to, may be eaſily gueſſed.

(24) *Chap.* xxix.

after which he went and beſieged *Eſſa*, alias *Geraſa*, into which *Theodotus* had ſecured a
all his treaſure; and having built a treble wall about it, took it by ſtorm, and carried
off all the rich plunder he found in it. The inhabitants of *Pella* having refuſed to be
circumciſed, he forced them, according to the cuſtom of the *Aſmonean* princes, to
leave the country, and their city was demoliſhed. *Alexander* marched from thence
and took *Gaulana*, *Seleucia*, *the valley of Antiochus*, and *Gamala*, and ſtripped *Deme-*
trius, who commanded in thoſe places, of his principality, becauſe he had been
guilty of ſome foul crimes and malverſations. This expedition took him up three
whole years, after which he returned triumphant to *Jeruſalem*, and brought *Deme-*
trius priſoner with him thither, where his late conqueſts gained him the loud acclama-
tions of his ſubjects [a]. But giving himſelf from thenceforward to drinking and other b
debaucheries, he was ſeized with an obſtinate quartan ague, which ſtuck to him till
the day of his death, which happened about three years after. All this while, neither
His death. his diſtemper, nor his pleaſures, which he ſtill purſued, could alleviate his invincible
Year of the thirſt after conqueſts (K). Perhaps alſo he was in hopes to overcome the one by the
flood 2920. other; but it happened quite otherwiſe, and his ſtrength being quite exhauſted by
Before Chriſt fatigues and debauch, he died in his camp before *Ragaba*, a fortreſs in the territories
79. of the *Geraſens*, beyond *Jordan*, which he was then beſieging, in the twenty-ſeventh
year of his reign [b].

He left two ſons at his death, *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus*, but bequeathed the govern- c
ment of the kingdom to his wife *Alexandra*, during her life, and then to which of
her two ſons ſhe ſhould think fit to leave it. The queen, who was then with him at
the ſiege, ſeeing him to be paſt recovery, addreſſed herſelf to him, all in tears; and,
in a moſt pathetic ſpeech, repreſented to him the extreme danger ſhe and her children
were going to be expoſed to, from the inveterate grudge which the *phariſaic* faction
did ſtill bear to him and to all that belonged to him; and who, being the idol of the
people, would not fail to make her feel the effects of their bittereſt rancour, by raiſing
up new ſeditions againſt her, as they had formerly done againſt him, and perhaps to
the total extirpation of his race. As her fears were but too well grounded, they could
not but awake thoſe of her dying huſband, who, luckily for her, happened to have
ſtill preſence of mind enough to bethink himſelf of an expedient, which would effec- d
tually put her out of all danger from that revengeful ſect. Having therefore thought
His dying ad- ſome time upon it, he ſpoke to her to this effect: "You know, ſaid he, but too
vice to his "well the cauſe of our mutual enmity; and ſince your ſecurity and happineſs muſt
queen. "riſe or fall, according as you make them your friends or your foes, when I am
"dead, be ſure to conceal the ſecret from my army, till they have taken the fort;
"and then lead them triumphant to *Jeruſalem*, carry my body along with you, and,
"as ſoon as you are come thither, ſend for the principal leaders of that factious ſect,
"and lay it before them, and tell them that you wholly ſubmit it to them, either
"to give it a burial, or to throw it in the high-way, for the injuries I have done
"them. Aſſure them at the ſame time, that as to yourſelf, you are ſo entirely devoted e
"to them, that you deſign to place them again at the head of affairs, and that you
"will do nothing without their advice and conſent. Give them immediately ſome
"marks of your favour and friendſhip, and then you need not doubt, but they will
"not only extol me to the ſkies and give me a royal burial, but will likewiſe ſup-
"port you, and my ſons after you, in the peaceful enjoyment of your kingdom".
He juſt lived to give her this ſalutary counſel, and then expired in the forty-ninth
year of his age.

Alexandra

[a] Antiq. ubi ſupra. [b] Ibid. & bell. Jud. ubi ſupra.

(K) Witneſs the vaſt number of places he died poſſeſſed of, in *Syria*, *Idumea*, *Phœnicia*, *Arabia*, &c. beyond all his predeceſſors, and which we ſhall here ſubjoin out of *Joſephus*, that the reader may have them all in one view †.

Along the ſea, the tower of *Straton*, the ports of *Apollonia*, *Joppa*, *Jamnia*, *Azotus*, *Gaza*, *Anthedon*, *Raphia*, and *Rhinocorura*. In the mid-land of *Idumæa*, *Adora*, *Mariſſa*, and all *Samaria*, with the mountains of *Carmel* and *Itabyr*, and the cities of *Scythopolis*, *Gadara*, *Gaulona*, *Seleucia*, and *Gabala*. In the land of *Moab*, *Heſhbon*, or *Eſſebon*, *Medaba*, *Lemba*, *Oron*, *Telithon*, and *Zara*. In *Cilicia*, *Aulon* and *Pella*; this laſt and that of *Gaza* were demoliſhed, as we have ſeen before. Beſides thoſe he conquered in *Arabia*, and was forced to ſurrender to *Aretas*, and many more in the land of *Gilead*, and ſome freſh ones in the land of *Syria*, whoſe names our author has omitted; and what a ſubject would there have been here for a lofty panegyric, had the hiſtorian been *a ſaddducee*, or the prince *a phariſee!* and how truly is the ſaying verified, *Cedunt arma togæ!*

† *Antiq. l.* iii. 23.

a *Alexandra* was too wiſe not to follow his injunctions, if they were really his, and not a pretence trumped up by that politic princeſs. However, it had the deſired effect; and the *phariſees*, glad to ſee themſelves again at the head of affairs, were beyond meaſure laviſh of their praiſes and honours to the deceaſed king, They extolled him for a great conqueror and patriot, they beſtowed a magnificent funeral on him, and applauded above all his wiſdom in bequeathing the government to his queen. He did certainly right in that, ſeeing his eldeſt ſon *Hyrcanus*, who was then about thirty years of age, was a prince of a ſluggiſh diſpoſition, without ambition or ſpirit. Him therefore the queen thought fit to nominate to ſucceed his father in the pontifical function, not ſo much out of reſpect to his primogeniture, as becauſe he
b was leſs likely to interfere with the affairs of ſtate than the younger brother; who, being of a more enterpriſing genius, was for that very reaſon ſecluded and confined to a private life. But though ſhe had ſo carefully ſecured her prerogative from any attempt from her two ſons, yet was ſhe far enough from enjoying it ſo abſolutely and quietly as ſhe expected. For the *phariſees*, as they grew more and more powerful, grew alſo more and more inſolent and untractable, inſomuch, that the fear of their raiſing a new rebellion forced her to conſent to many of their demands, much againſt her will, as well as her intereſt.

THE firſt thing they obtained of her was, a total revocation of all the edicts which *Hyrcan the firſt*, and the late king, had made againſt their conſtitutions and traditional doctrines; the next was, an amneſty for all their faction, together with the
c releaſe of ſuch of their brethren as had been confined ſince the late civil war, and the third was, the recalling of all thoſe who had been either baniſhed or forced to fly the country ſince the concluſion of it, and their being readmitted into the poſſeſſion of all their forfeited eſtates. By the firſt of theſe, the *phariſaic* traditions grew again into credit, by which means they became more and more numerous; and that ſect being at full liberty to impoſe them on the people at their pleaſure, they not only became an intolerable burden to the people, but by degrees quite obliterated the written word, of which they were pretended to be the true ſenſe and explanation; and by the other two decrees, they ſo increaſed and ſtrengthened their party, that the *Year of the flood* 2922. *Before Chriſt* 77.
d queen was now afraid to deny them any thing; whereby they became ſtill more exorbitant in their demands, till they let her ſee plainly that they deſigned to leave her only the name of ſovereignty, and the power to command her ſubjects to obey them. She retained indeed ſix thouſand auxiliary troops in her pay, by which ſhe kept at leaſt her neighbours and conquered provinces in awe, and received from time to time freſh hoſtages from them [c]. But as the *phariſaic* crew looked upon this as the effects of their friendſhip to her, they claimed all the merit of her peaceful reign to themſelves, and ſoon gave her to underſtand, that nothing leſs than the total extirpation of the *Sadducees*, who were the only ones that ſtuck cloſe to the late king, ſhould Sadducees purchaſe the continuance of their friendſhip and aſſiſtance. They began with inſiſt- *proſecuted.*
e ing upon her puniſhing all thoſe, who had counſelled him to crucify the eight hundred rebels lately mentioned, with immediate death. Accordingly *Diogenes*, one of the chiefs of the *Sadducees* and a confident of *Alexander*, was preſently diſpatched, and after him a great many others, againſt whom they laid the ſame accuſation, right or wrong, that is, againſt as many of that ſect, as they thought had been too attached to that monarch's ſervice [d].

THESE proſecutions were continued ſeveral years, though much againſt the queen's mind, who could not but feel ſome lively remorſe to ſee ſo many of her huſband's moſt zealous friends daily butchered; but the *phariſees* ſtill inſiſting, that to put a ſtop to theſe ſeverities would be to ſtop the courſe of juſtice, contrary to the laws
f of God, and the ſecurity of every good government; the fear of a new inſurrection, the dreadful effects of which ſhe had ſo lately felt, made her ſtill look upon thoſe executions as the leſſer evil of the two. At length ſome of the moſt conſiderable perſons of that perſecuted party, having got young *Ariſtobulus* at their head, came to the royal *Petition the* palace, to beſeech the queen that ſhe would put an end to their miſery. They reminded her of their great ſervices and invincible loyalty to her late huſband, and that it was in conſideration of them that he had beſtowed on them thoſe marks of his favour and eſteem, which expoſed them now to the fury of their enemies. They conjured her not to ſuffer the late king's beſt and moſt loyal friends to be thus daily ſacrificed to *queen.* the

[c] Antiq. ubi ſupra, comp. with l. xx. c. 8. & bell Jud. l. i. c. 4. [d] Id. ibid.

the rancour of his ambitious and bittereſt enemies, in a time eſpecially of a profound peace, and under her government, who had been a witneſs of all the difficulties and hardſhips they had ſuffered with and for him. They concluded with their earneſt prayer, that if ſhe could not ſuppreſs the *phariſaic* rage againſt them, ſhe would at leaſt give them the liberty of ſheltering themſelves from it, either by retiring into ſome foreign countries, or by her placing them in ſuch of her gariſons, where they might be out of the reach of their enemies. *Ariſtobulus* at the ſame time backed their petition in ſuch manner, as ſufficiently ſhewed his diſguſt to ſuch cruel proceedings. The queen, though doubtleſs highly affected with their diſtreſs, dared not grant the firſt part of their petition, for fear of exaſperating the *phariſees*. To grant them the ſecond, that is, to permit them to depart the kingdom, was in fact depriving herſelf of ſo many faithful ſubjects, whoſe friendſhip might one time or other be of ſervice to ſuppreſs the arrogance of that tyrannic ſect. Upon mature deliberation therefore, ſhe agreed to the laſt expedient propoſed, of placing them in the ſeveral gariſons of her kingdom, whence ſhe might at any time fetch them when occaſion ſerved, and where they might be either ſafe from their enemies, or at leaſt in a condition to ſtand in their own defence. She excepted, however, thoſe of *Hyrcania*, *Alexandria*, and *Macheron*, in which ſhe had depoſited her moſt valuable treaſures, leſt by ſhewing too great a confidence in them, ſhe ſhould give umbrage to their enemies the *phariſees* (L). How ſhe took her ſon's interceſſion on their behalf, our hiſtorian doth not tell us; but intimates, that ſhe ſent him ſoon after with an army into *Syria* againſt *Ptolemy Meneus*, who infeſted all the neighbouring countries, and that he returned ſoon after without effecting any thing worth notice [c].

About the ſame time news came to her, that *Tigranes* king of *Armenia* was come into *Syria* with an army of fifty thouſand men, and had beſieged *Ptolemais*, and that his deſign was to march from thence into *Judæa*. This knews threw the whole kingdom into the greateſt conſternation, it not being in a condition to make head againſt ſuch a powerful invader. She therefore haſtened ſome embaſſadors, laden with the richeſt preſents, to beſeech him to ſpare her dominions and to grant her his friendſhip. Both

[c] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 24. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 4.

(L.) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* (25) takes no notice of their being ſent into gariſons; but only tells us, that ſhe gave them liberty to retire into what cities of *Judæa* they pleaſed; and that the *Eſſenians*, no leſs hated by the *phariſees*, joined themſelves to them.

In this year, our learned *Uſher* obſerves, (26) was born *Herod*, ſince king of *Judæa*, of whom we ſhall have a great deal to ſpeak in the ſequel; for he was twenty five years old when he was made governor of *Galilee* in the year before Chriſt 47.

Concerning his father *Antipas*, or, as he grecified his name, *Antipater*, authors have given us various accounts, according as they were well or ill affected towards his ſon. Thus *N. Damaſcen*, who had received great obligations from him and publiſhed his hiſtory in *Herod*'s life, derives his pedigree from one of the principal *Jews* that returned from the *Babyloniſh* captivity; for which flagrant flattery *Joſephus*, who muſt have been better informed, doth ſharply reprove him, and aſſures us (27), that *Antipater* was of a noble *Idumæan* family, and had been made governor of *Idumæa* by *Alexander Jannæus*, and continued ſo under his queen *Alexandra*; ſo that, according to this laſt hiſtorian, he was of *Idumæan* race, but by religion a *Jew*, the *Idumæans* having long ſince been proſelyted, and incorporated into the *Jewiſh* church and ſtate, as we have ſeen before.

But a modern jeſuit (28), who has pretended to prove *Joſephus*'s hiſtory to be a mere forgery, makes *Herod* to have been an *Athenian*; his proofs are, that he is called in ſome medals a benefactor to *Athens*, and that there actually was one of his name in that city in *Cæſar*'s time. He has advanced ſeveral other ſingularities concerning that prince, which we may have occaſion to mention, when we come to ſpeak of his reign.

But none have more debaſed his origin than *Julius Africanus*, who, in his letter to *Ariſtides* mentioned by *Euſebius* (29), makes *Antipater* to have been the ſon of one *Herod* an *Aſcalonite*, who was veſtry-keeper of *Apollo*'s temple in that city; and withal ſo poor, that when his ſon (this our great *Herod*) was taken priſoner by ſome *Idumæan* robbers, he was not able to redeem him, ſo that he was brought up among thoſe banditti, who were, however, of the *Jewiſh* religion; and this notion, it ſeems, was readily adopted by ſeveral of the fathers (30).

One thing ſeems beyond contradiction, namely, that one of the main cauſes of the invincible hatred which the whole *Jewiſh* nation bore againſt that prince, in ſpite of all his grandeur, generoſity, and munificence, was his not being of *Jewiſh* extract; ſo that what *Damaſcen* and after him the *Arabic* hiſtory, printed at the end of the *Paris* polyglot, affirm of his noble deſcent, from a *Jewiſh* ſtock, muſt be falſe and groundleſs.

His oppoſite pedigree from a ſexton of *Apollo*'s temple, is at beſt founded on a tradition, attributed to Chriſt's kinſmen, according to the fleſh, without the leaſt authority, and ſeems to be trumped up to debaſe the whole *Herodian* family, which was univerſally hated; and can conſequently never outweigh the teſtimony of *Joſephus*, who wanted neither means nor inclination to inform himſelf of his genealogy, and whoſe authority is ſtill univerſally received, in ſpite of all the cavils which the jeſuit above-quoted has raiſed againſt it.

(25) Ch. xxxii. (26) *Sub A. M. Jul. per.* 4642. (27) *Antiq. l.* xiv. *c.* 2. (28) *Hardouin de Numm. Herodian.* (29) *Eccl. Hiſt. l.* i. *c.* 6 & 7. (30) *Vid. Ambr Comment. in Luc. c.* iii.

a Both preſents and embaſſy were received with marks of the ſincereſt kindneſs and affection, not ſo much out of regard to that princeſs, as to his own affairs, which had by this time taken a different turn; his territories being now threatened with an invaſion from the *Romans*, who had already penetrated into *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, where *Lucullus* was then ravaging all that country. So that he was forced to go and defend his own territories, inſtead of invading thoſe of his neighbours [f].

THE queen was ſcarcely rid of this danger before ſhe fell into new ones. A fit of ſickneſs, which ſeized her about this time, dangerous in its nature and much more ſo on account of her great age, made her youngeſt ſon believe that her death was near at hand, and that it was therefore high time for him to think of ſecuring the crown for himſelf, which his elder brother was unfit for. To this end he went out of *Jeruſalem* one night accompanied by one ſingle confident, with a deſign to go and bring over to his intereſt thoſe friends of his father, who had the cuſtody of the ſeveral fortifications, of which we have lately ſpoken. This ſecret he intruſted with none but his own wife, whom he left behind with her children, till he came to the caſtle of *Agaba*, where *Gabeſtus*, one of his father's chief confidents, who commanded there, received him with no ſmall joy. He immediately declared to him the deſign of his coming, and the reaſons he had to fear, leſt, if his mother died before he had made ſure of the crown, not only he and his whole family, but all their friends in general, ſhould again fall under the tyranny of the *Phariſaic* ſect, through the indolence and ſtupidity of his elder brother, who would doubtleſs ſuffer himſelf to be wholly governed by them. As his fears were but too well grounded, he eaſily gained *Gabeſtus*, whoſe example was ſoon followed by all the governors of the other fortreſſes, who all declared for him. The queen miſſed her ſon from the firſt night, but did not ſuſpect him of any deſign, till the alarmed *Phariſees* brought her word, that theſe fortreſſes were gone over to his intereſt, by which means he had got in ſome meaſure the whole ſtrength of the kingdom into his hands. As to the army, and even the people who were heretofore ſo ready to idolize their ſect, they were ſenſible they had uſed them of late with ſuch ſeverity and inſolence, that, inſtead of expecting any ſupport from them, they had great reaſon to fear they would upon the very firſt occaſion go over to *Ariſtobulus*, and embrace the milder government of the *Sadducees* [g].

The queen's ſickneſs.

Ariſtobulus ſecures the crown.

THEY had brought *Hyrcan* with them to the queen, when they came to acquaint her with the diſmal ſituation of their affairs, and both he and they were very preſſing with her to adviſe them what to do in ſuch a dangerous caſe. The queen, who found herſelf dying, had juſt ſtrength enough to tell them that her condition would not now permit her to think of their ſafety, and that ſhe left it wholly to them to ſee to it themſelves. She added, that they wanted neither ſoldiers, arms, nor money to make head againſt her other ſon, and that ſhe appointed *Hyrcan* her ſucceſſor. She expired immediately after, in the ſeventy-third year of her age and the ninth of her reign, to the inexpreſſible grief of the *Phariſaic* faction, who now could expect nothing elſe but a ſevere retaliation for all their cruelties to the late king's friends; but to the great joy of all the reſt of the kingdom, who now hoped to ſee an effectual end put to the *Phariſaic* tyranny, by her brave ſon *Ariſtobulus* (M).

The queen's death.

WHILST

[f] Id. ibid. [g] Ant. l. xiii. c. ult. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 4.

(M) This defection from *Hyrcan*, whom ſhe had nominated her ſucceſſor, to her younger ſon, who was in ſome meaſure in open rebellion againſt her, did not proceed from any diſreſpect the people had for her; for ſhe appears to have been a princeſs of great wiſdom and conduct; and could ſhe have ſuppreſt the *Phariſaic* tyranny, would have left an unblemiſh'd character behind her; and even this circumſtance of her giving too much way to it, appears to have been rather her misfortune than her fault.

Some authors (31) have abſurdly confounded this queen with *Salome* the wife, and afterwards the widow, of *Ariſtobulus*, the elder brother of the late *Alexander*, and who, as we obſerved a little higher, out of *Joſephus*, was alſo called *Alexandra*; ſo that they have ſuppoſed her to have been the ſame perſon, and that being left a widow, *Alexander* the next brother had been obliged, according to the *Moſaic* law, to marry her, and to raiſe up ſeed to his brother.

But this has been fully confuted by our learned *Prideaux* in the place above quoted, ſince *Hyrcan*, who is every-where allowed to have been the ſon of *Alexander*, is there proved to have been five years old before *Ariſtobulus* died; for *Hyrcan* being according to *Joſephus* above eighty years of age when he died, which happened in the year before Chriſt 30, eighty-one years will carry us back to the year before Chriſt 111, whereas *Ariſtobulus* did not die till the year 106.

(31) *Capel. & al. Vid. Prid. Connect. ſub. A.* 70.

Whilst therefore the hopes of ſuch a happy change brought daily both army and people over to him, the *Phariſees* found no other expedient to provide for their own ſafety, than ſeizing on his wife and children, and confining them in the caſtle of *Baris*, to be kept there as hoſtages againſt him; but when they found that this did not ſtop his progreſs, but that he took the royal title and ſtate upon him, and daily gained ſtrength, they raiſed an army againſt him; and *Ariſtobulus*, who deſired nothing more than a deciſive battle, well knowing the valour and fidelity of his army, and that he had little to fear from that of his brother, ſoon gave him an opportunity of joining iſſue with him. A battle was accordingly fought near *Jericho*, in which moſt of *Hyrcan*'s forces went over to his brother, ſo that he had no way left but to retire to *Jeruſalem*, and to ſhut himſelf up in the ſame caſtle, where they had confined *Ariſtobulus*'s wife and children. The few forces that ſtuck by him followed his example, and took ſanctuary within the verge of the temple, where they had not been long, ere they came over to his victorious brother. Things being brought to this deſperate ſtate, *Hyrcan* was glad to accept of a peace upon any terms; and *Ariſtobulus* granted it to him, upon condition that he diveſted himſelf of his regal and pontifical dignity, and wholly reſigned them to him, and contented himſelf with a private life, with the enjoyment of his private fortunes. *Hyrcan*, who, as we have obſerved more than once, was a man without ambition or ſpirit, made no difficulty to yield to thoſe conditions, and to diveſt himſelf of a government he could keep no longer, after a three months troubleſome poſſeſſion of it (N) [h].

This depoſition did not, however, hinder *Hyrcan*'s retaining ſtill a powerful party, which conſiſting chiefly of *Phariſees*, who had nothing to hope for, but a great deal to fear, from his ſucceſsful brother, were ſtill buſily plotting to raiſe up their old idol over him. This was gladly obſerved by *Antipater* the father of *Herod*, whoſe nation and pedigree we have ſpoken of in a late note. This perſon, though in all likelihood indifferent as to the diſtinction between *Phariſee* and *Sadducee*, being, as we there obſerved, an *Idumean* proſelyte, was in as great danger of feeling the reſentments of *Ariſtobulus*, as any of the former ſect. His peculiar ſkill and addreſs, backed by an

h Ant. l. xiv. c. 1, 2, 3. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 5.

(N) So ſays the text in *Joſephus*; but our excellent *Uſher* has clearly ſhewn from the ſix years which elapſed between the conſulate of *Q. Hortenſius* and *Q. Metellus*, in which *Hyrcan* began his reign, and that of *C. Antonius* and *M. T. Cicero*, in which his brother *Ariſtobulus* was depoſed by *Pompey*, that there muſt be an error crept into *Joſephus*, who allows but three months reign to the former, and three years and ſix months to the latter.

But the learned prelate has not ſo well ſucceeded in correcting that miſtake, by ſuppoſing that *Hyrcan* reigned three years and three months (32), and that the former of the two numbers had been dropped by the careleſſneſs of the tranſcribers; but this ſeems quite contrary to the tenor of *Joſephus*, who makes his reign and depoſition to have followed much cloſer than this ſuppoſition will admit of.

Another great antiquary (33) has taken a different way to ſolve the difficulty, by ſuppoſing that *Hyrcan* was diveſted of his regal dignity after the firſt three months; but that he preſerved the high-prieſthood three years longer, that is, till his flight to *Aretas*, of which we ſhall ſpeak by-and-by; and that the three years and ſix months allowed to his brother by the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian are to be reckoned only from the time that he aſſumed the pontifical dignity. But this is again contradicted by *Joſephus*, who makes *Ariſtobulus* to have diveſted his brother of both dignities, and to have taken them upon himſelf at one and the ſame time, and *Hyrcan* to have been reduced to a private ſtate.

Dean *Prideaux*, in the place above quoted, ſuppoſes therefore, that the original had ſix years and ſix months, it being more reaſonable that a numerical letter ſhould be changed by the careleſsneſs of the ſcribe, than a whole word, that is, that he ſhould miſtake a three for a ſix, rather than a month for a year, as in the ſuppoſition of archbiſhop *Uſher*.

From the objection that *Joſephus* in another place (34) gives him but three years reign, and that not in numerical letters, but in words at length, which might be therefore looked upon as a confirmation of the former; the ſame judicious author rather confirms his own hypotheſis in as clear a manner as the ſubject can admit of. To give his anſwer at length would ſwell this note too much; we ſhall therefore content ourſelves with hinting at the main ſtreſs of his argument.

He obſerves, that this laſt place has *three years, and the ſame number of months*, whereas the former has three years and ſix months; from whence he ſuppoſes, that ſome critic, finding this difference between thoſe two places, and not ſuſpecting this laſt to have been corrupted, that is, three to have been put inſtead of ſix years, has altered the other place according to it, in order to reconcile the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian; and ſo inſtead of ſix years and juſt as many months, as he found it written, he made it three years and as many months, as he found it corrupted in the other place.

This ſuppoſition, which cannot but appear very probable to thoſe who are acquainted with manuſcripts, and with the inadvertency of tranſcribers, as well as the boldneſs of critics in correcting them, takes away at once all the difficulties, reconciles *Joſephus* to himſelf, and fills up the ſix years ſpace between *Hyrcan*'s reign and *Ariſtobulus*'s depoſition, according to the conſulates under which each of them happened according to the ſame hiſtorian (35).

(32) *Sub A. Jul. per* 4647. *ad fin. Conſ. cum l.* xiv. 11. & xv. 9. (33) *Petav. ap. Prid. ubi ſupra,* (34) *Antiq. l.* xx. c. 8 (35) *Conſ. ant. l.* xiv. *c.* 1. & 8

a an unmeaſurable ambition, had long before recommended him to the favour of the late king *Alexander* and of his queen *Alexandra*, who had beſtowed the government of *Idumæa* upon him; and as he ſtill looked upon *Hyrcan* as their ſucceſſor, the hopes of advancing himſelf ſtill higher under that ſoft prince, had betrayed him into a more than ordinary zeal for him. So that when he came to ſee his brother on the throne, he had all the reaſon in the world, not only to deſpair of further advancement, but to dread his reſentment. This determined him to join with the diſcontented *Phariſees*, whom from that time he ſtill took care to fill with fears and jealouſies from that prince, whom he ſtyled an uſurper; and who, he told them, would never think himſelf ſecure, till he had cut off his brother, and with him all that had

Antipater *cabals with the* Phariſees.

b been in his intereſt. By theſe inſinuations he ſoon drew them into his deſign to dethrone him, and ſet up his brother again; but his great difficulty was to prevail upon *Hyrcan* to join with them. That prince, being of an eaſy and indolent diſpoſition, could not be perſuaded that his brother would attempt any thing againſt his life; neither had he any ambition to recover his loſt dignities, or, if he had, it was eaſily cooled by the danger of attempting it, which he viewed in the moſt diſmal light. When therefore *Antipater* perceived that fear was his predominant paſſion, he raiſed ſuch a battery againſt it, by repeated aſſurances that his life was in manifeſt danger, and that he muſt reſolve either to reign or die; that the weak prince was at length wrought upon to ſeek for ſafety and aſſiſtance from *Aretas* king of *Arabia*.

c As ſoon as he had gained his conſent, he offered himſelf to go and negotiate that affair; which he did with ſuch privacy and diſpatch, that he came back very ſoon after, took *Hyrcan* with him in the night, and by long journies brought him to *Petra*, the metropolis of *Arabia*, where he preſented him to the king. It is likely that *Antipater*, at his firſt interview with *Aretas*, had only engaged him to protect *Hyrcan* againſt his brother; but now they were both at his court, he began to open to him the other part of his deſign, and to convince him how much it would be his intereſt to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his kingdom, by aſſuring him that he ſhould have all the places reſtored to him, which had been heretofore taken from him by the *Jewiſh* kings, which were very conſiderable (O), and which he muſt never hope

Carries Hyrcan into Arabia.

d to recover, as long as *Ariſtobulus* was on the throne. He told him moreover, that *Hyrcan* had ſuch a powerful party in *Judæa*, ready to join with his forces, that he looked upon the dethroning of the uſurper as a very eaſy taſk. *Hyrcan* was eaſily perſuaded to confirm all his miniſter had ſaid, and to ratify all the engagements he had made to the *Arabian* king, who came ſoon after with them into *Judæa*, at the head of an army of five thouſand men, where he was joined by thoſe of *Hyrcan*'s party. *Ariſtobulus* marched againſt him, and an obſtinate fight enſued, in which he was totally defeated, and forced to flee into *Jeruſalem*. *Aretas* purſued him thither, and entered that metropolis without oppoſition, drove him and his few men, moſt of them prieſts, into the precinct of the temple, and there cloſely beſieged him, whilſt the reſt of the people declared for the conqueror.

Aretas *invades* Judæa.

Ariſtobulus *defeated.*

c THE temple being thus beſieged, and the approaching feaſt of the paſſover thereby likely to be wholly obſtructed, many of the chief of the *Jews* retired into *Egypt* to celebrate it there. On the other hand, the beſieged having neither lambs nor other victims for the ſacrifices of that ſolemnity, *Ariſtobulus* applied himſelf to the beſiegers to ſupply them with a competent number of them; which thoſe at firſt promiſed, upon condition that they payed them a thouſand drachms of ſilver for every head, and had the money delivered before-hand. But when the ſum ſtipulated was let down to them by a rope from the top of the wall, they refuſed to ſend the victims; upon which the prieſts went to the altar, and inſtead of them, offered up their prayers to

Beſieges the temple.

f God, that he would ſpeedily puniſh their perfidious contempt of his religion. To this guilt the beſiegers added another, neither of which went long unpuniſhed.

THERE was at that time in *Jeruſalem* one *Onias*, a man in high eſteem for his ſanctity; and who was thought to have ſaved the land from a famine, by obtaining from heaven a comfortable rain, after a long and grievous drought. This good man, ſeeing his unhappy country involved in a civil war, had retired into ſome of the neighbouring

(O) Theſe were *Medeba Neballo*, probably *Abela*, *al. Abila*, and *Abel of the vineyards*; and *Rabbab*, once the capital of the *Ammonites*; *Livias Agalla*, perhaps the ſame with *Gallim*; *Therabaſa*, *Atlone*, *Zoara*, probably *Segor*; *Oronæ*, or *Oronaim*, or the dead ſea; *Mariſſa*, *Rydda*, *Luſa*, and *Oryba* (36).

(36) *Ibid. cap.* ii. *ad fin. De his vid. Euſeb. loc. Hebr. Bochart. &c.*

ing deſarts, and hid himſelf there. Him they found out, and brought by main force a
to the ſiege, and would have obliged him to curſe *Ariſtobulus* and his adherents. He reſiſted a long time, till conſtrained at length by their threats, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and addreſſed it in words to this effect: *O Lord God, ſovereign Governor of the world, ſince theſe that beſiege thy temple are thy people, and thoſe that are beſieged in it are thy prieſts, I beſeech thee to hear the prayers of neither ſide.* He had ſcarce pronounced theſe words, before the exaſperated multitude let fly on him ſuch vollies of ſtones as put an end to his life. This double crime brought a double puniſhment very ſpeedily upon them: a vehement ſtormy wind did ſhortly after deſtroy all their fruit and grain, inſomuch, that a meaſure of wheat ſold for eleven drachms, and other proviſions in proportion [i]. But the moſt dreadful of all was, their falling pre- b
ſently after under the yoke of the *Romans*; a yoke which they never more could ſhake off, but groaned under the ſevere weight of it, till the utter deſtruction of their city and temple, and their total diſperſion throughout the world, as will be ſeen in the next ſections.

Onias's murder puniſhed.

[i] Ibid. & ſeq.

SECT. IV.

The hiſtory of the Jews *from their being ſubdued by the* Romans *to the reign of* Herod the Great.

The Romans invited by Ariſtobulus. Year of the flood 2934. Year before Chriſt 65.

ARISTOBULUS being thus ſtraitly beſieged by the *Arabian* king, and for- a
ſaken by all his party, was forced to have recourſe to the *Romans*; for *Pompey*, having by this time overcame *Tigranes*, was retired into the *Leſſer Armenia*, and from thence had diſpatched *Gabinius* into *Judæa*; and this laſt having received three hundred talents from *Ariſtobulus*, was gone back without acting for or againſt him. *Scaurus* came next from *Syria* into *Judæa*, and in his way was met by ſome embaſſadors from the two contending brothers (P), each to implore his friendſhip and alliance, for which they offered him four hundred talents. *Scaurus*, who knew *Ariſtobulus* to be the more liberal and the braver of the two, ſuffered himſelf to be gained by him; beſides, as he rightly judged, it would be the eaſier taſk to reſtore him, ſince he need but oblige *Aretas* to raiſe the ſiege, and to depart out of *Judæa*, and *Hyrcan* b
would ſoon be abandoned by his party. He therefore wrote a threatening letter to *Aretas*, in which he told him, that if he did not forthwith withdraw his troops, he ſhould be declared an enemy to *Rome*, and oblige *Pompey* to turn his army againſt him. *Aretas*, who had no mind to exaſperate the *Roman* general, did readily obey, and led his army out of *Judæa*, *Scaurus* returned to *Damaſcus*, and *Ariſtobulus* being thus timely relieved, gathered up what forces he could, and purſued after the *Arabian* king. He overtook him and his brother *Hyrcan* at a place called *Papyrion*, and gave him a great overthrow, in which he killed ſeven thouſand of his men, and amongſt them *Cephalion* the brother of *Antipater* [a]. Much about the ſame time, *Pompey* being come to *Damaſcus*, received embaſſadors from all the neighbouring ſtates, eſpecially c
thoſe of *Judæa*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*. Theſe three laſt being but a kind of uſurpers, were extremely deſirous to bring the *Romans* over to their intereſt, and endeavoured to gain their general by moſt magnificent preſents. *Ariſtobulus* for his part ſent him a golden vine, upon a ſquare mount, with the fruit on it, and deer, lions, and other beaſts about it, all of the ſame precious metal. This curious piece had been formerly made by *Alexander Jannæus*, and was now ſent by his ſon to *Pompey*, who conveyed it to *Rome*, where it was depoſited, in the temple of *Jupiter*, in the capitol. *Strabo* tells us [b], that he ſaw it there, and that it was reckoned worth five thouſand talents. However,

Aretas defeated by Ariſtobulus.

The two brothers ſend preſents to Pompey.

[a] Antiq. l. xiv. c. 4. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 5.

[b] STRAB. ap. JOSEPH. ubi ſupra. Vid. & PLIN. hiſt. l. xxxvii. c. 2.

(P) The fourth book of *Maccabees* ſays (37), that only *Ariſtobulus* ſent preſents to *Scaurus*, and that *Hyrcan* omitted it, which determined the *Roman* general in favour of the former, and made him come to his aſſiſtance; but that he retired as ſoon as he heard that *Aretas* had raiſed the ſiege.

(37) *Cap.* XXXVI.

a However, the ſenate, not being willing to acknowledge *Ariſtobulus* for king of *Judæa*, cauſed the preſent to be inſcribed to his father *Alexander*, king of the *Jews*.

Soon after this the two contending brothers ſent a ſeparate embaſſy to *Pompey*, on his coming into *Cœle-Syria*, each to implore his friendſhip and patronage againſt the other; *Antipater* in behalf of *Hyrcan*, and *Nicodemus* in behalf of *Ariſtobulus*. Both were heard with ſeeming equanimity, and diſmiſſed with fair promiſes, and the two brothers ordered to appear in perſon, and to plead their cauſes before him, and, after a full hearing, he engaged to decide the controverſy as juſtice ſhould direct. Unfortunately for *Ariſtobulus*, his embaſſador took it into his head to complain of *Scaurus* and *Gabinius*, for having received the former four hundred, and the latter three hun- *Send a ſecond embaſſy.*

b dred, talents from his maſter, by which he made thoſe two generals, who had a great influence on *Pompey*, to become his enemies [c]; and the fourth book of *Maccabees* adds, that the *Roman* general did acordingly promiſe him to decide in favour of *Ariſtobulus*, but did underhand act in favour of his brother [d].

Early on the following year, *Pompey* came again into *Syria*, where he depoſed ſeveral petty tyrants, took ſeveral fortreſſes, particularly that of *Lyſiad*, of which *Silas* a *Jew* had made himſelf maſter, and came at length to *Damaſcus*. Here he found the two brothers, who were come to plead their cauſe and pretenſions before him, and had brought a great number of witneſſes to their reſpective pleas. But, beſides theſe, there came alſo another ſet of *Jews*, to plead againſt them both, alledging, *Plead their cauſe in perſon*

c that their nation had been for a long time governed only by the high-prieſts of the God of *Iſrael*, without the regal dignity; and that, though the two brothers were of the ſacerdotal race, they had governed them contrary to their ancient laws, by taking the power and title of kings, and thereby reducing the *Jewiſh* nation into a ſtate of ſlavery. *Hyrcan* ſpoke next, and complained, that, being the elder brother, he had been unjuſtly depoſed by *Ariſtobulus*, and by him forced into a private ſtate, with only the income of a few paternal lands, whilſt he, not contented with the revenues of the whole kingdom, committed continual depredations on his neighbours both by ſea and land. For proof of all which he brought a thouſand of the principal *Jews*, who had been gained by *Antipater*, to witneſs what he had alledged. To this *Ariſto-*

d *bulus* replied, that he had indeed turned his brother out of the government; but that it was, becauſe he was incapable of holding of it, and not from any ambitious views of his own; that *Hyrcan* was a perſon of ſuch unactive and ſluggiſh diſpoſition, and ſo deſpiſed by the people, that he had been forced to wreſt the power out of his hands, leſt it ſhould be transfered into another family. He added, that as to the royal title, it was no other than his father *Alexander* had bore before him. The witneſſes he brought to juſtify his pretenſions were, a numerous ſet of young gentlemen ſo ſumptuouſly cloathed, that they rather diſcredited him, and ſeemed to have been introduced to expoſe his vanity more than to back his cauſe. However, *Pompey*, after a full hearing of all parties, wiſely deferred giving his ſentence, leſt *Ariſtobulus*, againſt

e whom he deſigned to declare, ſhould obſtruct his intended expedition againſt the *Nabatheans*, and contented himſelf with diſmiſſing them with a promiſe, that, as ſoon as he had ſubdued *Aretas*, he would come himſelf into *Judæa*, and there determine their controverſy. *Ariſtobulus*, who looked upon this delay as an ill omen, and did not perhaps care to ſee *Pompey* in *Judæa*, went away in a huff, firſt to *Delion*, and thence into *Judæa*, without ſo much as taking leave of him [e].

This proceeding highly offended the *Roman* general againſt him, who thereupon ſent for his troops, which he had in *Syria*, and with thoſe which he deſigned againſt the *Arabians*, and the legions which he had with him, marched ſtrait againſt *Judæa*. *Ariſtobulus* had not been idle, but had got a good army under him, and was himſelf at

f the caſtle of *Alexandrion*, a place of no ſmall ſtrength (Q), when *Pompey* entered *Judæa*. As ſoon as this laſt had reached *Corea*, he ſent for *Ariſtobulus* to come to him;

[c] Ant. l. xiv. c. 5. [d] c. xxxviii. [e] Antiq. & bell. Jud. ubi ſupra.

(Q) This fortreſs had been built by his father *Alexander Jannæus*, and was from him called *Alexandrion*; it was ſituate on a high mountain, in the very entrance into *Judæa*, near to the town of *Corea* (38), which was the firſt place in *Judæa* on the *Samaritan* ſide, and upon the road to *Jericho*, on the frontiers of *Judah* and *Benjamin* (39). *Alexandrion* was afterwards the burying-place of the *Jewiſh* kings, ſo that, though it was demoliſhed by the *Romans*, it was rebuilt by *Herod*, and his ſons ſent thither to be buried, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

(38) *Vid. Joſeph. antiq. l.* xiii *c. ult.* xiv. 6. *& alib.* (39) *Ibid. & bell. Jud. l.* v. *c.* 4.

him; who would have willingly excuſed himſelf from it, but was at length prevailed upon by thoſe that were about him to obey the ſummons, and prevent thereby a war with the *Roman* general. He came accordingly, more than once or twice, to him, and conferred with him about the diſpute between his brother and him, ſparing neither compliments, promiſes, nor preſents, to engage him on his ſide. *Pompey* as often diſmiſſed him with a ſhew of friendſhip, and ſuffered him to return to his caſtle. At length he propoſed to him that he ſhould put all his fortreſſes into his hands, and ſend orders to all his governors to reſign them to him without heſitation. It was eaſy then for him to ſee now that the *Roman* general was in his brother's intereſt, and wanted only to put it out of his power to maintain himſelf againſt him. But though he had been long before ſuſpecting this partiality, and had taken all poſſible methods to ſecure himſelf againſt it, yet was he forced, though much againſt his will, to comply with the propoſal, being now in that general's hands. But as ſoon as he was got away from him, he fled with all ſpeed to *Jeruſalem*, with full reſolution to defeat his deſign [f].

Pompey *comes againſt* Jeruſalem.

Pompey was not long in following him thither, and upon his incamping in the plain of *Jericho*, received the agreeable news, that *Mithridates* had killed himſelf, and that his treacherous ſon had ſeized upon the kingdom; and in ſuch haſte was the army to know it, that the general, for want of a tribunal to communicate it to them, according to cuſtom, cauſed one to be raiſed by laying a number of ſaddles one upon another, from which he acquainted them with the *Pontic* king's death, and received their congratulations with the uſual ſignals of joy [g]. He purſued his march on the next day towards *Jeruſalem*, whence *Ariſtobulus*, repenting now of what he had done, came out, and went to throw himſelf at his feet, and to beg of him to forbear any hoſtilities againſt the *Jewiſh* nation, promiſing him a conſiderable ſum of money upon that condition. The general agreed to it, and, keeping him in his camp, ſent *Gabinius* with ſome troops to receive the money; but he was repulſed by the gariſon, who ſhut the gates againſt him and refuſed to perform the agreement, This diſappointment ſo exaſperated *Pompey*, that he ordered *Ariſtobulus* to be clapt in chains, and marched directly with his whole army againſt the city (R). We have had frequent occaſion to ſpeak of the ſtrength of this place, both with reſpect to its excellent ſituation, and of its other fortifications; ſo that being now ſo well gariſoned and provided, it might in all likelihood have found the *Roman* general work enough to have taken it by ſiege; but unfortunately for it, thoſe that ſhould have defended it were divided into two parties; that for *Ariſtobulus* were for ſtanding out to the laſt againſt a general, who dared to keep their king in chains; but that for *Hyrcan*, which were the more numerous, were on the contrary for opening the gates to him, and prevent thereby the

Beſieges it.

ſad effects of a ſiege and deſtructive war. The prieſts declared for the former, but the generality of the people were for the latter; ſo that *Ariſtobulus*, finding himſelf overpowered, was forced to retire with his men within the precinct of the temple, breaking down all the bridges between that and the city, that were over the deep valley, which parted thoſe two places; before *Pompey* could be admitted into the latter.

He was accordingly invited ſoon after, and ſent *Piſo*, one of his generals, with a number of troops, to ſecure the place and the royal palace, whilſt thoſe that were in the temple were buſy in fortifying every part of it, that could be of ſervice to them to hold on the ſiege. *Pompey* at firſt ſent to them ſome propoſals of peace, but finding them reſolved to ſtand it out, he ſet himſelf immediately to beſiege them in form. He began with incloſing the place with a ſtrong wall, to prevent either their flight, or their receiving any help from without; *Hyrcan* gladly furniſhing him with all neceſſary things to carry on the work. Battering rams and other engines of war being brought to him from *Tyre*, he ordered the attack to be made on the north ſide of the

[f] Ant, ubi ſupra, c. 6. Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra.

[g] Plutarch. in vit. Pomp.

(R) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* differs a little from *Joſephus*, and mentions nothing of this ſubmiſſion of *Ariſtobulus* to the *Roman* general; but tells us (40), that *Pompey* marched directly againſt *Jeruſalem*, where, obſerving the ſituation of the place, the ſtrength of its walls, towers, &c. he reſolved to try to gain *Ariſtobulus* by fair means; that he invited him to come to his camp, and promiſed him all the ſafety he could deſire; that he came accordingly, and promiſed that general to deliver up all the treaſure of the temple, if he would declare for him. But that the prieſts having refuſed to ratify their king's promiſe, made the diſappointed general lay ſiege to the temple.

(40) c. xxxvi

a the temple, which was the weakeſt, though incloſed with ſtrong walls, high towers, and other fortifications, and had a large deep ditch and a ſpacious valley beneath it. As for the other ſides of it, they were in a manner inacceſſible, after the bridges had been broken down, by reaſon of their craggineſs and ſteepneſs. The battering engines were accordingly raiſed on mounds and plat-forms, and began to play in earneſt againſt the place, and to fling large ſtones into it, whilſt the beſieged were as induſtrious in levelling the one and diſmounting the other, as faſt as they were raiſed by the beſiegers. The ſiege had already took him up three months, and might in all likelihood have laſted much longer, if not perhaps been raiſed, had not the beſieged been ſeized again with their old and fatal ſuperſtition about the breach of the ſabbath, which
b hindered them from making ſuch a defence as they had formerly, and ſhould now have, done. *Strange ſuperſtition of the Jews*

We have had occaſion heretofore to ſhew how deſtructive that notion had been to their foreſathers, and how wiſely it had been condemned by the brave *Maccabees*, ſo that from their time they had made no ſcruple to take up arms againſt an offending enemy; but now they were, it ſeems, taken with a qualm of conſcience, that though it was lawful to ſtand in their defence on the ſabbath, when an actual aſſault was made upon them, it did not therefore follow, that they might do any thing on that day towards preventing thoſe preparatives which the enemy made towards ſuch future aſſaults. This ſcruple had ſuch an effect upon them, that they never moved a hand
c on that day to hinder either mounds and batteries being raiſed, or breaches being made on their walls; which being at laſt perceived by the beſiegers, they took the advantage of getting all things ready for an aſſault on that day, without throwing either ſtones or any miſſive weapons that might force them on their own defence, ſo that the beſieged let them go on with their other works without the leaſt oppoſition; and ſuch was their zeal for the divine ſervice of the temple, that no annoyance from the enemy could obſtruct it from being performed, with the ſame regularity and calmneſs, as in time of the profoundeſt peace. By theſe means the beſiegers made at length ſo deep a breach by playing down one of their towers, which in its fall brought down a conſiderable part of the wall (S), that they eaſily maſtered the place. *Cornelius Fauſtus*,
d the ſon of *Sylla*, at the head of a number of troops, mounted one end of the breach, *Furius* the other end, and *Fabius* in the middle. A horrid ſlaughter immediately enſued, in which no leſs than twelve thouſand of the beſieged were killed by the *Romans*, beſides many more, who died by their own hands; in this action the *Jews* of the contrary faction acted with greater fury and cruelty againſt them than the heathen. *The city taken. Year of the flood* 2936. *Before Chriſt* 63.

What was moſt ſurpriſing, during this horrid ſcene of action, was the conſtancy of the prieſts, who never intermitted one moment the divine ſervice of the temple, but continued to offer up their uſual prayers, praiſes, and ſacrifices, with the ſame calmneſs and aſſiduity, as if no ſuch ſlaughter had been then acting in the ſacred place;
e and at laſt ſuffered themſelves to be butchered before the altar, with as much meekneſs and conſtancy, as the victims they were then offering upon it (T). *Pompey*, though ſurpriſed at their religious conſtancy, cauſed all the priſoners that were found to have been moſt zealous againſt him to be put to death (U), whilſt a great number of the reſt prevented him by a deſperate exit, ſome throwing themſelves down the deepeſt precipices, and others ſetting their apartments on fire, burnt themſelves in it. Theſe were the fruits of *Ariſtobulus*'s ambition, and of the two contending brothers calling in the *Admirable conſtancy of the prieſts.*

(S) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* (41) ſays, that ſome of the *Jews*, who were on *Pompey*'s ſide, ſcaled the wall, and, having ſlain all the prieſts that oppoſed them, opened the temple gates to him.

(T) It is obſervable, that the city was taken on the very day on which the *Jews* were keeping a ſolemn faſt in memory of its having been formerly taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*, viz. on the 28th of the month *Ciſleu*, anſwering to our *December*, according to the learned *Uſher* (42), who takes the third month here mentioned to have been that of the ſacred year; but it is more probable to have been the third of the civil year called *Thammus*, anſwering to our *June*, as dean *Prideaux* has ſhewn (43). On the ſame day, twenty-ſix years after, it was likewiſe taken by *Soſius*, by which the *Jews* became ſubject to the *Herodian* ſceptre.

(U) Among theſe is ſuppoſed to have been *Abſalom*, the uncle and father-in-law of *Ariſtobulus*. This prince, who was a younger ſon of the famed *John Hyrcanus*, had led a private life under the protection of his brother *Jannæus*, without meddling with public affairs, till he unfortunately gave his daughter to *Ariſtobulus*. For this marriage having drawn him into his ſon-in-law's party, he was taken priſoner, and in all probability put to death. At leaſt no further mention is made of him from that time (45).

(41) *Ibid.* xiv. *c. ult.* (42) *Sub A. M.* 3641. (43) *Sub A. ant. Chriſt.* 63. (44) *Antiq. l.* (45) *Antiq l.* xiv. *c.* 8.

the *Romans*. Theſe new maſters, who, ſeldom, if ever, lent their aſſiſtance but with a
a view of inſlaving, ſoon altered the face of the *Jewiſh* affairs, according to their uſual
Hyrcan *reſtored.* method. *Hyrcan* was indeed reſtored to the pontifical dignity, with the ſpecious title
of prince, though from thenceforth tributary to *Rome*; but he was wholly diveſted
of his regal one, and forbid to reſume either the diadem or royal ſtyle, or to extend
his territory beyond the old borders of *Judæa*. All the cities, which had been taken
by his predeceſſors in *Cœle-Syria* and *Phœnicia*, were taken from him and reſtored to
Syria (W), of which province *Scaurus* was left governor, at the head of two *Roman*
legions, to keep the country in awe, whilſt the conqueror prepared himſelf to return
to *Rome*.

Pompey *enters into the temple.* But before he left *Jeruſalem*, he gave the *Jews* a more mortifying ſtroke than any b
we have yet mentioned. We have had frequent occaſion to mention how jealous
they were of having their temple profaned by ſtrangers, whom they abſolutely de-
barred not only ſetting a foot into that holy place, but even caſting a diſtant look
towards it. But *Pompey* was above humouring them in what he looked upon as a
piece of *Jewiſh* ſuperſtition. Reſolved therefore to ſatisfy his curioſity, and to view
the moſt ſacred receſſes of that building, he cauſed them to be opened to him; and,
attended with a number of his chief commanders, penetrated even into the moſt holy
place, into which the high-prieſt alone was permitted to enter once a year, on the
grand day of expiation †. He viewed with a curious eye the golden table, candle- c
ſtick, cenſers, lamps, and other golden veſſels, the great quantity of rich perfumes and
ſpices uſed in the divine worſhip; and in the treaſury he found about two thouſand
talents. But whether the ſacredneſs of the place inſpired him with an uncommon
reſpect for thoſe coſtly things, which he there ſaw, our author tells us, that he not
only forbore to touch any of them, but that he immediately ordered the prieſts and
officers of the temple to purify it, and to offer up their ſacrifices according to cuſtom.
But this moderation of his did not hinder the *Jews* from reſenting the indignity he
had offered to that holy place, more than all the miſchiefs they had ſuffered from
him, and from aſcribing all the misfortunes that befel him afterwards to this ſacri-
legious attempt [h]. Many chriſtians have been of the ſame mind, and men are indeed
too apt to judge raſhly in matters of this nature; but whatever may have been the d
cauſe of that great general's misfortunes, it is plain, that this victory over the *Jews*
was the laſt he ever gained, and that from this time his affairs went from bad to worſe,
as we ſhall ſhew when we come to the *Roman* hiſtory.

Ariſtobulus *carried to* Rome. *Pompey*, having thus ſubdued the *Jewiſh* nation, to prevent a future revolt,
pulled down the walls of *Jeruſalem*, and left *Scaurus* governor with a ſufficient force.
He ſet out for *Rome* ſoon after, and took *Ariſtobulus*, his two ſons, *Alexander*
and *Antigonus*, and his two daughters with him, as captives fit to adorn his future
triumph. However, they were not, it ſeems, ſo cloſely guarded, but *Alexander*
Alexander *returns into* Judæa. found means to eſcape and to return into *Judæa*; where he ſoon drew a conſidera-
ble party after him, which proved the ſource of new and more grievous troubles. e
As

† See before, Vol. I. p. 617, & ſeq.

[h] Joseph. antiq. l. xiv. c. 8.

(W) Theſe were, among many others of leſs note, thoſe of *Hyrcan*, *Scythopolis*, *Pella*, *Dion*, *Samaria*, *Marisſa*, *Azotus*, *Jamnia*, and *Arethuſa* in the inland, together with *Gaza*, *Joppa*, *Dora*, and the tower of *Straton* on the ſea coaſts. This laſt was afterwards magnificently rebuilt by *Herod*, and by him called *Cæſarea*, as ſhall be ſeen in the ſequel.

Among thoſe cities which had been deſtroyed during the wars, that of *Gadara* was rebuilt by *Demetrius*, a native of it, and a freed-man and favourite of *Pompey* (46), of whoſe exceſſive inſolence *Plutarch* gives us ſeveral inſtances in the life of that general.

(X) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* ſays (47), that *Pompey* reſtored the kingdom to *Hyrcanus*, and ſent *Ariſtobulus* in chains to *Rome*. As to *Alexander*, he tells us, that he could not be taken, but continued hid in *Judæa*, till he appeared at the head of a ſtrong party; and as for *Hyrcan*, though he had the title of king, yet he was to pay a yearly tribute and acknowledgment for his crown.

This expedition and ſucceſs of *Pompey* againſt the *Jews* is alſo related by ſeveral heathen authors, and, excepting ſome difference in ſmall particulars, almoſt to the ſame purport with *Joſephus*. *Cicero* highly commends the reſpect that general ſhewed to the ſacred utenſils of the temple (48). *Livy* (49), *Oroſius*, *Eutropius*, *Strabo*, *Lucan*, *Plutarch*, *Tacitus*, *Florus*, *Dio*, and *Appian*, as well as *Plutarch*, have made like wiſe mention of it. Only *Appian* (50) will have it, that *Pompey* cauſed *Ariſtobulus* and *Tigranes* to be put to death, which is not taken notice of by any other. On the contrary, *Joſephus* and *Dio* tell us, that he ſpared them; and accordingly we ſhall find in the ſequel, that *Ariſtobulus* found means to return into *Judæa*, and to raiſe new troubles there.

(46) *Id. ibid.* & *bell. civil. l. v.*

(47) *Cap.* xxxvii.

(48) *Orat. pro L. Flacc.*

(49) *In Syriac.*

(50) *Lib.* xxxvii.

a As for his father and brother, they were brought to *Rome*, and led in triumph among the many other princes whom *Pompey* had conquered. What became of *Aristobulus* afterwards, we have mentioned in the close of the last note. Among the rich spoils which *Pompey* carried with him, was the golden vine we have spoken of in the last section, the worth of which is said to have amounted to five or six hundred talents, and which he dedicated to *Jupiter Capitolinus* [i].

As soon as *Hyrcan* found himself rid of his rival brother, he relapsed afresh into his indolence, leaving the care of his affairs to *Antipater*, who, like a true politician, failed not to turn it to his advantage and the aggrandising of his family. He foresaw, however, that he could not easily compass his ends, unless he indeared himself to b the *Romans*; and therefore spared neither pains nor cost to gain their favour. *Scaurus* was soon after beholden to him for a supply of corn and other provision, without which his army, which he had led against the metropolis of *Arabia*, must have been in danger of perishing. This service was followed by another, and *Antipater*, who was so well known to the king of *Arabia*, went and prevailed on that prince to pay three hundred talents to the *Roman* general [k], and thereby save his country from being ravaged by him (Y). It is also very probable, that *Antipater* was the person who procured those services from *Hyrcan* to the *Athenians*, for which, *Josephus* tells us [l], they made that honourable act of their senate, in which the pontiff is styled a great friend and benefactor to all the *Greeks*, and more particularly to the *Athenians*, and c for which they decreed him a crown of gold, and a statue of brass, to be placed in the temple of *Demus* (Z) and the *Graces* [m]. Thus did that politic minister lay the foundations for his future grandeur, by securing the friendship of the most powerful states. *Herod* his son followed the same maxims, especially with regard to the *Romans* and *Athenians*, and thereby completed what his father had begun, as the sequel will soon shew.

Antipater's policy.

In the mean time *Alexander*, having got a strong party in *Judæa*, and an army of ten thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, began to seize and fortify several eminent fortresses, such as those of *Alexandrion* and *Macheron*, situate near the foot of the *Arabian* mountains, and from them made frequent incursions into *Judæa*. *Hyrcan* d was not in a condition to suppress him; on the contrary, having endeavoured to shelter himself from him by rebuilding the walls of his metropolis, which *Pompey* had caused to be demolished, the *Romans*, always jealous of their new conquests, had forced him to desist; so that he was forced to call them to suppress this new invader. Accordingly *Gabinius*, who was president of *Syria* and was lately come into that province, sent *Marc Antony* with some troops against him, whilst himself and the rest of his army were preparing to follow him. *Antipater* sent likewise such forces as he had raised to join the *Roman* general, and these being followed by a number of *Jews* in the *Roman* interest, with *Pitolaus* at their head, *Alexander* was forced to retire into the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*, where a battle was soon after fought, in which he was defeated, and lost three thousand of his men, besides those that were taken prisoners. He e was thence pursued to *Alexandrion*, where he had refuged himself, and there besieged by *Gabinius*; but, the place being strong and well provided, that general ordered a number

Alexander wastes Judæa.

Defeated.

Besieged.

[i] Antiq. ubi supra. See also the authors quoted in the last note. [k] Ant. l. xiv. c. 9. [l] Ibid. c. 10. [m] Id. ibid. cap. xvi.

(Y) The fourth book of *Maccabees* adds (1), that *Hyrcan* and *Antipater* accompanied *Scaurus* into *Arabia* with some forces, and that during that time *Alexander* took the opportunity of seizing on *Jerusalem*, rebuilding its fortifications, and of raising an army, with which he overthrew the high-priest on his return from the *Arabian* expedition: but if he got such advantages over his uncle, he did not keep them long; for, according to *Josephus*, we find that pontiff in *Jerusalem*, and *Alexander* only plundering the countries round about, till suppressed by *Gabinius*.

(Z) The original has τὸ Δημος, which some versions render *Demus*, as we have above, though our *English* one render it *of the people*, &c. A learned critic conjectures, that there is an error crept in *Josephus*, and that it probably was the temple of the *Muses* and *Graces*, or perhaps the temple of *Academus* and the *Graces* (2). For we are told by an ancient writer (3), that there was a temple in their academy dedicated to the *Muses*, in which *Plato* did set up the statues of the *Graces*; and we don't read that the *Athenians* had any other temple of the *Muses* besides that.

Archbishop *Usher* places this decree and presents in the ninth year of *Hyrcan*'s reign, from the death of his mother (4); he there rectifies an anachronism in *Josephus* concerning it, which the reader may see in that learned author.

(1) *Ubi supra.* (2) *Calmet. Hist. v. Test. l.* viii. *sub A. M.* 3943. (3) *Diog. Laert. in vit. Leucipp.* (4) *Annal. sub an. ant. Chr.* 63.

number of his troops to inveſt the place, whilſt he marched with the reſt into *Judæa*, a where he cauſed the cities mentioned in a former note to be rebuilt, according to *Pompey*'s order. That of *Samaria* being one of them, he called it from his own name *Gabiniana*; but *Herod* ſoon after changed it into that of *Sebaſte* [n], as we ſhall ſee in its proper place. Whilſt *Alexander* was cloſely beſieged, he ſent to deſire peace of the *Roman* general, promiſing to ſurrender that fortreſs, and thoſe of *Macheron* and *Hyrcanion*. About the ſame time his mother, a wiſe and diſcreet woman, whoſe huſband (*Ariſtobulus*) and her children were ſtill kept priſoners at *Rome*, came to the *Roman* general; and, partly by her addreſs, and partly by her ſervices to him, did inſinuate herſelf ſo much in his favour, that ſhe procured the peace offered by her ſon to be accepted, and him to be diſmiſſed with pardon and impunity for what he had done. b
After this *Gabinius* ordered the three fortreſſes delivered up to him to be demoliſhed, that they might be no longer an occaſion of future revolts; and then led *Hyrcan*, who had it ſeems, aſſiſted him in the ſiege, to *Jeruſalem*, where he reinſtated him afreſh into his pontifical dignity. He then divided the province into five ſeveral diſtricts, in each of which he erected a ſeparate court of judicature; the firſt at *Jeruſalem*, the ſecond at *Gadara*, the third at *Amath*, the fourth at *Jericho*, and the fifth at *Sephoris* in *Galilee* [o]; by which the government was changed from a monarchy into an ariſtocracy, and the *Jews*, who had been till then governed by their own monarchical pontiffs, fell under the ſubjection of a ſet of domineering lords (A).

Change of the Jewiſh government.

In the mean time *Ariſtobulus*, towards the latter end of the year, found means to c
eſcape out of the priſon, into which he had been remanded after *Pompey*'s triumph, and to return into *Judæa* with his ſon *Antigonus*. Here he was ſoon joined by a conſiderable number of *Jews*, and among the reſt by *Pitolaus*, who had till then been a chief leader of the *Roman* party. But a great number of them coming to him without arms, he was forced to diſmiſs them, and only reſerved eight thouſand ſtout men, with whom he went to ſecure and rebuild the caſtle of *Alexandrion*, which had been demoliſhed by *Gabinius*; but this laſt ſent *Ciſenna*, *Marc Antony*, and *Servilius* againſt him, who, in ſpight of the bravery of his ſmall army, defeated him, killed five thouſand of his men, and forced him to fly into the ruinated caſtle of *Macheron*, with only a thouſand men he had left, the reſt having taken their flight where they d
could. The *Romans* did not give him time to fortify himſelf, but came and beſieged him, and, after a two days ſtout reſiſtance, took him by aſſault, covered with wounds, and ſent him and his ſon priſoners to *Rome*, where he was conveyed into his old priſon. But *Gabinius* wrote ſoon after to the ſenate, and informed them of the promiſe he had made to *Ariſtobulus*'s wife, upon the delivery of the *Jewiſh* fortreſſes; whereupon the reſt of his family were ordered to be ſet at liberty, and he only was kept priſoner during the reſt of his life [p]. *Gabinius* being on the next year invited into *Egypt*, to aſſiſt *Ptolemy Auletes* in the recovery of his kingdom, as has been related in another volume †, *Hyrcan*, or rather *Antipater*, proved very ſerviceable to that general, not only by furniſhing him with neceſſary proviſions of corn, arms, and e
money, for his army; but alſo by writing to the *Jews* of *Onion* near *Peluſium*, which was the key of that part of *Egypt*, to forward the *Romans* to the beſt of their power. By this means *Gabinius* and *Marc Antony* eaſily ſucceeded in this expedition, which might

Ariſtobulus eſcapes into Judæa.

Defeated and ſent priſoner.

Gabinius goes into Egypt. Year of the World 2943. Before Chriſt 56.

[n] Vid. Syncel. ap. Usser. ſub A. M. 3979. [o] Antiq. l. xiv. c. 10. Id. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 6.
[p] Id. ibid. 4 Macc. cxl. † See before, Vol. III. p. 670, f, & ſeq.

(A) The *Jews* had till now been governed by two ſorts of councils or courts of judicature under their ſovereign. Theſe councils or ſanhedrins were of two ſorts, the inferior conſiſting of twenty-three, and the greater one of ſeventy-two, perſons; and this latter was emphatically called the grand ſanhedrin. Of the leſſer ſort there was one in every city, and two at *Jeruſalem*, where there was a greater concourſe of people and buſineſs. The grand one ſat only at *Jeruſalem*, and had a place appropriated to them in the temple. We have had frequent occaſion to ſpeak of this laſt in ſeveral parts of this hiſtory: and ſhall only add here, that it was the laſt reſort to which all other inferior ones might appeal, and from whoſe ſentence there could be no appeal. Both ſorts were aboliſhed by *Gabinius*, who erected in lieu of them a court in each of the five diſtricts independent of each other, and endowed them with the ſovereign power, from which no appeal could be made but to *Rome*.

The talmud, however, tells us (5), that they retained a kind of council of three to decide all their controverſies about bargains, ſales, and other ſuch private matters; each of the contending parties choſe a judge from among themſelves, and theſe two choſe a third, and the three uſed to decide thoſe controverſies among them; which was perhaps done chiefly to avoid the charge, trouble, or rather injuſtice and arbitrarineſs of the courts erected by the *Romans*.

(5) *Tract. Sanhedrin.*

a might otherwise have proved too hard for them. The fourth book of the *Maccabees*, in the place last quoted, tells us, that *Gabinius* having sent to desire *Hyrcan* to come and join him in *Egypt*, the high-priest sent his favourite *Antipater* with an army to him, who helped him to beat the *Egyptians* and restore the king; after which, they returning into *Judæa*, the *Roman* general renewed his alliance and friendship with the *Jewish* pontiff, and then returned to *Rome*.

Alexander raises new troubles

DURING this *Egyptian* expedition, *Alexander*, taking the advantage of *Cissenna*'s weakness, a rash unexperienced youth, whom *Gabinius* had left to command in *Syria* with a small number of troops, had got a considerable army, and was entered *Judæa*, which was by this time filled with banditti and free-booters, who plundered every-
b where without controul. He fell on the *Romans* where-ever he met them, and killed a great number of them: the rest retired to mount *Garizzim*, where he came soon after, and closely besieged them. The news of this having brought *Gabinius* into *Judæa*, the first thing he did was to send *Antipater* to try by fair means to withdraw the revolters from *Alexander*'s party; and this consummate politician acted his part so well, that he brought back a considerable number of them. But all his address could not persuade *Alexander* to come to any terms. On the contrary, this last, inraged to see such a defection of his men, resolved with the thirty thousand he had left, to put it to the issue of a battle. It was accordingly fought near mount *Tabor*, and he to-
Defeated by Gabinius.
c tally defeated, with the loss of ten thousand men killed on the spot, and the rest put to flight. *Gabinius* after this victory returned to *Jerusalem*, where he settled the *Jewish* affairs according to *Antipater*'s mind, and left *Judæa*, and soon after the government of *Syria* (B), and was succeeded by *Crassus*[q].

THIS last upon his comig into his new government, found the whole province, and particularly *Judæa*, in peace, so that he was at leisure to pursue his favourite design of invading the *Parthians*; for which expedition he had obtained, though with some difficulty, a decree from the senate[r]. As avarice was the chief passion that pushed him to it, he began with plundering the temple of *Jerusalem*, not only of the two thousand talents which *Pompey* had left there untouched, but of every thing he found valuable in it, to the sum of eight thousand *Attic* talents more. Among these there
d was a large beam of massive gold, covered with another hollow beam, which went across the partition, which divided the holy from the most holy place. The veil that separated those two rooms was fastened to it, and over it they threw all the old veils, whenever they hanged a new one; so that this valuable piece, which weighed three hundred *Hebrew* minæ (C), was so well concealed, that none knew of it but the treasurer of the temple. A priest named *Eleazar*, then in that post, and being ap-
Crassus's treachery and sacrilege.
prised of *Crassus*'s plundering design, was imprudent enough to endeavour to save all the rest of the costly temple furniture at the expence of this; but did not discover it to him, till he had made him swear that he would spare the rest; but the greedy gover-
nor made no scruple to break his oath, and to plunder that holy place of every valuable thing

[q] JOSEPH. 4 MACCAB. DIO CASS. ubi supra.

[r] DIO. lib. xxxix. Vid. & PLUTARCH. in Crass.

(B) We shall not so far anticipate the *Roman* history as to enter into the merit of this general, and the causes of his being deprived of his government. It will be sufficient here to observe, that though he was accused to the senate of great corruptions, extortions, and such like crimes, yet *Josephus* (6) gives him a quite different character, and speaks of him as of a person who had filled that post with great exactness, honour, and applause. But *Pompey* and *Crassus* were then consuls, and the latter, as we shall soon see, had got an invincible itch after the province of *Syria*, ever since he had heard what treasures the former had left untouched at *Jerusalem*. Those riches he thought would come in a good time to help him forward in his *Parthian* expedition. In all this he only followed the motions of his insatiable avarice; and what crimes might not such a man trump up against *Gabinius*, in order to divest him of that government?

But whether the latter was really such as *Josephus* has represented him, or had really given cause for those accusations preferred against him, two things are sure; 1. that he was grown exceeding rich; and, 2. that he was forced to disgorge all his wealth, to bribe his judges and save his life, as the sequel will shew.

(C) The mina amounted to about two pounds and a half of our weight, so that the whole bar or beam weighed about seven hundred and fifty pounds. The fourth book of *Maccabees* adds, that all the old veils, which were taken down when a new one was hung up (and which were all extremely rich and beautiful), used to be thrown over it (7). Besides these and other costly utensils and ornaments of the temple, we may add the continual offerings sent to it by the *Jews* from all parts of *Asia* and *Europe*; but especially those which were presented to it, not only by the *Jewish* monarchs, but by those of other nations, of which we have given some instances in a former section out of the books of the *Maccabees* (8).

(6) *Antiq. l.* xiv. c. 11 (7) *ubi supra.* (8) Cap. xli.

thing he could lay his hands on, without ſparing the moſt ſacred utenſils belonging to it. The whole amount of this ſacrilegious plunder was ſo great, that *Joſephus*, fearing it would ſcarcely be credited by other nations, is forced to appeal to the writings of *Strabo* of *Cappadocia*, and other records not now extant [s]. What we have ſaid at the end of the laſt note will further confirm his account, and the immenſe treaſures of which that rapacious governor ſtripped that ſacred place, though it amounts to above two millions of our money. a

Caſſius's *ſucceſs in* Syria. *Year of the flood* 2947. *Year before Chriſt* 52.

We have ſeen, in the cloſe of the laſt volume*, the ill ſucceſs of his expedition againſt the *Parthians*. That general having been defeated and killed, *Caſſius* brought the ſhattered remnant of his army into *Syria*, to ſuppreſs the incurſions which the now elated *Parthians* made into that province; and here he gave them ſo many overthrows, that he ſoon forced them to ſend home for a freſh ſupply of troops. From thence he marched into *Judæa*, where he beſieged *Tarichæa*, a city on the ſouth ſhore of the lake *Gennezareth*, where *Pitolaus* had ſhut himſelf up with the few remains of *Ariſtobulus*'s faction; and having taken it, carried thirty thouſand *Jews* priſoners. *Pitolaus* was put to death by the advice of *Antipater*, to prevent his raiſing new troubles in favour of *Ariſtobulus* (D). As for *Alexander*, *Caſſius* contented himſelf with forcing him to be quiet, whilſt he marched towards the *Euphrates* to ſtop the incurſions of the *Parthians* [t]. b

Three years after, *Julius Cæſar* having made himſelf maſter of *Rome*, and thinking that *Ariſtobulus* might be of ſervice to him againſt *Pompey*, releaſed him out of his priſon, and ſent him into *Paleſtine* [u], with two legions under his command, to keep *Syria* in awe; but thoſe of *Pompey*'s party found means to poiſon him, and thereby fruſtrated the deſigns of that crafty general. His body was afterwards embalmed by ſome of *Cæſar*'s partiſans, and kept in honey in a coffin, till they could convey him into *Judæa*, there to be interred with his anceſtors [w]. His ſon *Alexander* did not meet with better fate; the news of his father's return into *Judæa* had made him raiſe forces there, to join him on his arrival; but *Pompey*, who kept a watchful eye over him, ſent orders to his ſon-in-law *Q. Metellus Scipio*, formerly his collegue in the conſulſhip and now preſident of *Syria*, to put him to death. *Scipio* cauſed the unhappy prince to be ſeized, and brought before his tribunal at *Antioch*, where he condemned him, and cauſed his head to be ſtruck off. *Ptolemy Mennæus*, prince of *Chalcis*, hearing of their death, ſent to *Alexandra* the widow of *Ariſtobulus*, who was then retired to *Aſcalon*, and offered to take her ſon *Antigonus* and her two daughters under his care, who ſent them to him accordingly. His ſon *Philippion* married one of the daughters, named alſo *Alexandra*; but ſome time after, either for ſome miſbehaviour, or perhaps out of love to that princeſs, *Mennæus* cauſed him to be put to death, and married her himſelf ſoon after [x]. c

Ariſtobulus *poiſoned.*

Alexander *beheaded.* d

In the mean time, the war between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, as well as thoſe that followed between the former and the aſſerters of the *Roman* liberty, afforded the *Jews*, not only a long breathing, but alſo an opportunity of ingratiating themſelves to that conqueror. He was now in *Egypt* waiting impatiently for thoſe new levies which *Mithridates* the *Pergamenian* was bringing to him from *Syria* and *Cilicia*, where he had been raiſing them. But, theſe not being ſufficient to break through *Peluſium*, the ſtrong key of *Egypt* on that ſide, he was forced to ſtop at *Aſkalon*, till new reinforcements came to him. But what did him the greateſt ſervice at this juncture, and facilitated the taking of that city, was the coming of *Antipater*, at the head of three thouſand *Jews* well armed, together with ſome other ſuccours which he had drawn from *Armenia*, and *Syria*, and mount *Libanus*. He alſo brought letters from *Hyrcan*, whether real, or forged by himſelf; exhorting the *Jews* of the territories of *Onion*, *Deltha*, e

Antipater *ſuccours Cæſar in Egypt.*

[s] Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12. * page 782, d, e. [t] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 6. Vid. & Vol. III. p. . [u] Dio, lib. xli. [w] Antiq. l. xiv. c. 13. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 7. [x] Id. ibid. Vid. & Plutarch. in Pompei. Dio, ubi ſupra. Cæsar. Bell. Civil. l. iii. & Comment. lib. i.

(D) The fourth of the *Maccabees* adds (9), that *Caſſius* came afterwards to *Jeruſalem*, and there reconciled *Hyrcan* and his ſubjects, who were then in open rebellion againſt him.

This is that *Caſſius* who had formerly refuſed the command which the ſoldiers had offered him, out of hatred to *Craſſus*; but now that general being dead, and the *Roman* army miſerably ſhattered, he was forced to take the government of *Syria* upon him, in order to ſuppreſs the inſolence of the *Parthians* (10). He was afterwards one of thoſe who aſſaſſinated *Julius Cæſar*, as we ſhall ſee in due time.

(9) *Ibid.* (10) *Dio Caſſ. lib.* xl.

a *Deltha*, and *Memphis*, to assist the *Roman* emperor with all their might. By these means the city of *Pelusium* was easily carried off by assault, *Antipater* himself being one of the foremost in scaling it, and a way thereby was made into *Egypt*. We have seen in a former volume the success of that expedition †; some have imagined, that *Hyrcan* came thither in person at the head of fifteen hundred men [y], but without any likelihood. That pontiff was wholly governed by *Antipater*, whose main view was the aggrandising of himself, rather than recommending of the *Jewish* pontiff to that conqueror; and *Hyrcan* being in himself a man of no genius or ambition, it is more probable he contented himself with the credit of sending such seasonable aid to *Cæsar*, whilst *Antipater*, like a consummate politician, took the advantage of ingratiating
b himself to him by his valour and gallantry, as well as by his good offices with his master. Accordingly, we find in the subsequent battle, which was fought in the place called *the Jewish camp* [z], that *Mithridates*, who commanded the right wing, must have been totally defeated, had not *Antipater*, who had been victorious in the left, which he commanded, come to his rescue, and gained him that signal victory over the *Egyptians*, which enabled him to join *Cæsar*'s army, and soon made that emperor master of all *Egypt*. In all these actions *Antipater* behaved with such valour and gallantry, that *Mithridates* did not scruple to own his late successes to be owing to him; and in a letter he wrote to *Cæsar*, he gave the *Jewish* commander such encomiums, that he conceived a more than ordinary esteem for him; and in token of it,
c before he left *Alexandria*, he gave him some considerable posts in his army, made him procurator or lieutenant of *Judæa*, and citizen of *Rome*, with all the privileges belonging to it, which places he held with great credit all the time of the war (E). *Cæsar* also confirmed *Hyrcan* in his priesthood, added to it the principality of *Judæa*, to be intailed on his posterity for ever; and to the *Jewish* nation their ancient rights and privileges; and ordered a pillar to be erected, whereon all these grants and his own decree should be ingraven, which was accordingly done, soon after *Antipater*'s return into *Judæa*. *Cæsar* being come into *Syria*, *Antigonus* came to him, and preferred a severe complaint against *Hyrcan* and *Antipater*, for the injuries which he pretended they had done to him; and at the same time represented to him the misfortunes of his
d family, for having stuck close to his interest; and particularly the poisoning of his father by *Pompey*, and the beheading of his brother by *Scipio*. In consideration of all which, he concluded with a petition to the emperor, that he would restore him to his father's principality, of which *Hyrcan* had unjustly stripped him. But unfortunately for him, *Antipater* was then attending upon *Cæsar*, who defended his own and *Hyrcan*'s cause so well, that they were both absolved with applause, and *Antigonus* repulsed as a factious and turbulent person, that could never be at rest. *Antipater* added farther, that as to *Antigonus*'s father, he had been justly sent prisoner to *Rome* for being a constant enemy to the *Roman* nation, and that his brother had been deservedly beheaded for plundering and ravaging that of the *Jews*. *Cæsar* had
e too many obligations to *Hyrcan* and *Antipater*, not to admit of a much weaker vindication of their cause. But he was resolved to do more than the bare acquitting of them: he confirmed his former decree in favour of them and of the *Jewish* nation, and caused it to be ingraven on brasen tables in *Latin* and *Greek*, and to be hung up in the temples of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Askalon* (F), as well as in the capitol at *Rome*, whither

His valour rewarded.

Cæsar's gratitude to the Jews.

Rejects Antigonus's suit.

† See before, Vol. III. p. 678, & seq.

[y] Ipsicrat. ap. Strab. Joseph. Ant. l. xiv. c. 17. Cæsar. tabul. æn. ap. eund.

[z] Antiq. l. xiv. c. 15.

(E) The fourth book of *Maccabees* (11) adds, that *Mithridates*, being totally defeated in the action, was so closely surrounded by the *Egyptians*, that he must have been cut in pieces by them, had not *Antipater* come in a lucky minute, and rescued him and the victory out of their hands. But what the same author adds, that *Cæsar* gave him the command of his own troops, and took him with him into *Persia*, seems quite to clash with *Josephus*, who doth not so much as hint, that he had the command of any of the *Roman* troops, neither doth it appear, that *Cæsar* carried any war against the *Persians*.

(F) This decree, which at once abolished the aristocracy lately set up by *Gabinius*, and restored the *Jewish* state to its pristine sovereignty, has been preserved to us by *Josephus* (12), and runs to this effect:

"*Julius Cæsar*, emperor and dictator the second "time, &c. Forasmuch as *Hyrcanus* the son of "*Alexander*, a *Jew*, hath given us many singular "proofs of his affection, both in time of peace and "war, and particularly by the supply sent to me in "the late war; in consideration of these his services, "I do hereby confirm unto him and his heirs the "perpetual government of the *Jews*, both as their "prince and high-priest, after the manner and rule "of

(11) *Cap.* xlii.

(12) *Antiq. l.* xiv. *c.* 17.

whither *Hyrcan* sent soon after his embassadors to renew the old alliance with that a
nation; which was by his order published in all the principal cities of the empire, that all the world might know that the *Jews* were acknowledged the friends and allies of *Rome*. These embassadors, who were there received with great marks of honour, did likewise obtain a permissory decree for the fortifying of *Jerusalem*, and for rebuilding of the wall which had been pulled down by *Pompey* (G) [a].

Cæsar, having left the government of *Syria* to *Sextus Cæsar* his near relation, was accompanied by *Antipater* as far as *Tyre*, where he imbarqued for *Sicily*. On his return to *Jerusalem*, *Antipater* took care in every place he came through to extol the *Roman* emperor and nation, and to exhort the people to peace and obedience; representing to them with his usual eloquence, that, whilst they behaved like faithful subjects, they b
would be blest with a mild government, and enjoy their rights, liberties, and religion; but that, if they grew discontented and mutinous, they would soon find themselves forced to submit to a severer yoke, and that *Hyrcan*, from a mild and pacific prince, might easily become their tyrant, and the *Romans*, from friends and protectors, would not fail to turn their bitter enemies. This was not said so much to keep the *Jews* in obedience to *Hyrcan*, whose stupidity and indolence *Josephus* himself tells us was but too visible to all his subjects. But, by thus over-awing them with the dread of the *Romans* anger, he plainly intimated to them his own credit and interest with them to be such, that they would never see his measures opposed, without interposing their own authority; and therefore closed the whole with these words; c
For they (the *Romans*) will be obeyed [b]. By these speeches he gained two main ends, he kept a divided and factious people in awe, and took the advantage of his own established power, and of *Hyrcan*'s weakness, to aggrandise his family.

Antipater's speech.

Upon his arrival at *Jerusalem*, he set himself about putting *Cæsar*'s decree in force, and settling, or rather restoring, the *Jewish* government to its ancient model, and ordering the repairs of the walls and fortifications of *Jerusalem*, He made his eldest son *Phasaelus* governor of that metropolis, and *Herod* his second son governor of *Galilee* (H); whilst he and the high-priest took a progress about *Judæa*, to settle the government and peace of the kingdom. *Herod* soon signalised himself by the suppression of a band of thieves, who had till then much infested that and the neighbouring d
provinces. He took their chief, named *Hezekiah*, with some others of his companions, whom he put to immediate death, and thereby dispersed the rest of their gang.

This

[a] Ibid. l. xx. c. 7. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 7.

[b] Antiq. ubi supra, in fin. c. 16.

" of their own laws. I inroll him from her e-
" forth among my trusty friends; and ordain, that
" all the legal and pontifical rights and privileges
" be devolved upon him and his sons for ever;
" and that in all controversies, that shall arise
" concerning the rights and discipline of the *Jews*,
" he or they be the only judges; and further, that
" the *Jews* be henceforth discharged from the bur-
" den of winter-quarters and all public tribute,"

About the same time the *Athenians* renewed their alliance with *Hyrcan*, and sent their decree to *Jerusalem*, in which they acknowledged that pontiff's singular and constant friendship to all the *Greeks*, and to their own republic in particular. The reader may see it at length in *Josephus* in the place last quoted.

(G) The fourth book of *Maccabees* adds (13), that *Cæsar* did those embassadors the singular honour of making them sit down in his presence; and a little lower, that that emperor had decreed for himself and successors, that all the maritime part of the *Syrian* province, from *Gaza* to *Sidon*, should pay yearly to the *Jewish* temple the tribute they were wont to pay to the empire; and that that of the town of *Sidon* amounted yearly to twenty thousand five hundred and fifty measures of wheat; and that the cities of *Laodice* and others, which had been formerly in the possession of the high-priests, should be now surrendered to *Hyrcan*.

All these grants, our author says, were bestowed on the *Jewish* nation in consideration of the eminent services which they and *Antipater* at their head had done the emperor in his *Parthian* expedition. But whether he really was sent thither by the high-priest, as is there affirmed, 'tis certain that this great change in favour of the *Jews* was owing to the wisdom, conduct, and valour of *Antipater*; and how much it contributed to raise his power and interest, not only in *Judæa*, but in *Rome* and other nations, the sequel will soon shew.

(H) *Antipater* had four sons by his wife *Cypris*, who were by this time grown up to maturity, and in great reputation for their wisdom and valour. We have mentioned the two first in the text: *Josephus* indeed allows the latter of them but fifteen years of age, but that must be a mistake, either of that historian, or rather of his copyists; for both *Ptolemy* and *Nicolas Damascen* gave him twenty-five years, and our learned *Usher* has made it appear that he could have been no less (14).

The third son was called *Joseph*, and the fourth *Pheroras*. He had likewise a daughter named *Salome*, who became afterwards infamous for the feuds and divisions which she created in her family, as we shall see in the sequel.

(13) Cap. xliv.

(14) *Sub A. M.* 3937. *Vid. & Prid. Connect. sub an. A. C.* 47.

a This action failed not to recommend him, not only to the whole province, but more particularly to *Sextus Cæsar*, the new president of *Syria*. On the other hand, his elder brother neglected nothing that could recommend him to the people of *Jerusalem*, over which he was governor; so that *Antipater* saw with pleasure himself and his sons become the darlings of the nation, without lessening, at least outwardly, any part of their respect to the high-priest, who seemed still to be at the head of all the national affairs, and to give his sanction to them.

But it was this greatness, this excessive growing power, of *Antipater*, which raised at length the envy and jealousy of the principal *Jews*. *Herod*'s action was doubtless a noble one, and the country felt the benefit of it: but he had gone some unjustifiable
b lengths in it, in putting the banditti to death, by his own authority and without any formal tryal; and this they looked upon as an earnest of what he might do in time, if his enterprising genius was not nipped in the bud. This made them at length resolve to try to open the eyes of their indolent pontiff, and to prevail upon him to summon that young hero to come and answer to this and some other accusations before him and the sanhedrin.

Hyrcan, who had a great friendship for him, betrayed at this juncture an extreme partiality in excusing him of several crimes they alledged against him. They in vain represented to him how dangerous it was for him to suffer the son of a proselyte, who had already ingrossed all the power and honour, and left him only the bare title of
c sovereign, to arrogate to himself such an unlimited authority, as to put a number of men to death without trial, or even without asking his or the sanhedrin's consent. At length, since they could not work upon his fears, they tried to rouse his pity, by the daily clamours of the mothers of those whom *Herod* had put to death, and who ceased not to come daily to the temple to demand justice of him, for so daring and unwarranted an affront on his dignity. *Hyrcan* was at length prevailed upon to send his summons to him to come and answer to the charge before him and the sanhedrin. *Herod* appeared accordingly, but in such a guise, and with such a numerous retinue, as gave them to understand, that he did not come as a private person, much less as a criminal to be judged by them. He was cloathed in purple, and, by his father's
d advice, had brought such a number of servants, as should be sufficient to defend him in case he was condemned, and yet not so numerous, as to raise any jealousy in the friendly high-priest. He also brought letters to him from *Sextus Cæsar*, with express orders to acquit him, and threatening him with his highest resentment in case of non-compliance.

Herod *summoned before the sanhedrin. Year of the flood* 2952. *Before Christ* 47.

These letters seem indeed to have been calculated to intimidate the sanhedrin, rather than to recommend *Herod*'s cause to the high-priest, who was already sufficiently in his interest. Accordingly, when he appeared before that high court, he struck such an awe upon them, that none of his accusers dared to open their mouths against him. At length *Sameas*, a man in high esteem for his wisdom and integrity, had the courage
e to stand up and arraign him, not only for his former crime, but much more now for his unjustifiable boldness in appearing, contrary to the laws of all nations, not in the guise of an accused person, but in that of an arrogant and threatening commander, who came rather to frighten his judges, than to clear himself of his accusation. I do not at the same time, continued he, so much blame him for the insolent means he takes to secure his forfeited life. What surprises me is, to see both the high-priest and his judges thus tamely to permit it; but take notice of what I am now going to tell you, said he, turning to them; God is a righteous and powerful judge, and this very man, whom you now strive to acquit, in complaisance to *Hyrcan*, shall prove the ruin of both king and judges. How true a prophet he proved, the sequel will shew;
f for *Herod* was no sooner got into the possession of the government, than he put both the high-priest and all his cowardly judges to death, except *Sameas* and *Pollio*, and for whom he retained a singular esteem ever after (I). Here *Hyrcan*, observing that his

Sameas's *noble speech.*

speech

(I) *Sameas*, or as the *Rabbins* call him, *Shammai*, was, according to *Josephus* (15), the disciple of *Pollio*, another learned *Jewish* doctor in great esteem with *Herod*, not unlikely the same which the *Rabbins* call *Hillel*; for this latter having been a famous disciple of *Sameas* or *Shammai*, and having in process of time proved the antagonist of his master, and the founder of that famed school, which retained his name, it is a wonder *Josephus* should never mention him, whereas he speaks very honourably of *Pollio* in several places of his history.

St. *Jerom* (16) has imagined, that the pharisees had their origin from the division of those two schools; but we have already seen how powerful that

(15) *Antiq. l.* xv. *c.* 1. (16) *In Isai. cap.* viii.

ſpeech had made ſuch an impreſſion on the court, that the majority were like to be a againſt *Herod*, adjourned the court till next day, whilſt he ſent private advice to him to flee for his life; which he accordingly did, and went to *Damaſcus*, where having gained the protection of the *Syrian* governor, he ſent the ſanhedrin word, that if they ſhould take it into their heads to ſummon him afreſh, he would diſclaim their juriſdiction. This contemptuous meſſage put the judges into a freſh fit of rage; they vented their reſentments againſt the pontiff, and ſtrove in vain to awaken him into a ſenſe of his danger; he remained deaf and inſenſible to the laſt c.

In the mean time *Herod*, having with a large ſum of money purchaſed the government of *Cœle-Syria* of his friend *Sextus Cæſar*, raiſed an army with an intent to march againſt *Jeruſalem*, and be revenged of *Hyrcan* and the ſanhedrin for the affront they b had put upon him; but he was happily diverted from it by *Antipater* and *Phaſaelus*, who reminded him of his great obligations to that pontiff, to whom both he and they were beholden for all the power and grandeur they enjoyed. *Herod* acquieſced for the preſent, and was ſatisfied with having given them ſuch token of what he could do whenever occaſion offered, and remained quiet in his province.

A.M. 3955. Ante Chriſt. 44.

About three years after this, *Hyrcan* having ſent an embaſſy to *Cæſar*, who was by this time entered into his fifth conſulſhip, to renew his alliance with him, obtained a freſh decree for the fortifying of *Jeruſalem*, which *Antipater* immediately put in execution; and that metropolis was ſoon after raiſed to its priſtine ſplendor and ſtrength.

New privileges granted to the Jews.

Cæſar did moreover grant ſome further privileges to the *Jews*, in conſideration, as he c expreſſed it, of the ſignal ſervices they had done to him in *Syria* and *Egypt*. The reader may ſee them more fully in *Joſephus*. As for *Hyrcan*, he gave him leave to govern in *Jeruſalem* according to his pleaſure, and confirmed to him the grant of all the towns and villages which had been poſſeſſed by his anceſtors; that the lands and other privileges which the *Romans* had beſtowed on the kings of *Syria* and *Phœnice*, on account of the alliance that had been between them, ſhould likewiſe be beſtowed on him and his ſucceſſors; that he, they, and their embaſſadors, ſhould have the liberty of ſitting down with the *Roman* ſenators in all public ſhews and games; and laſtly, that when they had any petition to prefer to the ſenate, they ſhould be introduced by the dictator, or by the maſter of the horſe, and that they ſhould have an d anſwer within ten days[d]. In a word, ſuch was that emperor's gratitude and friendſhip to the *Jews*, ſo many and conſiderable the immunities and privileges which he heaped upon their prince and nation, that they could hardly be ſaid to feel the weight of the *Roman* yoke. His kindneſs extended even to thoſe who lived out of *Judæa*; witneſs the edict which the magiſtrates of the iſland of *Paros* had made againſt their exerciſe of their religion, living according to their laws, and ſending their yearly tribute to *Jeruſalem*, to maintain the ſervice of the temple (K); and which that monarch obliged them to revoke, as a piece of rigour and injuſtice, which he ſaid was not to be ſuffered againſt the friends and allies of *Rome*, where all thoſe privileges were indulged to them.

Sextus Cæſar and Julius Cæſar ſlain.

But this happy ſtate was ſoon at an end. Two remarkable accidents happened, one on the heels of the other, the one in *Judæa*, and the other at *Rome*, which brought on a ſeries of diſtractions and feuds in both. In the former *Sextus Cæſar* was treacherouſly murdered by *Baſſus*, and *Cæſar* himſelf at *Rome* by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and their aſſociates,

c Antiq. l. xiv. c. 17.

d Id. ibid. & bell. Jud. ubi ſupra.

that ſect was long before *Hillel* or *Shammai*. Concerning this laſt the *Rabbins* tell us wonders, and if we may believe the father above quoted, they attribute the compiling of the *Miſhnah* to him and his diſciple *Hillel*, or, as he elſewhere calls them, *Ezra* and *Hellas* (17).

We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak to that point, as well as the rupture of thoſe two famed ſchools, in a propereer place. All we ſhall add concerning them here is, a *Rabbinic* proverb much in vogue among the *Jews*: *Be courteous as Hillel, and intrepid as Shammai.*

(K) We have often mentioned this yearly tribute which every Jew, both of *Judea* and of the diſperſion, was obliged to ſend. Beſides this, we muſt further obſerve, that as they were allowed to offer ſacrifices no-where but in that holy place, it was uſual for them to remit the money thither for ſuch victims, as either their religion or extraordinary devotions directed them to be offered up there for them; and theſe were generally ſent thither with the annual tribute of the temple; and in ſome wealthy places they ſometimes mounted to ſuch vaſt ſums, as raiſed the envy and jealouſy of thoſe among whom they lived, and have been often ſeized by covetous princes and governors, who have converted them to their own uſes.

(17) *Epiſt. ad Algaſ. quæſt.* x. & *in Eccleſ.* vii.

a associates, as shall be better seen in the *Roman* history. *Marc Antony* and *Dolabella*, who were then consuls, assembled the senate; and the embassadors from *Judæa*, among others, were admitted to renew their alliance with them. Pursuant to which (some of the *Asiatic Jews* having been forced to inroll themselves in the *Roman* army), *Hyrcan* sent a complaint to *Dolabella*, reminding him, that the *Jews* were wont to be exempted from the war by reason of their being obliged to observe the sabbath; and obtained a letter from the consul to the governor of *Ephesus*, enjoining him to see that the *Jews* were set free, and restored to the exercise of their religion and laws [e]. By this time *Bassus* had seized upon the government of *Syria*, but was soon after driven out of it by *Cassius*, who immediately came thither after *Cæsar*'s death, and took the com-
b mand of the *Roman* troops upon him, who were then besieging the assassin of *Sextus* in the city of *Apamea*. *Cassius*, having drawn him and *Marcus* into his party, raised the siege of the place, and got all *Syria* into his possession. He was, however, forced to levy new troops to reinforce his army; and hearing that *Alienus*, one of *Dolabella*'s lieutenants, was marching through *Judæa* with four legions sent to that consul by *Cleopatra*, he posted himself so advantagiously, that he surrounded and intercepted him with a double number of his own forces, and took them all into his service. Having by this time got an army of twelve legions, which could not be subsisted without great expence, he was forced to levy very large tributes on that province, particularly on *Judæa*, which he taxed at seven hundred talents. *Antipater*, who knew
c the necessity that general was in of some immediate supply, and the consequence of gaining his favour by sending him a speedy one, committed the levying of one half of that sum to his sons *Phasaelus* and *Herod*, and ordered the rest to be raised by one *Malichus* and some associates. *Herod* failed not to take this opportunity of ingratiating himself to *Cassius*, by bringing him the hundred talents which were assigned to his government; and as he was the first that complied with his orders, that general conceived a great esteem for him. His brother came soon after; but the rest of the governors not having followed their examples, particularly those of *Gophna*, *Emmaus*, *Lydda*, *Thamna*, and some other cities of *Judæa*, *Cassius* ordered all their inhabitants to be sold by auction, and would have put *Malichus* to death, had not the high-
d priest redeemed him at the expence of a hundred talents, which he sent him out of his own coffers [f].

Cassius *seizes upon* Syria.

Levies seven hundred talents on Judæa.

Cassius, being soon after forced to march against *Dolabella*, left the government of *Cale-Syria* to *Herod*, as an earnest of his future friendship; but *Malichus* in the mean time, who bore a mortal hatred against *Antipater* (L), and saw him with an envious eye holding alone the reins of government, resolved to rid himself and the nation of him. *Antipater*, having had timely notice of his treacherous design, presently retired to the other side of the *Jordan*, and there raised some forces, and put himself in a posture of defence, Whereupon *Malichus*, finding his plot was discovered, came
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Malichus *conspires against* Antipater.

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(18) *Ch.* xlvi.

ſpeech had made ſuch an impreſſion on the court, that the majority were like to be a againſt *Herod*, adjourned the court till next day, whilſt he ſent private advice to him to flee for his life; which he accordingly did, and went to *Damaſcus*, where having gained the protection of the *Syrian* governor, he ſent the ſanhedrin word, that if they ſhould take it into their heads to ſummon him afreſh, he would diſclaim their juriſdiction. This contemptuous meſſage put the judges into a freſh fit of rage; they vented their reſentments againſt the pontiff, and ſtrove in vain to awaken him into a ſenſe of his danger; he remained deaf and inſenſible to the laſt c.

In the mean time *Herod*, having with a large ſum of money purchaſed the government of *Cœle-Syria* of his friend *Sextus Cæſar*, raiſed an army with an intent to march againſt *Jeruſalem*, and be revenged of *Hyrcan* and the ſanhedrin for the affront they b had put upon him; but he was happily diverted from it by *Antipater* and *Phaſaelus*, who reminded him of his great obligations to that pontiff, to whom both he and they were beholden for all the power and grandeur they enjoyed. *Herod* acquieſced for the preſent, and was ſatisfied with having given them ſuch token of what he could do whenever occaſion offered, and remained quiet in his province.

Year of the Rod 2955. Before Chriſt 44.

About three years after this, *Hyrcan* having ſent an embaſſy to *Cæſar*, who was by this time entered into his fifth conſulſhip, to renew his alliance with him, obtained a freſh decree for the fortifying of *Jeruſalem*, which *Antipater* immediately put in execution; and that metropolis was ſoon after raiſed to its priſtine ſplendor and ſtrength.

New privileges granted to the Jews.

Cæſar did moreover grant ſome further privileges to the *Jews*, in conſideration, as he c expreſſed it, of the ſignal ſervices they had done to him in *Syria* and *Egypt*. The reader may ſee them more fully in *Joſephus*. As for *Hyrcan*, he gave him leave to govern in *Jeruſalem* according to his pleaſure, and confirmed to him the grant of all the towns and villages which had been poſſeſſed by his anceſtors; that the lands and other privileges which the *Romans* had beſtowed on the kings of *Syria* and *Phœnice*, on account of the alliance that had been between them, ſhould likewiſe be beſtowed on him and his ſucceſſors; that he, they, and their embaſſadors, ſhould have the liberty of ſitting down with the *Roman* ſenators in all public ſhews and games; and laſtly, that when they had any petition to prefer to the ſenate, they ſhould be introduced by the dictator, or by the maſter of the horſe, and that they ſhould have an d anſwer within ten days d. In a word, ſuch was that emperor's gratitude and friendſhip to the *Jews*, ſo many and conſiderable the immunities and privileges which he heaped upon their prince and nation, that they could hardly be ſaid to feel the weight of the *Roman* yoke. His kindneſs extended even to thoſe who lived out of *Judæa*; witneſs the edict which the magiſtrates of the iſland of *Paros* had made againſt their exerciſe of their religion, living according to their laws, and ſending their yearly tribute to *Jeruſalem*, to maintain the ſervice of the temple (K); and which that monarch obliged them to revoke, as a piece of rigour and injuſtice, which he ſaid was not to be ſuffered againſt the friends and allies of *Rome*, where all thoſe privileges were indulged to them.

Sextus and Julius Cæſar murdered.

But this happy ſtate was ſoon at an end. Two remarkable accidents happened, one on the heels of the other, the one in *Judæa*, and the other at *Rome*, which brought on a ſeries of diſtractions and feuds in both. In the former *Sextus Cæſar* was treacherouſly murdered by *Baſſus*, and *Cæſar* himſelf at *Rome* by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and their aſſociates,

c Antiq. l. xiv. c. 17.

d Id. ibid. & bell. Jud. ubi ſupra.

that ſect was long before *Hillel* or *Shammai*. Concerning this laſt the *Rabbies* tell us wonders, and if we may believe the father above quoted, they attribute the compiling of the *Miſhnah* to him and his diſciple *Hillel*, or, as he elſewhere calls them, *Simeon* and *Helles* (17).

We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak to that point, as well as the rupture of thoſe two famed ſchools, in a properer place. All we ſhall add concerning them here is, a *Rabbinic* proverb much in vogue among the *Jews*: *Be courteous as Hillel, and intrepid as Shammai.*

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(18) *Ch.* xlvi.

guſtus, was ended. This made him dread the exceſſive power of *Antipater* to ſuch a degree, that upon the firſt opportunity, which was ſoon after offered, when he was to dine with the high-prieſt, he bribed that pontiff's butler to poiſon him in a glaſs of wine, whilſt himſelf with an armed force ſeized upon the government of *Jeruſalem*. *Phaſaelus* and *Herod* eaſily perceived that *Malichus* was at the bottom of this villainy, notwithſtanding his vows and proteſtations to the contrary; and *Herod*, who was of a fierce temper, was for immediately revenging the fact with open force; but his brother, who rightly judged that it would be much ſafer to diſſemble for the preſent, and to puniſh the aſſaſſin by ſome private ſtratagem, without involving the nation into a civil war, eaſily brought him over to his opinion [g]. a

Antipater *poiſoned by* Malichus.

Accordingly, theſe two brothers feigning to believe *Malichus* innocent of their father's death, the eldeſt went and buſied himſelf with rearing a ſtately monument to him, whilſt *Herod* went into *Samaria*, under pretence of ſuppreſſing ſome turbulent ſpirits there. He came ſome time after to *Jeruſalem*, attended with a number of his men of war, to aſſiſt at the feaſt of pentecoſt; and *Malichus*, who was afraid of ſomething worſe, prevailed on *Hyrcan* to forbid him to enter that metropolis with ſuch an eſcort, as would profane that ſolemnity. *Herod*, deſpiſing his orders, entered the city by night, but forbore attempting any thing againſt his enemy, though he had received full power from *Caſſius* to revenge his father's death on that aſſaſſin. But a much better opportunity offered itſelf ſoon after, in which *Malichus* was caught in his own craftineſs. *Caſſius* had taken *Laodicea*, and all the chief lords of *Syria* and *Paleſtine* haſtened thither with their preſents and congratulations; and *Malichus*, having left his ſon hoſtage with that governor, deſigned to have taken that opportunity of getting him off, and to have gone back and excited a revolt in *Judæa*, whilſt the *Romans* were taken up with their civil wars, and then to have made a bold puſh for the *Jewiſh* crown. Whether *Herod* knew his whole deſign or no, he rightly gueſſed that he would not fail to pay his compliments to the conqueror, and ſo he did accordingly, he accompanying the *Jewiſh* pontiff thither. *Herod* fell in with them in the way, and having firſt obtained from *Caſſius* an order to the *Tyrians* to aſſiſt him in the puniſhment of *Malichus*, he invited *Hyrcan* and him to a ſupper he had prepared for them in the neighbourhood of *Tyre*, and ſent his ſervants into that city under pretence of getting all things ready, but in reality to acquaint the officers and gariſon of that city with *Caſſius*'s orders. Theſe ſallied out accordingly, and having overtaken him, as many as could come at him at once ſheathed their daggers into his body (M). *Hyrcan*, upon hearing the news of his death, remained thunderſtruck for ſome time. At length, having recovered himſelf, he aſked, by whoſe orders he had been killed? and *Herod* having calmly anſwered, by *Caſſius*'s, he replied, that he could not but highly applaud the deed, ſince it had rid him of a very dangerous enemy [h]. b c d

Malichus *outwitted by* Herod.

Aſſaſſinated.

But *Malichus* had left a brother behind him as turbulent as himſelf, who, under the ſpecious pretence of revenging his death, put *Judæa* again into a flame, whilſt *Caſſius* was gone to join *Brutus* in *Aſia*. *Felix*, who at that time was left at the head of ſome *Roman* forces at *Jeruſalem*, ſeems alſo to have been gained on that ſide. As for *Hyrcan*, he had not courage enough to oppoſe them, but acquieſced in what they did; ſo that *Felix* attacked *Phaſaelus* on the one hand, whilſt *Malichus*'s brother went and took *Maſſada*, and ſome other fortreſſes of *Judæa*. *Herod* was then laid up with ſickneſs at *Damaſcus*, and unable for a while to give his brother any aſſiſtance: but *Phaſaelus*, who had ſtill a conſiderable number of forces, found means to drive *Felix* and all his party out of *Jeruſalem*, and from thence into ſome fortreſs, out of which he did not ſuffer him to come, but by capitulation. By this time *Herod* being recovered, e

New troubles in Judæa. Year of the flood 2952. Before Chriſt 47.

Quelled.

[g] Joseph. ibid. [h] Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra. Antiq. ubi ſupra, cap. 20.

(M) The fourth book of *Maccabees* relates this puniſhment of *Malichus* ſomewhat differently (19), and ſays, that *Caſſius*, being informed of *Antipater*'s murder, exhorted *Herod* to revenge it as ſoon as himſelf was come to *Tyre*, and *Hyrcan* and *Malichus* were come to pay their reſpects to him there. Theſe being come accordingly to *Tyre*, as well as *Phaſaelus* and *Herod*, *Caſſius* commanded his men to do whatever theſe two laſt ſhould direct them.

Having therefore invited them all four to a feaſt, as ſoon as they had taken their afternoon's nap, as was uſual in thoſe countries, *Hyrcan* being ſeated near *Malichus*, and the two ſons of *Antipater*, *Herod* made a ſign, upon which ſome of *Caſſius*'s officers fell upon *Malichus*, and murdered him. *Hyrcan*, at ſight of it, fell into a ſwoon, from which being recovered, he aſked, why they had killed the man? *Herod* pleaded ignorance, and *Hyrcan* was glad to hold his peace.

(19) *Ch.* xlvii.

a recovered, came to his assistance, and drove the remaining part of *Malichus*'s faction out of their fortresses, and forced the brother to surrender *Massada* to him, and to capitulate for his life [i]. The two brothers returned to *Jerusalem*, where they reproved *Hyrcan*'s baseness in the severest terms; but were soon after reconciled to him, by the marriage of *Herod* with *Mariamne*, the beautiful grand-daughter of that pontiff.

In the interim another enemy started up on the sudden, namely *Antigonus*, the younger son of *Aristobulus*, *Hyrcan*'s brother. He was upheld by *Ptolemy Mennæus*, prince of *Chalcis*, to whom he was related, and on that account had been adopted by him (N). He had likewise gained *Marion* prince of *Tyre*, and bribed *Fabius* governor of *Damascus* into his interest; so that having gained a sufficient army, he put him-

b self at the head of it, with an intent of reviving his father's pretensions to the king-dom; but he had scarce entered the frontiers of it, before *Herod* met him with a powerful army, and totally defeated him. This prince acted with his usual generosity towards the *Tyrians*, who had assisted his enemy, not only sparing their lives, but sending some of them home with rich presents, by which he gained the affections of that city; after which he returned triumphant to *Jerusalem*, where the people, and among the rest *Hyrcan*, who now looked upon him as one of his family, came and offered him the usual compliments of crowns and congratulations. His nuptials with *Mariamne* were not, however, celebrated till some years after, when he had by her three sons and two daughters, besides his eldest son *Antipater*, whom he had by a former

c wife of his own country, named *Dores* [k].

Antigonus invades Judæa.

Brutus and *Cassius* having been defeated in the following year by *Marc Antony* and *Octavius*, the latter marched into *Gaul*, and the former came into *Syria* to settle the affairs of that province. Upon his arrival into *Bithynia*, where he was complimented by vast crouds of embassadors from all the neighbouring states, the *Jews* came and preferred a severe accusation against *Phasaelus* and *Herod*, as having ingrossed all the power and administration of *Judæa*, and left *Hyrcan* only the bare name of a prince. But *Herod*, who was there also, found in that general a stedfast friend, not only on account of former kindnesses which he had received from *Antipater*, whilst he served under *Gabinius* in *Judæa*, but much more on that of a large sum of money, with

d which he had taken care to bribe him, so that he would not so much as hear their accusers. Upon his coming to *Ephesus*, an embassy came to him from *Hyrcan*, desiring, that the *Jewish* prisoners, whom *Cassius* had formerly sold by auction, contrary to their alliance with *Rome*, might be restored to their liberty and lands. *Antony* readily granted their request, and sent an obliging letter to *Hyrcan*, which was soon followed with an edict to the *Tyrians*, and other neighbouring states, enjoining them to restore all those captives, according to *Hyrcan*'s desire and the purport of the edict, which the reader may see in the margin [l] (O).

Marc Antony's edict in favour of the Jews.

But

[i] Id. ibid. [k] Ibid. cap. 21. [l] Ibid. c. 22.

(N) The reader may remember, that after *Pompey* had caused his father and brother to be put to death, *Mennæus* invited *Alexandra* into *Chalcis*, where he afterwards married her beauteous daughter, and for her sake took both the mother and her children into his protection (20).

As for that *Marion*, who joined with young *Antigonus*, he had been lately made prince of *Tyre* by *Cassius*; for that general, being in great want of money for the carrying on the war against the triumvirs, had divided the country of *Syria* into small districts, and sold them to the highest bidders, one of whom was this *Marion*, who had bought the principality of *Tyre* of him (21). These petty tyrants, however, were afterwards turned out by *Marc Antony*, upon his coming into that province.

(O) *Marc Antony*, emperor and triumvir, &c. to the magistrates, senate, and people of *Tyre*, greeting:

Forasmuch as the gods have declared themselves the dire revengers of the late *Cæsar*'s death, by the total defeat of his most detestable assassins *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and by granting the triumvirate such a signal victory, as promised nothing less than a solid and lasting peace to the *Roman* empire; and forasmuch as the *Jewish* nation, notwithstanding their known and constant attachment to the *Roman* interest, has been greatly oppressed by *Cassius*, and great multitudes of them sold for slaves by him; we order the said *Jews* to be restored to their liberties, lands, and to all the privileges and immunities which had been granted to that allied nation by *Dolabella*, and charge all those cities, in which any such *Jews* are detained, whether bond or free, forthwith to discharge and restore them, pursuant to the strict tenor of this edict.

In another he writes to the *Tyrians*, that *Hyrcan* having complained to him, that they had in the late *Cassius*'s time invaded some of his territories, he expected that they should be restored to him. Nevertheless, that if they had any reasons to offer against such a restitution, they should do it upon his coming into that province, when having heard the allegations of both parties, he should decree in favour of that which had right on their side.

These edicts he ordered to be copied out in *Greek* and *Latin*, and the original to be preserved in their archives, and the copies to be affixed in some public place, where they might be publickly read. He likewise sent some others to the same purport to the *Sidonians*, and to the cities of *Antioch* and *Arad* (22).

(20) *Conf. Joseph. Antiq. l.* xiv. *c.* 13, & 21. *ubi supra*, *c.* 23.

(21) *Id ibid. & bell Jud. c.* 10. (22) *Antiq.*

New complaints against Herod rejected

But all these favours of the triumvir, though chiefly owing to his friendship to a the sons of *Antipater*, were not able to reconcile them to the generality of the *Jews*. For as soon as *Antony* was come so near them as *Daphne*, a city near *Antioch* †, he was accosted by a fresh embassy from *Jerusalem*, who preferred the old complaint to him against them. *Messala* undertook their defence, and was backed by *Hyrcan*, who, looking upon them now as part of his family, was come thither to second their defence. After a full hearing, *Antony* asked the pontiff, which of the two parties he thought best qualified for the government, and being answered in favour of the two brothers, he likewise declared for them; and, as a further mark of his friendship, made them both tetrarchs, put *Judæa* under their care, and wrote a letter to the sanhedrin in their favour. Fifteen of the most turbulent of their accusers were put into prison, and b would have been put to death, had not *Herod* interceded for them. All this did only exasperate that faction the more, and produced a third embassy, which came to meet the triumvir at *Tyre*, and consisted of a thousand persons. But *Antony*, whom fresh presents, and large sums of money, had fastened still more to *Herod*'s interest, sent orders to the magistracy of that place to assist him in the punishment of those factious mutineers, as he termed them; whereupon *Herod* met them out of the city, and advised them in a friendly manner not to push the matter further. *Hyrcan* likewise tried in vain to forewarn them of their danger, in case they persisted in their design. They refused all advice, till the *Tyrians*, rushing in upon them, made them repent of their rashness, when it was too late. A great number were killed and wounded, c and others taken prisoners, and the rest dispersed. This put an end indeed to the controversy, but not to the faction, which vented their resentment against *Herod* in such open manner, that *Antony*, in a fit of anger, caused all the prisoners to be put to death [m].

A third embassy sent, and severely punished.

Antigonus invades Judæa.

Herod had no sooner weathered this storm, but another was raised against him by *Antigonus*. *Ptolemy*, the son of *Mennæus*, had been succeeded by his son *Lysanias*, and this last had prevailed upon *Pacorus*, the son of the *Parthian* king, and his general *Barzanes*, who by this time had made themselves masters of *Sidon* and *Ptolemais*, to invade *Judæa*, depose *Hyrcan*, and set *Antigonus* on his throne; in consideration of which, the latter was to pay him a hundred talents, and five hundred women (P). *Pacorus*, pursuant to this agreement, sent his cup-bearer, named also *Pacorus*, with part d of his cavalry, to invade *Judæa*. *Antigonus*, who had got together by that time a great number of discontented *Jews*, who joined him from mount *Carmel*, had made himself master of the canton of *Dryma* (Q), where a great number of other *Jews* coming still to him, persuaded him to march on to *Jerusalem*, and attack *Phasaelus* and his brother in the royal palace. He marched accordingly thitherward, attended with the *Parthian* cup-bearer; and these two, being met by the two tetrarchs, were so warmly repulsed by them, that they were forced to retire into the temple. *Herod*, for the better security of that place, clapped a guard of soldiers in all the adjacent houses; but these were soon set on fire, and the soldiers burnt in them before any help could be brought. *Herod* did not let this loss go long unrevenged, but gave them a sharp defeat, in which e he made a great slaughter of their party. Thus they continued skirmishing one another till the feast of pentecost, which was impatiently wished for by *Antigonus*, in hopes that the great concourse of the *Jews* to that solemnity would join forces with him against the sons of *Antipater*. He judged rightly enough, for great numbers of them resorted unto him; but as the greater part of them had neither arms nor experience, *Herod*, who with his brother had retired into the royal palace, and defended it, the former from within, and the other from without; made a vigorous sally upon those of the enemy, who had posted themselves in the suburbs, and drove several thousands of them before him, some into the city, and others into the temple.

And Jerusalem.

The

† De hac vid. sup. p. 515, (E). Antiq. l. xiv. c. 25. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 11.

[m] Id. ibid.

(P) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* (23) says, eight hundred women, the fairest and best bred in all the country.

(Q) It is not easy to guess what canton this was, unless it be the same with the *daroma* of *Eusebius* and St. *Jerom*, by which they mean the southern part of the tribe of *Judah*, extending about twenty miles from east to west, from *Beersheba* to the *dead* sea, and is called in *Hebrew Darom*, which signifies *south* (24).

(23) *Cap.* xlix.

(24) *Vid. Reland. Palæst. illustrat. l.* i. *c.* 32, *& sup, Vol.* I. *p.* 575.

a THE two parties, being at length tired with ſhedding ſo much blood, came to an agreement, that *Pacorus*, who was by that time incamped without the walls of the city, ſhould be admitted to mediate a peace between them. This project, though ſet on foot by *Antigonus*, who wholly relied on the friendſhip of the *Parthian* general, was yet agreed to by *Phaſaelus*, who went out to meet him, and courteouſly lodged him in the royal palace. Here *Pacorus* taking the advantage of the confidence his kind hoſt put in him, perſuaded him to go on an embaſſy to *Barzapharnes*, who was then gover-
nor of *Syria* under the *Parthian* king, aſſuring him, that it was the only means to ſettle his affair on a firm footing. *Herod*, who juſtly ſuſpected the treachery of the *Par-
thians*, was intirely averſe to the propoſal; but *Phaſaelus*, more credulous than he,
b conſented to it; and, taking *Hyrcan* with him, ſet on the journey, attended with an eſcort of two hundred *Parthian* horſe, and with *Pacorus*, who accompanied him all the way. Upon their arrival in *Galilee* (R), they were met with a guard of armed men, who were ſent to conduct them to *Barzapharnes*, and *Pacorus* returned to *Jeruſalem*. Their reception in all appearance was very courteous, and *Barzapharnes* lodged them in a houſe near the ſea-ſide, where *Phaſaelus* was ſoon after informed by ſome friends of the contract which had paſſed between the *Parthian* king and *Antigonus*; 'twas then that he firſt became ſenſible of their treachery and of his danger. However, though he was earneſtly intreated to make his eſcape, and was offered tranſport ſhips to convey him away, yet he could not be prevailed upon to forſake either *Hyrcan*'s
c or his brother's intereſt; for here he was likewiſe told, that *Pacorus* was ſent back to *Jeruſalem* to ſurpriſe *Herod* alſo. The beſt expedient therefore he could think on was, to go to *Barzapharnes*, and to expoſtulate the matter with him; which he did in the ſevereſt terms, telling him at the ſame time, that if money was the motive of his treachery to him, he was able to bribe him higher to be honeſt and come over to his intereſt. The *Parthian* had no other way to come off, but by forſwearing the charge, and aſſuring him, that nothing was falſer than ſuch a ſurmiſe; but as ſoon as he thought that *Pacorus* had made ſure of *Herod*, he marched directly towards him, and ordered *Hyrcan* and *Phaſaelus* to be ſeized, and clapt in priſon.

Phaſaelus *betrayed.*

Pacorus, however, had miſſed his aim, and *Herod*, having had timely notice of the
d treachery, had found means to convey himſelf out of *Jeruſalem*, together with his mo-
ther, his betrothed *Mariamne*, her mother *Alexandra*, his brother *Pheroras*, with all his ſervants, friends, and valuable things, and a numerous eſcort of his own men of war, and made the beſt of his way towards *Idumæa*. He met with ſeveral ſtops in his jour-
ney (S), being forced to fight his way through the *Parthians* and *Antigonians*, who pur-
ſued him; but his valour and that of his guards got him clear of all, and in memory of a ſignal defeat, which he gave them at a place about fifty ſtades, or ſeven miles, from *Jeruſalem*, he afterwards built a ſtately palace, and called it *Herodion*[n].

Herod's *eſcape.*

WHEN he was come to *Threſſa*, or, as *Joſephus* calls it elſewhere, *Reſſa*, a ſmall town in *Idumæa*, his brother *Joſeph* met him at the head of a conſiderable reinforcement;
e but when they arrived at *Maſſada*, the place where he deſigned to retire, it being a very ſtrong and almoſt impregnable fortreſs, he found it too ſmall to contain all his men, ſo that he was forced to diſmiſs nine thouſand of them. Here he left his family and treaſure, under the care of his brother *Joſeph*, and of a gariſon of eight hundred men; and, having furniſhed it with all neceſſaries, he ſet out for *Petra*, the metropolis of *Arabia*, where *Malchus* had ſucceeded his father *Aretas*, a prince who had formerly been highly obliged to him. His deſign was to borrow as much money of him as would buy his brother *Phaſaelus*'s freedom; and to that end he had brought his ſon with him, who was but ſeven years old, to leave him there as a pledge to the *Arabian* king.

Goes into Arabia.

[n] Antiq. ubi ſupra, cap. 25. the reader may ſee that palace deſcribed by JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 16.

(R) *Joſephus* doth not tell us the place where *Barzapharnes* then was, but only that he was in *Galilee*, near the ſea ſide; but in his wars of the *Jews*, he ſays (25), they met him at *Ecdipon*, which place was near the ſea-ſhore, and at a ſmall diſtance north of *Ptolemais*; but the fourth book of *Maccabees* ſays, it was at *Damaſcus*, the capital of *Syria* (26).

(S) One of them was the overturning of the chariot in which his mother ſat, by which ſhe was ſo terribly bruiſed, that her life was deſpaired of; which ſad accident went ſo near his heart, that he drew his ſword with full intent to kill himſelf, but was happily prevented by ſome of his retinue.

The fourth book of the *Maccabees* (27) ſays, that *Herod* ſent all his family and riches before him, but that himſelf ſtayed behind with his guards to prevent their being purſued.

(25) *Ch.* 11. (26) *Ch.* xlix. (27) *Ibid.*

king. But that ungrateful prince ſent him expreſs orders to depart out of his territories, pretending, that he had been forbid by the *Parthians* to receive him; ſo that he was forced to diſmiſs ſome of his attendants, and to make the beſt of his way into *Egypt*. a

A. J. Egypt.

In the mean while, his flight out of *Jeruſalem* having been diſcovered by the very next morning, the firſt thing the *Parthians* did was, to plunder his palace, city, and all the country about it. They ſpared, however, *Hyrcan*'s treaſure, which amounted to three hundred talents, and ſome of *Herod*'s riches that were left behind; but they made themſelves amends by the plunder of *Mariſſa*, an opulent city, which they totally deſtroyed. *Antigonus* was next inſtalled on the *Jewiſh* throne, according to their agreement, and *Phaſaelus* and *Hyrcan* were ſoon after brought to him in chains. The new king, however, did not think proper to put the high-prieſt to death, but contented himſelf with incapacitating him for the pontifical function, by cauſing his ears to be cut off (T). As for *Phaſaelus*, he eaſily foreſaw that he could not eſcape ſome cruel death; but being bound with chains, and unable to kill himſelf by any other way, he knocked his brains out againſt a ſtone. Our hiſtorian adds, that there was a report that his wounds not being mortal, *Antigonus* ſent ſome phyſicians to him, under pretence of trying to cure, but in reality to poiſon them, and make ſure of him. However, he had the pleaſure before his death to hear that his brother was eſcaped, and got to *Rhinocorura*, and there it was that *Herod* heard of his death. The *Parthians*, having thus far performed their contract with *Antigonus*, began their march homeward, and took the unfortunate high-prieſt with them, to prevent any freſh tumults being raiſed upon his account °.

His palace plundered.

Hyrcan's *ears cut off.*

Phaſaelus's *death.*

b

c

Herod's *ſucceſs at* Rome.

By that time *Herod* was got from *Rhinocorura* to *Peluſium*, he received a meſſage from the *Arabian* king, who was now aſhamed of his baſeneſs, with an apology and new offers of his ſervice; but he rejected them, and would have imbarqued for *Rome*, but the ſailors obſtinately refuſed to take him in; whereupon he applied himſelf to the magiſtrates of the city, who received him with great honour, and provided him another ſhip. During his ſtay in *Egypt*, he was courted by *Cleopatra* to continue there longer; the *Maccabitiſh* book often quoted adds, that ſhe offered to make him her prime miniſter, and general of all her forces; but he was fully bent upon going to *Rome* with all ſpeed, and getting on board a veſſel, which was bound to *Pamphylia*, a violent ſtorm forced them to land at *Rhodes*, where he met with ſome friends and aſſiſtance, and paſſed thence to *Brunduſium*, and came at length to *Rome*. Here he addreſſed himſelf firſt to *Antony*, and then to *Octavianus*, to whom he related all that had happened in *Judæa*, and the deſperate condition his affairs were in; and partly by his intreaties and reminding them of his father's friendſhip to *Julius Cæſar*, and partly by the promiſe of a large ſum of money, did ſo work upon them, that they reſolved to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power. *Antony*, on the ſcore of the old kindneſſes of *Antipater*, did even perform more than *Herod* expected or even deſired of them. The utmoſt of his aim was, to have had *Ariſtobulus*, the brother of his beloved *Mariamne*, ſettled on the throne (U), and himſelf to have been at the head of the *Jewiſh* affairs under him, as his father had been under *Hyrcan*; whereas the triumvirs did actually reſolve to procure him the crown, though this was contrary to the *Roman* method, who, in caſes of the like nature, did always pay ſuch a due regard to the royal line of their dependent kings, as not to ſet up a ſtranger over them; but our triumvirs intereſt eaſily over-ruled that good maxim.

d

e

Created king of Judæa.

The ſenate was accordingly convened, and *Herod* introduced to them by *Meſſala* and *Atratinus*, two noble ſenators, who there ſet forth the merits of *Antipater*'s family to the *Roman* nation, and repreſented *Antigonus* as a turbulent and ſeditious perſon and a known enemy to their nation, who had not ſcrupled to accept of the *Jewiſh* crown

° Antiq. l. xiv. c. 25. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 11.

(T) The *Moſaic* law (28) required, that the high-prieſt ſhould be perfect in all his limbs, *&c.* ſo that upon the loſs of any of them, he was to be immediately diveſted of that office, and another was to be choſen in his room.

Joſephus adds, that *Antigonus* was not able to pay the *Parthian* king the five hundred women, becauſe *Herod* had ſeized upon them, and carried them off into his place of retreat.

(U) This prince had certainly the beſt title to the crown, being the ſon of *Alexandra* the daughter of *Hyrcan*, by *Alexander* the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, the brother of that pontiff; ſo that the rights of thoſe two brothers were united in him.

(28) *Vid. Levit.* xxi. 16, *& ſeq. & ſupra, Vol.* I. *p.* 635, *& ſeq.*.

crown from the hands of the *Parthians*. To this *Antony* added, how advantagious it would be to his expedition againſt *Parthia*, to have ſuch a ſtedfaſt friend as *Herod* to be king of *Judæa*; upon which he was unanimouſly choſen by the ſenate; and *Antigonus* voted an enemy to them. As ſoon as the decree was paſſed, *Herod* was conducted with great ceremony into the capitol, *Octavianus* and *Antony* marching on each ſide of him (W), accompanied by the conſuls and ſenators; where, after the uſual ſacrifices, the decree was depoſited among the archives, after which *Antony* gave them a magnificent entertainment. Thus *Herod* became king of *Judæa*, by the friendſhip and intereſt of *Antony* and *Auguſtus*, in the conſulſhip of *Caius Domitius Calvinus* and *Caius Aſinius Pollio*. The condition he had left his affairs in *Judæa*, and his family in *Idumea*, not permitting to ſtay longer than ſeven days after his inauguration, he ſet out again for *Brunduſium*, and ſailed from thence to *Ptolemais*, where he landed about the latter end of the ſummer, ſo that he ſpent but three months in this expedition both by ſea and land [p].

Year of the flood 2959. *Year before Chriſt* 40.

WHILE he was thus ſucceſsful at *Rome*, *Antigonus* had ſo cloſely beſieged the forteſs of *Maſſada*, that, though it was well provided with all other neceſſaries, yet they were much diſtreſſed for want of water, inſomuch, that *Joſeph*, who commanded there, was contriving means to make a deſperate ſally, and to break through the beſiegers, in order to eſcape into *Arabia* and get ſome freſh ſuccour from *Malchus*, who, as we hinted before, was highly aſhamed of his late treatment of *Herod*. But, happily for him, the very night he intended to ſally out, there fell ſuch a heavy rain, as filled all their ciſterns again; ſo that he thought on nothing now but how to make a brave defence, till his brother came and relieved him, whilſt he ſtill made ſome bold ſallies, and killed not a few of the beſiegers. In the mean time, *Ventidius* the *Roman* general in *Syria*, having driven the *Parthians* out of that province, came and incamped in the neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem*, under pretence of relieving *Maſſada*; but in reality to extort money from *Antigonus*: for as ſoon as this laſt had ſatisfied his greedineſs with a good round ſum, he marched away, leaving, for formality's ſake, ſome part of his men with *Silo*, a penſioner, whom *Antigonus* had been forced to make by dint of money, till he could get himſelf ſtrengthened by the *Parthians*, whoſe aſſiſtance he was ſtill in hopes of.

Maſſada *beſieged by* Antigonus.

Herod on the other hand was not idle, his thoughts were wholly bent upon relieving his diſtreſſed family; but eſpecially his beloved *Mariamne*, a princeſs, who was indeed very well worth all his care and concern, whether we conſider her as deſcended from a long ſeries of illuſtrious kings and high-prieſts, or a perſon of exalted virtue and merit, and adorned with the moſt endearing charms of body and mind. As ſoon therefore as he was arrived at *Ptolemais*, he got an army together of *Jewiſh* and other troops, which his generoſity ſtill increaſed as faſt as he went, inſomuch, that a very little time had brought almoſt the whole province of *Galilee* into his intereſt. At the ſame time his friend *Antony* ſent orders by *Dellius* to *Ventidius* to aſſiſt him with all his forces; ſo that he was now ſtrong enough to march againſt *Antigonus* and to relieve *Maſſada*. He ſtopped, however, to lay ſiege to *Joppa*, a place of too great importance to be left behind in the hands of the enemy. *Silo* took this opportunity to withdraw his forces from him, and was like to have paid dear for his deſertion. For *Antigonus* fell upon him, and had infallibly defeated him, had not *Herod* come to his reſcue. *Joppa* being ſoon after ſurrendered, he marched directly to relieve his beſieged friends, and, in ſpight of the many ambuſhes which *Antigonus* did lay in his way, and the treachery of *Silo*, who extorted money from both ſides, and did all he could to obſtruct inſtead of aſſiſting him; he reached *Maſſada*, forced the enemy to raiſe the ſiege (X), and was joyfully received by all his family [q].

Mariamne's *character.*

Joppa *taken by* Herod.

Maſſada *relieved.*

By

[p] Antiq, ibid. c. 26, 27. Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra, c. 12. [q] Id. ibid.

(W) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* adds (29), that the ſenate ordered him a golden crown, and to be conducted to and from the capitol on horſeback, whilſt a herald marched before him, crying, *Long live Herod, king of the Jews, and of the holy city.*

Antony having afterwards given the company a ſumptuous feaſt, he and *Herod* imbarqued with a numerous army, and being arrived at *Antioch*, he ordered one half to go with him into *Judæa*, and with the other he marched into *Parthia*.

(29) *Cap.* I.

(X) The fourth book of *Maccabees* adds (30), that *Herod* ſurpriſed *Antigonus* before the place, and made a vigorous attack on one ſide of him, whilſt *Joſeph* ſallied out againſt him on the other; ſo that he was totally defeated, and forced to flee into *Jeruſalem*, whither *Herod* purſued him, and laid cloſe ſiege to him.

It will not be amiſs to cloſe this note with a hint on a more remarkable occurrence out of our learned *Uſher* (31), namely the birth of *Saloninus*, (ſo

(30) *Ibid.* (31) *Annal. ſub. A. M.* 3964.

Herod *marches againſt* Jeruſalem.

By this time *Herod*'s army was greatly increaſed, not only by the gariſon of *Maſſada*, but by other reinforcements, which came voluntary from other parts, and enabled him to go and form the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*. He took *Rheſſa* in his way, and being come before the metropolis, he cauſed a general amneſty to be proclaimed, extending to all, none excepted, that had joined with *Antigonus*, and came over to him within a limited time. To this *Antigonus* anſwered, addreſſing himſelf to *Silo* and the reſt of the *Roman* ſoldiers, who were come to aſſiſt *Herod* in the ſiege; "that "it was ſhameful injuſtice in the ſenate to ſet a private perſon on the throne, who "was an *Idumæan*, or half *Jew*, contrary to the *Jewiſh* laws and right of ſucceſſion; "that if they reſented his receiving the crown from the *Parthians*, there were ſtill "enough left of the royal and ſacerdotal race, who had deſerved, to the full, as well of the *Romans* as *Herod*, and on whom they might more juſtly beſtow it." The conteſt between the two rivals roſe at length to ſuch a height, that *Antigonus* cauſed ſome volleys of arrows to be ſhot upon the enemy, and forced them to retire. Here aroſe a freſh mutiny, ſuppoſed to have been underhand encouraged by *Silo*; his ſoldiers complaining aloud of the want of money, proviſions, and better winter quarters; *Herod* was forced to ſend out for freſh ſupplies for them, which came afterwards in ſuch plenty, that there was not the leaſt pretence left for a revolt. The city of *Jericho* did, however, fall a ſacrifice to the *Roman* greedineſs; they plundered it of all its riches, which amounted to an immenſe value; after which *Herod* was forced to ſend them into winter quarters in *Samaria*, *Idumea*, and *Galilee*, whilſt *Antigonus*, to curry favour with *Antony*, obtained of *Silo*, as a great favour, that part of the *Roman* army might be ſent into *Lydda*, which ſtill held out for him.

The ſeaſon by this time being too far advanced to begin the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, *Herod*, having well glutted and quartered his *Roman* auxiliaries, ſent his brother *Joſeph* into *Idumea*, with a thouſand foot and four hundred horſe, whilſt he went and ſecured his family in the city of *Samaria*; from thence he went and took ſome fortreſſes in *Galilee* from *Antigonus*, and among others that of *Sephoris*, which had been abandoned by the gariſon, and where he found great ſtore of proviſions. From thence he ſent a detachment into the territories of *Arbela*, which was ſadly infeſted with gangs of banditti; but as they could not ferret them out of their lurking-places, he marched againſt them with his whole army, and was as boldly encountered by their whole force. An obſtinate fight enſued, in which his left wing began to give way; but he came ſo timely to their aid, that he gained a complete victory; by which he became maſter of all *Galilee*, except thoſe rocky parts into which the defeated banditti retired. He rewarded his troops with a noble donative of a hundred and fifty drachms to each private man, and ſo proportionably to thoſe of a higher rank, and then ſent them into winter quarters. *Silo* left him ſoon after to follow *Ventidius* into *Parthia*, and *Herod*, who could hardly ſtay for the return of the ſpring to put himſelf into action,

Deſtroys the gangs of banditti.

reſolved, if poſſible, to rid himſelf and the country of the remaining gangs of banditti. The inacceſſibleneſs of their lurking-holes made it almoſt impracticable; but *Herod* having cauſed a number of iron cheſts to be made and filled with ſoldiers, which let them down with iron chains, he made great execution amongſt them, till night obliged them to withdraw, when he cauſed a general pardon to be proclaimed to all who ſhould come and ſurrender themſelves. But this having reduced but a few of them, his ſoldiers by next morning went and ſet ſome combuſtible matter on fire at the mouth of their caverns, put all within in a flame, and ſmothered thoſe it could not burn; and yet

(ſo called by his father *Aſinius Pollio*, the then *Roman* conſul, in memory of his taking *Salonæ*, a city in *Dalmatia*) and which gave occaſion to the fourth eclogue of *Virgil*, in which that poet has given ſuch a noble deſcription of the golden age, which this child was to reſtore to the world; that he is juſtly ſuppoſed to have ſtolen it, not ſo much out of the pretended ſibylline oracles, as from the prophecies concerning the reign of the Meſſiah, the true prince of peace. For, as they were tranſlated by that time into *Greek*, they may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been read by him, and perhaps further explained to him by the *Jews*, who, if we may believe *Cicero* (32), were very numerous at that time at *Rome*.

That *Virgil* proved a falſe prophet with reſpect to his wonderful child, the event has ſhewn, ſince he lived but nine days. But that the more miraculous child *Jeſus*, who was born forty years after (33), has left us ſuch a divine ſet of laws, as fully anſwer the glorious deſcription which the prophets have given us of his reign; and which, duly and univerſally obſerved, would eaſily eclipſe all that the poets have ſung concerning their fabulous golden age, cannot be denied, our enemies themſelves being judges.

(32) *Orat. pro Flacc.* (33) *Prid. Connect. ſub an. A. C.* 40. *Vid. & Arch. Chandler's de-*
fence of chriſtianity.

a yet ſuch was their obſtinacy, that they choſe rather to periſh than accept of a pardon. A notable inſtance of which the reader may ſee in the margin (Y).

Herod, thinking by this time that he had pretty near reduced their gang, left the country under the command of *Ptolemy*, at the head of as many forces as he thought would ſuffice to keep it in awe; and took the road to *Samaria*, where he had left his family, with a deſign to go, and either begin the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, or bring *Antigonus* to a battle. He was no ſooner gone, but thoſe whom he had lately drove over *Jordan*, returned again, ſlew *Ptolemy*, and ravaged the country afreſh; ſo that he was forced to come back with freſh forces, with which he ſo effectually deſtroyed them and their lurking-places, and fined thoſe towns ſo ſeverely, which had given
b them either ſhelter or relief, that he quite rid the province of that deſtructive vermine [r].

THE *Parthians* having been defeated ſoon after by *Ventidius*, as ſhall be ſeen in the next chapter, that general, by order of *Antony*, ſent *Machæras* with two legions and a thouſand horſe to aſſiſt *Herod* in his war againſt *Antigonus*; but this laſt having gained him over by a large ſum, *Machæras* would needs march towards him under pretence of examining the ſtrength of the place. *Herod*, having tried in vain to diſſuade him from it, began to ſuſpect him of ſome treachery; but held his peace for the preſent. Not ſo did *Antigonus*, who ſeeing the *Romans* draw near the walls of *Jeruſalem*, conceived ſuch jealouſy of them, that he cauſed his men to let fly ſome vollies of arrows
c and ſtones againſt them, which ſo exaſperated him, that he returned to *Emmaus*, and turned his arms againſt the *Jews* there, ſlaying indiſcriminately all that came in his way, and among them a number of *Herod*'s friends. *Herod*, who was then on the point of going to pay his reſpects to *Antony* at the ſiege of *Samoſata*, threatened to complain of it to him; but *Machæras*, haſtening after, prevailed upon him to be reconciled, and to leave his brother *Joſeph*, and a number of forces with him, to carry on the war during his abſence; on this condition, however, that they ſhould undertake nothing that was hazardous till his return. In his march to *Antony*'s camp, he was forced to fight his way through ſome bands of free-booters, or, as the fourth of the *Maccabees* calls them [s], wild *Arabs*, who had attacked him in the rear, which
d would have been all cut off, if he had not come back to their aſſiſtance and defeated the thieviſh gang. At his arrival before *Samoſata*, he was received with all the marks of honour and eſteem by the *Roman* triumvir, and did him many gallant ſervices at that ſiege. In requital of which, when the city was taken, *Antony* left *Soſius* governor of *Syria* with the command of the *Roman* forces, and orders to aſſiſt *Herod* with them whenever he required it.

Antigonus's *ill treatment of* Machæras.

Herod on his return found his affairs ſtrangely altered for the worſe; his brother *Joſeph*, having forgot his orders, had made an incurſion againſt *Jericho*, with his own troops and five legions, which he received from *Machæras*; but the *Roman* horſe being unfit for ſuch rocky ground as he was then incamped upon, the enemy ſurpriſed and defeated him, after a noble defence, in which himſelf was killed by *Pappus* the
e *Roman* general. *Antigonus* cauſed his head to be cut off, and carried in triumph with him; but his brother *Pheroras* redeemed it ſoon after at the price of fifty talents. The conſequence of this defeat was the total revolt of *Galilee*, where the wealthieſt of *Herod*'s party were barbarouſly flung in great numbers into the lake of *Tiberias*. *Idumæa* was alſo on the point of revolting, when *Herod* appeared at the head of a freſh army, and in a little time reduced thoſe two provinces again. At *Jericho*, where he gave an entertainment to his friends, he was twice in danger of his life, the firſt time by the fall of the banquetting-houſe, which the gueſts had but juſt quitted; and on the next day by a party of ſix thouſand *Antigonians*, who came and aſſaulted his van-guard,
f and where he received a wound. His army ſtill increaſing, and *Machæras* ſtoutly defending himſelf againſt *Antigonus*, a battle was ſoon fought between the two antagoniſts,

Joſeph *defeated and killed.*

[r] Id. ibid. [s] Cap. lii.

(Y) Our hiſtorian tells us (34), that an old man being hid in one of theſe caverns, his wife and ſeven ſons, who were with him, did earneſtly beſeech him to ſuffer them to ſurrender themſelves; but he, placing himſelf at the mouth of the cave, ſtabbed them one after another, as they attempted to paſs by him, and caſt them down the precipice, and himſelf next, after having vented ſome ſcandalous reflections on the meanneſs of *Herod*'s extraction, who was at the ſame time making him all the ſigns of pardon and clemency.

(34) *Antiq. ubi ſupra, cap.* 28. *ſub fin. bell. Jud. l.* i. *c.* 13.

goniſts, wherein *Herod* gained a complete victory, and made a horrid ſlaughter of a the enemy: *Pappus* being found among the dead, he ordered his head to be cut off, and ſent to *Pheroras*. His eagerneſs to revenge his brother's death, made him purſue his flying enemy with ſuch uncommon ſwiftneſs and cruelty, that, had he not been prevented by a violent ſtorm, he might have gone ſtrait to *Jeruſalem*, and have taken it with eaſe, *Antigonus* being by that time ſo reduced, that he was upon the point of abandoning it; but by that time winter coming on, and the ſoldiers not being able to bear the fatigues of a ſiege, *Herod* put them into winter-quarters, and ſet about getting ready all things neceſſary for beginning it early the following ſpring[t].

Whilst theſe preparations were making, *Herod* went to *Samaria*, and there conſummated his marriage with *Mariamne*, whom he had betrothed four years before; but b had been hindered from marrying through the many troubles he was entangled in, though he had an extreme deſire to ſee this union once happily accompliſhed (Z). By this time he had got a reinforcement of thirty thouſand men, and *Soſius*, who had been ſent to his aſſiſtance at the head of eleven legions and ſix thouſand horſe, beſides ſome auxiliary troops hired from *Syria*, was marching through *Phœnice* to join him, and with this numerous army they went and beſieged *Jeruſalem* (A). The beſieged on the other hand were no leſs numerous and reſolute for a vigorous defence, the city being filled with *Jews*, who flocked thither from all parts of the kingdom. But theſe wanted military experience, and truſted either to their ſtrength and courage, or to the ſacredneſs of the temple, which they ſeemed confident would be defended by c ſome miraculous providence, againſt an *Idumæan* uſurper and an army of idolatrous *Romans*. They did likewiſe annoy the beſiegers by frequent private ſallies, in which they ſpoiled great quantities of their proviſions and forage. But on the fortieth day of the ſiege, the *Romans*, in ſpight of the ſtout reſiſtance from within, found means to ſcale the outward wall, and to make themſelves maſters of it; and on the fiftieth they got within the ſecond, when ſome of the galleries about the temple being ſet on fire, *Herod* threw all the odium of it on *Antigonus*. The lower city being taken, the beſieged betook themſelves to the higher and to the temple, where they ſuffered very much through famine, it being the *ſabbatic* year*. However, they built a new wall inſtead of that which was beaten down, countermined the d enemy, and fought ſometimes above and ſometimes under ground, and with more deſpair than true courage. At length, after a five months cloſe ſiege, by ſo numerous an army (B), *Herod*, finding them as obſtinate as ever, ordered a general aſſault to be made, which both his and the *Roman* troops performed with ſuch vigour, that they forced them at length to ſurrender. *Antigonus* himſelf came down from a tower, where he had defended himſelf as long as he could, threw himſelf at *Soſius*'s feet, and in the moſt abject and ſubmiſſive guiſe implored his mercy. But the elated *Roman*, inſtead of expreſſing the leaſt concern for that unfortunate prince, upbraided him with cowardice and effeminacy, calling him in the feminine gender *Antigona*, and ordered *Taken by ſtorm* him to be put under a ſtrong guard. The *Romans* at the ſame time, having diſperſed e themſelves through all the quarters of the upper city, made a terrible ſlaughter of the *Jews*, and plundered and ravaged every place they came near, to be revenged, as they expreſſed it, for the length and fatigue of the ſiege. The very ſanctuary was in danger of undergoing the ſame fate, had not *Herod* prevented it, partly by fair, partly by threatening words, and even by mere force. He ſent at the ſame time a *Saved from deſtruction by* Herod. ſevere meſſage to *Soſius*, complaining, that if this plunder and butchery were not ſtopped,

Jeruſalem *beſieged by* Herod.

[t] Antiq. & bell. Jud. ubi ſupra.

* De hoc vid. Vol. I. p. 612, a, b.

(Z) We have already given the character and deſcent of this excellent princeſs, and *Herod* had great reaſon to hope that this marriage would effectually reconcile him to the *Jewiſh* nation, whom he knew to retain an affectionate zeal for the *Aſmonean* family, of which ſhe was deſcended by the two brothers, *Hyrcan* and *Ariſtobulus*, as we hinted in a former note. This he thought would likewiſe facilitate the ſurrender of *Jeruſalem*, by withdrawing numbers of the beſieged *Jews* from the faction of *Antigonus*.

(A) *Joſephus* tells us, that the *Roman* legions did not conſiſt of a certain number, but amounted, ſome to four thouſand, ſome to five thouſand, and ſome to ſix thouſand; but, however, if we take them at the loweſt, and join to them the *Jewiſh* and *Syrian* forces, this army muſt have amounted to above ſixty thouſand men.

(B) All this while *Herod* ſtill behaved with great moderation towards the *Antigonians*, not only promiſing them his pardon and kind reception, but, at their deſire, ſupplying them with all neceſſary victims for their daily and other ſacrifices, not doubting but that he might in time mollify them into a ſurrender, but all proved in vain (34).

(34) *Antiq. ubi ſupra, cap.* 28. *ſub fin. bell. Jud. l.* i. *c.* 13

a stopped, the *Romans* would leave him king only of a bare wilderneſs; and that as for himſelf, he ſhould look upon his ſucceſs as the moſt unhappy thing that could befal him, if it muſt be attended with the profanation of that ſacred place, the acceſs to which was permitted to none but to the *Jewiſh* prieſts. To all this *Soſius* anſwered, that he did not well know how to forbid his troops the plundering of a place that had been taken by aſſault; ſo that *Herod* ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity of ſaving both temple and city from all further devaſtation, by a large donative out of his own coffers.

THUS was this city taken after a ſiege of near ſix months (C), and with its ſurrender ended the reign of the *Aſmoneans*, after it had continued a hundred and twenty-nine years from *Judas Maccabeus* taking the *Jewiſh* government upon him (D). *Antigonus*, b the laſt male of that race that bore the regal title, was clapped in irons by *Soſius*, who, having preſented a crown of gold to the temple, left *Jeruſalem*, and took the unhappy prince with him, and delivered him to *Antony*; by whom he was, at the earneſt ſolicitations of *Herod*, put to a ſhameful death (E), in the third year of his reign [u]. *Antigonus put to death.* *Year of the flood* 2962. *Before Chriſt* 37.

[u] Antiq. l. xv. c. 1. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 13. Vid. & USSER. ſub A. M. 3967.

(C) Reckoning from *Herod*'s firſt ſetting down before it; for it was not till ſome time after that *Soſius* joined him with his troops, and carried on the ſiege jointly with him.

(D) *Joſephus* reckons but a hundred and twenty-ſix years (35); but he muſt be underſtood only from the time that *Judas* was eſtabliſhed in his government by his peace with *Antiochus*, three years after he had taken it into his hands.

It is true, however, his ſucceſſors did not take the title of kings, as we have ſeen in the courſe of this ſection, till *Ariſtobulus*, or rather till *Alexander Jannæus*; but that family ſtill enjoyed the peculiar privilege of joining the pontifical with the regal or ſupreme dignity.

(E) The *Jewiſh* hiſtorian obſerves, that *Antony* would willingly have reſerved *Antigonus* for his future triumph, but that *Herod*, who feared every thing from his rival, if he ſhould ever have an opportunity to plead his own cauſe before the ſenate, ceaſed not to importune that general to put him to death, and obtained it at laſt by a large ſum of money. But he cauſed that unhappy prince to be executed in ſo ſhameful a manner, as has given juſt occaſion to ſeveral antient authors to condemn it, as a piece of injuſtice and cruelty, never till then allowed of by the *Romans* (36).

For having cauſed him to be condemned as a private criminal, and without regard to his illuſtrious deſcent, the ſentence was executed accordingly at *Antioch*, where having been firſt tied and whipped at a ſtake, his head was cut off, after having been all along flattered with promiſes of life. This puniſhment, *Strabo* in the place above-quoted obſerves, had never been inflicted on any crowned head; but *Antony* thought it neceſſary by ſuch an ignominious death to render him contemptible to the *Jews*, to prevent their raiſing any new tumults againſt his generous friend *Herod* (37).

(35) *Ibid.* (36) *Vid. int. al. Plutarch. in Anton. Dion. lib.* xlix. *Strab. ap. Joſeph. Antiq. l.* xv. c. 1. (37) *Ibid.*

SECT. IV.

The hiſtory of the Jews *from* Herod *to the birth of* CHRIST.

a THE taking of *Jeruſalem* and the death of *Antigonus* having now fixed *Herod* upon the *Jewiſh* throne, he was ſoon obliged to bend his thoughts on two important concerns; the one to repleniſh his coffers exhauſted, partly by the large ſums with which he had been forced to buy the friendſhip of the *Roman* generals, and even *Antony* himſelf; and partly by the profuſeneſs with which he rewarded his own and the *Roman* troops for their paſt ſervices, and eſpecially for ſaving the city and temple from plunder and ruin: the other was to ſuppreſs the oppoſite *Jewiſh* faction, which, in ſpite of his rival's ignominious death, retained an invincible attachment to the *Aſmonean* family, and an irreconcileable hatred to his own. Theſe two points, which could not be gained, the one without a great deal of oppreſſion, and the other b without much cruelty and blood-ſhed, we muſt look upon as the two main ſprings of all his actions and the cauſes of his uneaſy reign. Accordingly, upon his having got poſſeſſion of that metropolis, he cauſed all the gold, ſilver, and other valuable things he found in it, to be carried into his own palace, by which he amaſſed immediately an immenſe treaſure; but as a great part of it had been already promiſed to the *Romans*, and was actually given to them, he reimburſed himſelf by the forfeiture of the eſtates of the *Antigonian* faction, cauſing the wealthieſt of them to be ſeized, and forty-five of the principal of them to be put to death (A). And ſuch Herod's *cruel beginning.*

was

(A) We took notice in the laſt ſection, that *Herod* ſpared that very *Sameas*, who had appeared the moſt intrepid againſt him, at his tryal before the ſanhedrin; as well as *Pollio*, another learned and valuable *Jew*,

was his jealouſy in this reſpect, that he cauſed guards to be planted at their gates, a to examine, as they were carrying them to their graves, whether they were really dead, and whether any riches were conveyed off with their bodies; in which caſe they were ſeized upon and ſent into his treaſury. Upon the whole, his neceſſities and profuſeneſs were ſo great, that he ſpared no extortion to ſupply them; inſomuch, that this being the *ſabbatic* year, in which there was neither planting nor ſowing, and all the country round about having been ſo terribly plundered and ravaged, both before and during the ſiege, nothing leſs than a grievous famine was expected to have filled the whole land [a].

Herod had ſtill another rival left, who, though at a great diſtance from him, and kept, as it were, a priſoner in *Parthia*, did not ſuffer his mind to be at eaſe, till he b had quite rid himſelf of him. This was *Hyrcan*, the depoſed king and high-prieſt, whom *Pacorus* had carried thither with him in chains. But when *Phraartes* came to be informed of his high birth and dignity, he generouſly took off his chains, and permitted him to live in *Babylon*, where he was highly reſpected, not only by the great numbers of *Jews* who dwelt in that city, but likewiſe by all thoſe that lived beyond the *Euphrates*, who all looked upon him as their rightful prince and high-prieſt. Their veneration for him was raiſed ſtill higher, when they underſtood, that *Herod* had filled the pontifical chair with an old acquaintance of his own, named *Ananel*, a deſcendant of one of thoſe prieſtly families that ſettled at *Babylon* after the captivity, and whom that politic prince cauſed to be fetched from thence, merely on c the ſcore of his meanneſs and obſcurity; that being without friends or intereſt in *Judæa*, he might be contented with his ſacerdotal function, without interfering with the regal prerogative.

Hyrcanus's *happineſs in* Parthia.

Hyrcan might then have thought himſelf happy in his exile, being thus reſpected by the *Parthian* king, and by all the *Jews* of the diſperſion: yet ſuch was his love for his country, or rather his fatal confidence in the new *Jewiſh* monarch, that, as ſoon as he heard of his being on the throne, he conceived a great deſire of ſpending the remainder

[a] Antiq. l. xv. c. 1. Bell. Jud. l. i. c 13.

Jews, who had been a great ſtickler for *Hyrcan* againſt him; and theſe were not the only two inſtances of *Herod*'s clemency. We have elſewhere ſeen other marks of his generous forgiveneſs; and it is likely, that if he could have ſupported his new regal dignity without thoſe violent means, which the obſtinacy of the *Jews* and the emptineſs of his coffers forced him to, it would have been much more agreeable to his temper, which was really generous even to profuſeneſs.

However, we muſt own, that theſe two great men, whom he not only ſpared above all the reſt, but took into his ſpecial favour and confidence, had, notwithſtanding all the incenſe which the rabbies give them for their courage and intrepidity, taken care to make their peace with him during the ſiege, by exhorting the beſieged to open their gates to him.

For whilſt the *Antigonian* faction were encouraging the ſuperſtitious *Jews* with crying *the temple of the Lord*, and making them expect ſome miraculous deliverance, theſe two politicians, foreſeeing that the city could not hold out much longer againſt ſuch a vigorous ſiege, and under the exceſſive want of all proviſions, did with a kind of prophetic confidence aſſure them, that all reſiſtance was vain, ſince the thing was from the Lord, who for their ſins was now bringing them in ſubjection to this foreigner (38). So that had *Herod* been of a more vindicative temper than he really was, yet this piece of ſervice could not have failed of reconciling them to his favour.

There was indeed ſome ground for what they affirmed in favour of *Herod*, if what *Joſephus* (39) ſays be true, that one *Menahem*, a cotemporary of theirs and an *Eſſenian*, endowed with the ſpirit of prophecy, had long before foretold his riſe to the crown; the ſtory runs thus:

Herod being met one day by this *Menahem*, then a boy, whilſt himſelf was amongſt his ſchool-fellows, was accoſted by him in a ſerious manner, with a *Hail, king of the* Jews; and was aſſured by him, that providence had determined to raiſe him from his *Plebeian* extraction to that ſupreme dignity. The young prophet at the ſame time bid him remember, when he was come to it, that it was his duty to govern with juſtice and equity, though, added he in the concluſion, I foreſee, that you will take quite different methods, and thereby bring a miſerable end upon your head.

Herod, however, did not think any more of it till he had got the crown; but then calling to mind his prediction, he ſent for him, to inquire how long he ſhould reign, not doubting but that he, who had foretold him the one, might as eaſily tell him the other. *Menahem*, not anſwering directly to the queſtion, was aſked again, whether he thought that he ſhould reign ten years; Yes, yes, anſwered the *Eſſene*, twenty or thirty, and there ſtopped; and *Herod*, being ſatisfied with that number, urged him no further.

Menahem was then, it ſeems (40), vice-preſident of the ſanhedrin, under *Hillel*, the ſame, as is ſuppoſed, whom *Joſephus* calls *Pollio*; but *Herod*, having drawn him into his ſervice, appointed *Samea* to ſucceed him in that office. From that time, not only *Menahem*, but his whole ſect, grew in great favour with that monarch. We ſhall find a proper place to ſpeak more fully of the *Eſſenes*, when we come to deſcribe the different ſects which reigned in our Saviour's time among the *Jews*.

(38) *Id. ibid. Vid. & l* xiv. *c.* 17. (39) *Antiq. l.* xv. *c.* 13. (40) *Vid. Prid. Connect. part* 2. *lib.* viii. *ſub A. ant. Chriſt* 37.

a remainder of his life with him. His friends, to whom he communicated his thoughts, tried in vain to diſſuade him from it, by repreſenting to him the folly and hazard of putting himſelf in that monarch's power, eſpecially ſince he could hardly expect either greater honour or happineſs at *Jeruſalem*, than he enjoyed at *Babylon*. But could arguments have prevailed with him, *Herod* would have left no means untried to have fruſtrated them, and made ſure of him. He began, however, with ſending him a kind invitation to come and bear a partnerſhip with him of his power and grandeur, and reap the fruits of his gratitude for his former kindneſs. But leſt this invitation ſhould fail, he backed it with an embaſſy to *Phraartes*, in which he begged of him to give the pontiff leave to return to *Judæa*. *Santacalla*, who was charged with b this embaſſy, was ordered to make ſome conſiderable preſents to the *Parthian* king and court, and ſucceeded ſo well in his negotiation, that *Hyrcan*, in ſpite of all the remonſtrances of his friends to the contrary, left his ſafe aſylum for *Jeruſalem*, where *Herod* at firſt received him with great friendſhip and magnificence, and forgot nothing that could poſſibly conceal the treacherous deſign he was hatching againſt his life [b].

Perſuades him to return into Judæa.

Whilst this was doing, *Herod* was not a little diſturbed with domeſtic jars. *Alexandra*, the daughter of *Hyrcan* and mother of *Ariſtobulus* and *Mariamne*, a woman of a haughty ſpirit, could not bear, with any patience, to ſee an obſcure *Babyloniſh* prieſt preferred before her ſon to the pontifical dignity, from which *Hyrcan* was now diſabled by the loſs of his ears. She was ever expoſtulating with him the in- c jury done to her ſon, and inſiſting, that the pontifical dignity belonging in right of ſucceſſion to him alone, as being deſcended by father and mother from *Alexander Jannæus* (B), none but he ought in juſtice to be inveſted with it. But *Herod*, who was conſcious that the young prince had an equal right likewiſe to the regal dignity, which he now uſurped from him, was afraid to grant her the one, leſt ſhe ſhould find ſome means in time of ſeizing upon the other. This obliged her to write to *Cleopatra*, not doubting but her intereſt with *Antony* might greatly influence that general in favour of her ſon. It was impoſſible for her to carry on that correſpondence ſo cloſely, but *Herod* had ſome intimation of it; and fearing the worſt from thoſe two intriguing princeſſes, he was forced for the preſent to conſent to have *Ananel* depoſed, d and *Ariſtobulus* inveſted with that dignity, pretending, that he had only given it to the former, till the latter was come to be of an age fit for it (C).

This condeſcenſion of *Herod*, backed with ſo plauſible an excuſe, wrought a kind of reconciliation between them, but which was nothing leſs than ſincere on either ſide, eſpecially

[b] Antiq. ubi ſupra, cap. 2.

(B) *Ariſtobulus*, as the ſon of *Alexander*, and grandſon of *Hyrcan* and of *Ariſtobulus*, the ſons of *Alexander Jannæus*, had the right both to the regal and pontifical dignity united in him. For he was grandſon to the former by his mother *Alexandra*, who was his only child; and by his father *Alexander*, he was grandſon to *Ariſtobulus*. By his deſcent from the latter, he had a right to the high prieſthood, which was fixed to the male line; and by his deſcent from both, he would have had the only title to the crown alſo, had not the *Romans* tranſferr'd it to *Herod* (41).

(C) This is the third perſon that had hitherto been depoſed from the pontifical dignity ſince the *Jews* return from the *Babyloniſh* captivity, and *Herod* was ſo ſenſible of the illegality of it, that when *Antony* ſent to deſire him to put *Ariſtobulus* into *Ananel*'s room, he excuſed himſelf from it at firſt, by remonſtrating to him, that ſuch depoſitions were contrary to the *Moſaic* law; according to which, it is certain, that dignity could not end but with the death of its poſſeſſor, unleſs ſome illegal defect happened to diſqualify him †.

The firſt inſtance we read of this irregular proceeding is, that of *Jaſon*'s or *Jeſus*'s ſupplanting his brother *Onias*, and by a larger ſum of money buying that dignity of *Antiochus*, in prejudice of the incumbent (42). The other was that of *Hyrcan* by his nephew *Ariſtobulus*, who wreſted that dignity from him by main force. But theſe depoſitions became afterwards ſo frequent, that there was hardly any other way of coming into that office, but by the expulſion of the incumbent.

The fourth book of *Maccabees* ſays, that *Antony* having ſent a preſſing command to *Herod* to ſend *Ariſtobulus* to him, *Herod*, not daring to venture that young prince out of his ſight, haſted to make him high-prieſt before he read that general's orders; and then ſent him word, that, he being now inveſted with the pontifical dignity, it was unlawful for him to ſtir out of the *Jewiſh* dominions (43).

Joſephus agrees in part with that author (44), but adds, that *Antony* having received the pictures of *Mariamne* and *Ariſtobulus*, which their mother, by the advice of *Cleopatra*, had ſent to him, that their extreme beauty might make a favourable impreſſion on that effeminate general; *Antony*, not daring to ſend for *Mariamne*, deſired only *Ariſtobulus* to be ſent to him. But *Herod*, not daring to truſt ſo beautiful a young perſon, who was then but ſixteen years old, with one ſo infamous for his incontinency, was forced to excuſe his refuſal, with pretending, that the young prince was ſo great a darling of the *Jewiſh* nation, that it would infallibly involve it in a civil war, ſhould he comply with his requeſt.

(41) *Antiq. l.* xv. *cap.* 2, & 3. † *De bell. civil. ſup. Vol.* I. *p.* 635, & *ſeq.* (42) *See before, Vol.* IV. *p.* 47. (43) *Cap.* iv. (44) *ubi ſupra, cap.* 2.

especially on *Herod*'s, who still suspected the intrigues of the mother, and the merit of the son, whose high birth and blooming virtues, joined to a graceful person, attracted the eyes and hearts of the *Jewish* nation. Upon some pretence therefore or other, he quarrelled with *Alexandra*, forbad her to meddle with any public affairs, and at last caused her to be confined to her palace and to be closely watched. In the mean time, *Cleopatra* having sent her and her son an invitation to come to her, she was easily persuaded to accept it, since she could now only look upon herself as *Herod*'s prisoner, from whose jealousy she had every thing to fear. The difficulty was how to conceal their flight from his watchful spies: she intrusted her design only to two faithful servants, one of whom was to procure her a ship to carry them off, and the other to provide two coffins, one for her son, and the other for herself, to convey them in that manner to the ship. But unfortunately one of the two servants inadvertently mentioned the matter to a third, whom he thought to have been in the secret, who immediately took hold of this opportunity to ingratiate himself to *Herod*, and made a full discovery of the design. *Herod* stayed only till the mother and son were conveyed some part of the way in their coffins, and then caused them to be arrested, and brought back. His fear, however, of *Cleopatra*'s resentment, prevented his expressing his own against them; and since he found it unsafe to punish them, he put on the mask of clemency, and was outwardly reconciled to them, but from that moment resolved to get rid of the young prince.

Herod plays a double game.

An accident happened soon after, which determined him to hasten his death. The feast of the tabernacles, one of the three grand festivals, was come, which was usually solemnized with the greatest magnificence †; when the new high-priest, who was then about seventeen years of age, appeared at the altar in his pontifical ornaments, and officiated with such majesty and grace, that the people thought they beheld all the merit and grandeur of his ancestors revived in him. They could not forbear filling the temple and city with their praises, which raised the tyrant's jealousy to such a height, as made him resolve to put his murdering design in execution with utmost speed. Accordingly, as soon as the solemnity was over, he went with him to *Jericho*, where *Alexandra* had invited them to a sumptuous entertainment. The weather being hot, *Aristobulus* was invited to bathe in a fine fish-pond in that neighbourhood, where some of *Herod*'s hired creatures were swimming; and where, as soon as they had him in their hands, they kept him still under water, till he was dead. This bloody deed was glossed over with the specious pretence of its being done in sport, by accident, and without any design on the pontiff's life; and *Herod* not only seemed to believe it, but took all the pains he could to have it thought so by the rest, by putting himself into the deepest mourning for him, ordering a stately monument to be erected to his memory, and his funeral obsequies to be performed with utmost magnificence. This was the end of young *Aristobulus*, which filled the city and kingdom with inexpressible grief; he died in the eighteenth year of his age, having scarce enjoyed his dignity one whole year, which upon his death returned to *Ananel* [c].

All these grimaces of *Herod* to disculpate himself of the murder were easily seen through by the people, and only rendered him more odious to them, and much more so to his own family. *Alexandra*, at the first news of her son's death, could scarcely be kept from laying violent hands on herself; but, upon cooler thoughts, she prevailed on herself to conceal her resentment against the tyrant, that she might the more easily compass his ruin. She wrote to acquaint *Cleopatra* with his treachery, and that princess, moved rather by her ambition and avarice, than by a sense of pity or of horror for the crime, ceased not to solicit *Antony* to punish the murderer, in hopes that, after his death, she might easily obtain his kingdom for herself. *Antony*, being at length prevailed upon, sent orders to *Herod* to come and clear himself before him at *Laodicea*, whither he was then coming, and *Cleopatra* along with him. *Herod* was obliged to obey, though much against his will; but took care to bribe his judge so high, that, upon his appearing before him, he was most basely absolved, and *Cleopatra*'s avarice compensated with the province of *Cale-Syria*, instead of that of *Judæa*.

Alexandra plots against him.

Summoned to appear before Antony. Acquitted.

Herod, however, not knowing how it would go with him in *Syria*, had before his departure given express orders to his uncle *Joseph*, whom he left governor during his absence, that in case he was cast for his life, he should put his beloved *Mariamne* to death. The violence of his passion for that princess extorted this inhuman com-

mand

† De hac vid. sup. Vol. I. p. 686, & seq.

[c] Antiq. ubi supra. c. 3.

a mand from him. He knew that the fame of her beauty had long ſince captivated the *Roman* triumvir, and the thoughts of leaving her in the poſſeſſion of ſuch a rival, even after his death, were more dreadful to him, than any death he could inflict on him; and his uncle was forced to rid him of that anguiſh by the promiſe of a punctual obedience. When he was gone, *Joſeph*, who waited daily on her, either on affairs of ſtate, or to pay his reſpects to her, took all opportunities of extolling *Herod*'s extreme paſſion for her, and at length was indiſcreet enough to diſcloſe the fatal orders he had left with him, as an irrefragable proof of the greatneſs and ſincerity of it. But the queen, looking upon it rather as an argument of his jealouſy and inhumanity, conceived from it a more invincible hatred againſt him. In the mean time, there was a
b rumour ſpread through the city, whether by *Herod*'s enemies, or by ſome of his ſubtile agents, that *Antony* had put him to a cruel death; which caſt the whole court, but eſpecially *Alexandra* and *Mariamne*, into a great conſternation. *Alexandra* had by this time been informed with the bloody orders left with *Joſeph*; to prevent the execution of which, ſhe went to him, and ſtrove with all her eloquence to perſuade him to leave *Jeruſalem*, and to go and put themſelves under the protection of the *Roman* eagles, that were planted in the neighbourhood of the city (D). Their deliberations were quickly broken off by letters from *Herod*, which informed her, that he had not only gained his cauſe, but that *Antony* was daily heaping freſh marks of his affection upon him, and that he ſhould ſoon return to *Jeruſalem*, more ſtrengthened
c than ever in his kingdom. This news made them lay aſide their deſign; but as they had not carried it on ſo cloſely, but *Salome* had received ſome intimation of it, ſhe failed not to inform her brother of it upon his arrival. Some injurious reflections, which *Mariamne* had caſt on the meanneſs of her birth, had exaſperated her ſo far, that ſhe had vowed a moſt dreadful revenge; and ſhe took this opportunity of completing it, by accuſing her of having held too great a familiarity with *Joſeph* during his abſence, though he was both her own uncle and huſband (E).

Mariamne *falſely accuſed*

Mariamne did eaſily clear her innocence upon her firſt interview with the king; but whiſt he was entertaining her with the proteſtations of his love to her, ſhe could not forbear at length mentioning the orders he had left with his uncle, as rather a
d token of his barbarity to her. Theſe words, which ſtabbed that jealous monarch to the heart, made him conclude, that nothing leſs than the criminal converſation, with which *Salome* had accuſed her, could have induced his uncle to diſcloſe the fatal ſecret. In the firſt ſally of his fury, he was on the point of ſacrificing her with his own hand, had not his love prevailed over his reſentment. But *Joſeph* and *Alexandra* fell the unhappy victims of his rage; the firſt of whom he cauſed to be put to immediate death, refuſing even to ſee him, or hear what could be urged in his defence; the latter he cauſed to be put in chains, and confined to a cloſe priſon under a ſtrong guard, as the main cauſe of all this miſchief.

Joſeph *put to death.*

His fury was ſoon after diverted by the coming of *Cleopatra* into *Judæa*, in her
e return from the *Euphrates*, whither ſhe had accompanied *Antony*. That princeſs, whoſe avarice was as inſatiable as her luſt, had diſobliged him ſenſibly by both theſe paſſions. On the one hand, ſhe had obtained from her paramour all the fertile territories of *Jericho*, which were by far the richeſt and pleaſanteſt of all *Judæa*, eſpecially upon the ſcore of the balm (F) and the great quantity of palm-trees which grew in it,

Cleopatra *comes to* Jeruſalem.

(D) The eagles were the principal ſtandards of the *Roman* legions; they uſed to be ſet up in ſome eminent place of their camp to receive the adoration of the army, and to protect thoſe who took ſanctuary under them, they being allowed an inviolable aſylum to ſuch.

The *Romans* had left a legion in the neighbourhood of that metropolis, under the command of one *Julius*, and it was under his ſtandards that *Alexandra* propoſed to take refuge, when the news of her ſon-in-law's death came to her ears.

(E) We have had occaſion to ſhew in a former volume, how far it was lawful, according to the law of *Moſes*, for an uncle to marry his niece, tho' not for an aunt to marry her nephew. We refer the reader to what has been further ſaid upon that head by a late learned writer (45).

(F) This precious plant, ſo famous for its balſam, the moſt valuable of all ointments, is affirmed by *Pliny* (46) to have grown only in two gardens belonging to the *Jewiſh* monarchs, one of them containing only twenty acres, and the other ſtill ſomewhat leſs. But *Cleopatra* cauſed a number of them to be carried into *Egypt*, where it is ſaid to grow in great quantity at this very day (47).

But it is plain beyond all controverſy, that this plant is the natural growth of *Arabia*, eſpecially in the neighbourhoods of *Mecca* and *Medina*, where it grows wild even in ſandy grounds, though that which is cultivated in gardens is reckoned the fineſt

† *Vol.* I. *p.* 678, a, b. *Vid. & Levit.* xviii. 12, *& ſeq.* xx. 19. (45) *Prid. Connect. ſub A. ant. Chriſt* 187. (46) *Nat. Hiſt. l.* xii. *c.* 15. (47) *Vid. Dapper. deſcr. of* Egypt.

and brought *Herod* a considerable revenue [d]. On the other, she was soliciting that monarch to an amour all the time she stayed with him. *Herod*, who had conceived a great aversion to her, was consulting, all the time he entertained her with utmost magnificence, of some means of putting her to death, whilst he had her in his power; but his friends, dreading the consequences of such a fact, did not only dissuade him from it, but prevailed on him to glut at least her avarice with costly presents, which he did with surprising profuseness. However, as he had refused to gratify her other predominant passion, he feared lest her resentment on that score, joining with the invincible hatred which the *Jews* had conceived against him, should one day prove fatal to him. To prevent which, after he had accompanied her as far as *Pelusium*, he went and fortified the castle of *Massada*, and furnished it with arms and provisions for ten thousand men, that at all events he might have a sure place of refuge to flee to. At the same time he took constant care to send that princess the revenues of those territories which *Antony* had given from him to her, that she might have no pretence to fall out with him upon that score [e].

But this was not sufficient to prevent the effects of that base princess's resentment; and she soon after laid such a plot against him, that all his strength and courage were hardly sufficient to save him from ruin. We have elsewhere taken notice, that she had obtained a great many provinces from *Antony*, in *Syria*, *Phœnice*, and *Arabia*. The latter of these had paid tribute to her constantly enough, whilst *Antony* was in power; but after his defeat, at the battle of *Actium*, of which we shall speak in a more proper place, *Malchus*, then king of that country, refused all further payment to her. *Herod*, who had got a complete army, with which he designed to assist his friend *Antony* against *Octavianus*, received orders from him to turn his forces against the *Arabians*. This was *Cleopatra*'s plot; who, by bringing these two kings to a battle, proposed to get the territories of the conquered, let the victory fall on which side it would. But as her spight again *Herod* was most prevailing, she sent one of her generals, named *Athenion*, who equally hated him, at the head of an army, under pretence of assisting him, but in reality to betray and ruin him, because she foresaw that he was like to have the better of his enemy. For *Herod* upon the first encounter had given them a great overthrow, and obliged them to get a fresh army together, which *Malchus* brought into *Cœle-Syria*. Here a second battle was fought near *Cana* (G), in which *Herod* was on the point of getting a new victory; when *Athenion*, who had stood neuter all the time of the engagement, fell upon his troops, and, in spite of *Herod*'s speedy assistance and bravery, cut the greatest part of the *Jews* in pieces, and plundered their camp, *Herod* himself escaping with great difficulty, with a small number of his men [f]. The *Maccabitish* book adds, that *Athenion* was ordered to surround that monarch with his troops, as soon as he had engaged those of the *Arabians* [g]. However that be, *Herod* from that time forbore coming to an engagement with them, and contented himself with making frequent incursions against them, incamping always on the mountains; by which he got this double advantage, that he harassed the enemy, and inured his own troops to the trade of war.

Cleopatra's plot against Herod.

Herod defeats and kills Athenion.

Herod

[d] Ibid. c. 4. Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. 13. & vii. c. 28.
[e] Antiq. ubi supra, c. 5. Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 28.
[f] Antiq. ubi supra, c. 6. [g] Cap. lvi.

finest (48). We have taken notice in a former volume of some that grew near the lake *Asphaltites*, and which brought a considerable revenue to the owners †.

The balm was gathered from the shrub in the months of *July* and *August*, and in some warmer grounds even in *June*. It either drops of itself, or is made to do so by incision, with a sharp knife, made, not of iron or steel, which they say is death to the plant, but either of glass, flint, or ivory. The liquor that distils from the plant is whitish at the first, then by degrees turns greenish, yellowish, and when very old, almost of the colour of honey. It is at first thin, and by degrees contracts a density like our terebinth, and is of so light a body, that it swims on the surface of water, and when beaten with it, will turn white. There is so little that is brought genuine into *England*, that it is rarely used, though its virtues have been cried up by many ancient and modern authors; but even that which is least adulterated has a very ill quality amongst its excellent ones, namely, that the frequent use of it will in time dissolve the solid parts of the blood.

Besides what comes from the countries abovementioned, there are some sorts of it brought from *America*, the most esteemed of which are those of *Peru* and *Tholu*.

(G) Probably *Canna* in *Syria*, on the other side of the *Libanus*, or *Cannath* on the other side of *Jordan*, in the neighbourhood of *Bostra* in *Arabia* 49).

(48) *Id. ibid.* † *Vol.* III. *f.* 434, d. (49) *Euseb. Loc. Hebr. Vid. & Steph. Byz. sub. voc.*, *Cannath.*

Herod was by this time got into the seventh year of his reign [h], when *Judæa* was shaken with such an earthquake, as had never been felt before, and which destroyed great numbers of cattle and many thousand persons, who perished under the ruins of their houses (H). His troops indeed escaped the common ruin, because he kept them incamped in the open field; nevertheless, the great loss, which the kingdom sustained by this calamity, obliged him to send an embassy to sue to the *Arabians* for peace. But by this time the account of his loss having been greatly magnified to them, they not only rejected his offers, but slew the embassadors that brought them, and invaded *Judæa* with utmost speed, expecting to have found it destitute of defence. It was with the greatest difficulty that *Herod* kept his men from abandoning him; but having
b at length dispelled their fears, and offered the usual sacrifices, he went to meet the enemy on the other side of the *Jordan*, and there gave them two such signal defeats, that he forced them in their turn to sue for peace, and to accept it on his own conditions; after which he returned in triumph to *Jerusalem* [i] (I).

Judæa *greatly damaged by an earthquake.* *Year of the flood* 2968. *Before Christ* 31.

But his happiness was soon after troubled by the defeat of *Antony* by *Augustus* at the battle of *Actium*, by which he saw himself deprived of a most powerful, as well as steady, friend, and on the brink of falling a sacrifice to the conqueror's resentment. The best expedient he could think on, under this consternation was to send advice to *Antony* to put *Cleopatra* to death, and to seize on her kingdom and treasures; by which he might be enabled to raise new forces, and either make a fresh push for the
c empire, or, at the worst, obtain easier conditions of peace. He promised him on those terms to stick fast to his interest, and to furnish him with money, troops, and strong-holds, and all other assistance to carry on the war against his rival [k]. But *Antony* was still too great a slave to that princess, to consent to such an expedient; which when *Herod* perceived, he thought no more but how to make his peace with the conqueror, on the best terms he could. He had still another dread upon him, as great as the displeasure of *Cæsar*. *Hyrcan*, the only surviving male of the *Asmonean* race, had been formerly acknowledged king of *Judæa*, and, as such, had entered into alliances with the *Roman* senate. *Herod*, on the other hand, had been chiefly upheld in his throne by the interest of *Antony*; and *Alexandra*, ever watchful for all opportu-
d nities of being revenged on the usurper, had begun to try to gain some advantage from the late change of affairs against him. *Herod* therefore, who had his spies about him, thought it unsafe to go to *Augustus*, till he had drawn the father and the daughter into a snare, which might afford him a pretence for putting the former to death, which he did, by causing him to be beheaded in the eighteenth year of his age (K).

Antony's *defeat at* Actium. *Year of the flood* 2969. *Before Christ* 30.

This was the dismal end of that unfortunate prince, after a long series of unhappy vicissitudes. He was at first raised to the pontifical dignity by his mother *Alexandra*, and succeeded her soon after in the kingdom also; three months after which, he was deprived of both by his brother *Aristobulus*. He was restored to both by *Pompey*, and enjoyed

[h] Vid. Usser. Annal. sub. A. M. 3973. [i] Antiq. ubi supra, c, 8, & 9. Bell. Jud. l. i. c, 14. [k] See his speech to *Augustus*, Bell. Jud. ubi supra. c. 15.

(H) Our historian in one place mentions but ten thousand slain (50), but in another he makes them to amount to three myriads, or thirty thousand men (1); which last is the more likely of the two, and agrees much better with the description he gives of that calamity.

(I) The first of these battles was fought near *Philadelphia*, in which five thousand *Arabians* were either killed on the spot, or trod to death in their flight. *Herod* having afterwards closely besieged them in their camp, where they were ready to perish for want of water, they offered him at first fifty talents for their freedom, which being rejected, they in great numbers came to surrender themselves till the fifth day, on which the rest in despair, and without hopes or prospect of success, attacked him, and had seven thousand killed. Upon which they submitted to his conditions, one of which was, that he was declared by them governor or protector of their nation (2).

(K) So says the fourth book of the *Maccabees* (3). The trap into which he was drawn was a masterpiece of his politic rival, who corrupted some of his and his daughter's confidents, to set on foot a kind of treasonable correspondence, whether real or counterfeited, with *Malchus* king of *Arabia*, wherein *Hyrcan* desired to put himself again under his protection, and begged of him to send him some horsemen to conduct him from a private place near *Jerusalem*, to the lake *Asphaltites*, which was about ninety miles distant from that metropolis.

Dositheus, the agent of this correspondence, betrayed to *Herod* both this letter and the answer, in which the *Arabian* king promised him a safe escort to convey him away; *Herod* summoned the pontiff before his council, and having taxed him with it, and, upon his denial, shewed him the very letter, caused him to be condemned to die.

This last article *Josephus* tells us (4), he took as he found it in the commentary which *Herod* left behind him; but at the same time he relates the matter somewhat differently from other hands We refer the reader for it to the place last quoted.

(50) *Antiq. ubi supra, c.* 7. (1) *Bell. Judaic. l.* i. *c.* 14. (2) *Ibid. ad fin. Antiq. ubi supra, ad fin.* (3) *cap.* 54. (4) *Antiq. ubi supra, cap.* 9.

enjoyed them near forty years, till depoſed again and diſqualified by *Antigonus*, who a cut off his ears, and ſent him priſoner into *Parthia*, from whence he unfortunately returned at the preſſing invitation of *Herod*, who owed his life, crown, and all his greatneſs to him, and who repaid all his kindneſſes with a violent death [l].

Herod goes to Auguſtus.

Herod's next care, before he departed, was, to ſecure his family the beſt he could, in caſe he ſhould miſcarry in his addreſs to *Auguſtus*. To that end, he committed his mother *Cyprus* and his ſiſter *Salome* to the care of his brother *Pheroras*, whom he ſent into the caſtle of *Alexandrion*, with orders to this laſt to ſeize on the *Jewiſh* crown, and defend it to the laſt, in caſe he heard that it went ill with him. As for his wife *Mariamne* and her mother *Alexandra*, he ſent them into the ſtrong fortreſs of *Maſſada*, and put them under the care of his treaſurer, named *Joſeph*, and of *Sohemus*, one of his b
chief confidents, with expreſs orders to put thoſe two princeſſes to death, as ſoon as he received the news of his ill ſucceſs at the emperor's court; and then to go and aſſiſt his brother with all his power. He imbarqued ſoon after for *Rhodes*, where *Auguſtus* then was; and, having obtained an audience from him, appeared before that prince in all his royal ornaments, except his diadem, and ſpoke to him with ſuch a ſeeming confidence,

His ſpeech to him.

as if he was ſure before-hand to obtain what he came for. He made no difficulty to own his former attachment to *Antony*'s intereſt, his aſſiſting him with men, arms, money, and other neceſſaries for the war; and even the counſel he had given him, after his defeat, of killing *Cleopatra* and ſeizing on her kingdom and immenſe treaſure, in order to obtain a more advantagious peace. All this, ſaid he, conclude- c
ing his ſpeech, I thought myſelf bound in honour, gratitude, and friendſhip, to do for *Antony*; but ſince he has rejected my laſt advice, and left me at liberty to make you a tender of my future ſervices, if you think them worth your acceptance, and can but forget what is paſt, you ſhall find me henceforth as ſincere and ſtedfaſt a friend to you, as I have been hitherto to your rival. An earneſt of which he had already given to the emperor in the timely ſuccour he had ſent to *Q. Didius*, his governor in *Syria*, againſt *Antony*'s gladiators (L). *Auguſtus* was very much taken both with his ſpeech and gallant behaviour: he had likewiſe been acquainted with the ſuccour he had ſent to *Didius*, and thanked him for it, aſſuring him, that he readily accepted

Herod's reward by him.

of his friendſhip, and confirmed the kingdom to him; in token of which, he ordered c
him to take up his diadem, and wear it before him. *Herod*, pleaſed with his good ſucceſs, made ſome preſents to *Auguſtus* and his favourites, according to his uſual profuſeneſs, and was from that time in greater eſteem with him than any other tributary prince; ſo that he returned to *Jeruſalem* highly ſatisfied with theſe additions of honour and power; but all this was ſoon ſoured by the ill reception he met with from his favourite *Mariamne* and her exaſperated mother [m].

Trial of Mariamne and her mother.

For theſe two princeſſes, looking upon their confinement at *Maſſada* only as a more honourable impriſonment, and remembering with horror the bloody orders he had formerly left with his uncle *Joſeph* concerning them, did not doubt, but he had given the ſame to their two new guardians. To be ſatisfied of it, they ſpared neither preſents c
nor careſſes, till they got the fatal ſecret from *Sohemus*, ſo that when *Herod* came to *Maſſada*, and was going to embrace the queen with his uſual tenderneſs, and to acquaint her with his ſucceſs, he was ſurprized to find all his careſſes anſwered with ſighs, and tears, and all other marks of grief and diſdain. His reſentment roſe to ſuch a height, that it extorted from him the bittereſt reproaches, accompanied with ſuch threatenings, as would have alarmed any woman but her. But his love, which was no leſs violent, ſeldom ſuffered thoſe ſallies of anger to be long-lived; till his mother and ſiſter, tired and affrighted to ſee him ſtill floating between thoſe oppoſite paſſions, found out a way to work her effectual ruin, by raiſing the vileſt ſurmiſes and calumnies againſt her unſpotted character.

In

[l] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 9. [m] Ibid. c. 10.

(L) Theſe were an abject race, whom *Antony* had brought up at *Cæſarea* to exhibit triumphant ſports: and theſe, when they heard of his defeat, determined to go into *Egypt* to his aſſiſtance. They had fought their way through ſeveral provinces in their march thither. *Didius* was the firſt who put a ſtop to their progreſs, being privately aſſiſted by *Herod* with ſome troops; and at length prevailed upon them to quit their gladiatorical employment, after they had waited a long time in vain for *Antony*'s joining them (5).

(5) *Antiq. ubi ſupra*, c. 10.

a In the mean time, *Auguſtus* paſſing through *Syria* in his way to *Egypt*, *Herod*, who went to meet him as far as *Ptolemais*, entertained him and his army with incredible magnificence; and, beſides a preſent that he made to him of eight hundred talents, took care to furniſh his army with bread, wine, and other proviſions, as they marched through ſome barren deſarts, where they might have been otherwiſe in danger of wanting even bread and water. He accompanied him as far as *Peluſium*, and that emperor was ſo charmed with his politeneſs and generoſity, that he made him ride by his ſide, whenever he went to review his troops, or upon any diverſion. He gave him the ſame magnificent reception, upon his return from *Egypt*, as he paſſed through *Syria*; in return of which, *Auguſtus* made him a preſent of the four thouſand *Gauls*, which b had ſerved as life-guards to *Cleopatra*, and reſtored to him the territories and revenues of *Jericho*, *Gadara*, *Hippon*, and *Samaria*, in the inlands, and thoſe of *Gaza*, *Anthedon*, *Joppa*, and the tower of *Straton* on the ſea-ſide, which made a conſiderable inlargement both to his kingdom and revenues. But, upon his return to *Jeruſalem*, he relapſed into his former diſcontent and jealouſies, on account of his beloved queen, whoſe averſion to him did daily increaſe, inſomuch, that ſhe came at laſt to treat him with ſuch contempt, and accompanied it with ſuch bitter reflections, as eaſily convinced him, that ſhe had conceived an irreconcileable hatred againſt him. She gave him a mortifying inſtance of it ſoon after, and ſuch a one as haſtened her death, by giving her enemies an opportunity of taking the blackeſt means for puſhing his fury againſt her c to the higheſt pitch.

His magnificent reception of Auguſtus.

Mariamne's averſion to him.

Herod, who had by this time floated near a year between the moſt violent affection and reſentment, had withdrawn himſelf into his chamber to reſt himſelf during the heat of the day; he ſent for her, and in the kindeſt manner invited her to lie down by him; but ſhe, inſtead of complying with this laſt requeſt, returned his careſſes with invincible ſcorn, upbraided him with all the other wrongs he had done to her and her family, and particularly the death of her father and brother, which ſo exaſperated that fierce monarch, that he was on the point of killing her with his own hands. *Salome* did not let this opportunity ſlip of putting her helliſh engines at work againſt that unfortunate princeſs: ſhe had corrupted the king's cup-bearer before-hand to be ready on d the firſt call with one of the blackeſt accuſations againſt her; and now ſhe ſent him to *Herod*, with a poiſoned cup in one hand, and a ſum of money in the other, to acquaint him, that *Mariamne* had bribed him with the one to adminiſter the other to him. The rage this new accuſation threw him in, made him order one of her favourite eunuchs and confidents to be put to the rack; but all the confeſſion he could extort from him was, that he believed the cruel orders, he had lately left with *Sohemus*, had exaſperated that princeſs againſt him (M). *Herod*, inraged that a perſon, in whom he repoſed ſo great confidence, ſhould dare, in ſpight of his expreſs commands to the contrary, to diſcloſe ſo important a ſecret, was eaſily perſuaded that there muſt have been ſome criminal converſation between them, and therefore ordered that favourite e to be put to immediate death. As for *Mariamne*, he reſolved to have her publicly tried, and having packed up a ſet of judges of his own creatures, he himſelf carried on the proſecution with ſuch violence, that they eaſily underſtood they muſt condemn her to death, though they all hoped and begged that he would not precipitate their ſentence, but confine her to ſome caſtle, till he had more maturely conſulted with his own heart. But *Salome*, who knew how apt her brother was to relapſe, and fearing ſome diſcovery might come out of her treachery to her, if her death ſhould be delayed, did at length obtain an order from him for her execution, under pretence, that the nation would riſe up in arms for her, if he ſuffered her to live any longer.

She is falſely accuſed.

Tried and condemned to die.

f *Mariamne* received the fatal ſummons with an heroic courage, becoming her exalted virtue and quality, and marched to the place of execution with incredible ſerenity, till an accident befel her, which put her conſtancy to the ſevereſt trial. Her mother, the turbulent intriguing *Alexandra*, who expected nothing but to follow her in a ſhort time,

(M) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* (6) ſays, it was *Joſeph*, and not *Sohemus*, that betrayed the ſecret, and that it was not the eunuch, but *Mariamne* herſelf, who in a fit of reſentment upbraided the brutal king with it. But it is hardly probable, conſidering the puniſhment that ſhe had ſeen inflicted on *Herod*'s uncle for the like diſcovery, that *Mariamne* would have expoſed either of theſe to the effects of his fury.

Beſides, we cannot ſuppoſe, that either *Joſeph* or *Sohemus* would have ventured to diſcloſe the matter to her, without ſome previous promiſe of ſecrecy, and *Mariamne* was a princeſs of too ſtrict virtue and honour to have broke it upon any account.

(6) *ubi ſupra.*

time, could think on no better expedient to avert the impending ſtorm, than by trying to ingratiate herſelf to *Herod*, by inſulting her unfortunate daughter all the way ſhe was led to the fatal place; and not contented to load her with the bittereſt of reproaches, for her ingratitude and faithleſſneſs to the beſt of huſbands, ſhe made ſeveral offers to ſtrike her and pull her by her hair. *Mariamne* bore all her pretended reſentment without betraying any other change in her countenance, than an inward ſhame at ſo baſe an artifice, which proved, however, far enough from ſucceeding, as the ſequel will preſently ſhew. *Mariamne* ſubmitted to her death with the ſame conſtancy and intrepidity as ſhe had lived [n], and with her ended all the happineſs of her tyranic huſband.

Her death.

Herod's rage being ſoon quenched with the blood of that amiable princeſs, his love broke out the more fiercely, and filled him with ſuch pungent remorſe, that his life became a burthen to him. He tried in vain to divert his grief with feaſtings and other diverſions; *Mariamne* was ſtill uppermoſt in his thoughts, he called aloud after her, and ſometimes would order thoſe of his attendance to fetch her to him. A grievous peſtilence, which happened ſoon after and ſwept away multitudes of people of all ranks, added a freſh load to his miſery, becauſe it was univerſally looked upon as a juſt judgment on him for all the blood he had ſhed, and eſpecially that of his injured queen. At firſt he withdrew himſelf into ſome of the neighbouring deſarts, under pretence of hunting, but really to avoid the ſight of men. At length being ſeized with a violent diſtemper in his bowels, he returned to *Samaria*, where his phyſicians tried in vain to give him ſome eaſe; their medicines did but increaſe his pain, through his wilfulneſs and irregular living. His conſtitution did, however, get the better of his diſeaſe, but never could of his ſour and brutiſh humour, to which he abandoned himſelf more and more, as he recovered his health and ſtrength. He grew up at length to ſuch a height of cruelty, that he ſpared neither friend nor foe in his fits of rage, and went on ſacrificing numbers of his relations and beſt friends to his paſſion, even to the day of his death.

Herod's *remorſe.*

A grievous plague.

Year of the flood 2971. *Before Chriſt* 28.

Alexandra, the baſe and unnatural mother of the late virtuous *Mariamne*, was one of the very firſt that fell a victim to his rage after her injured daughter. The hopes of *Herod*'s death, while he lay ſick at *Samaria*, had made her ſet her wits to work to corrupt the governors of the two principal fortreſſes of *Judæa*, the one called *Antonia* near the temple, and the other in the city of *Jeruſalem*, to deliver them up into her hands (N), together with *Herod*'s children, pretending thereby to ſecure the kingdom for his ſons by *Mariamne* in caſe of their father's death. But her reſtleſs and intriguing genius was ſo well known to thoſe governors, that, inſtead of complying with her requeſt, they informed the king with it, who ſent orders back to have her immediately put to death, which was accordingly done without further trial. The next was his brother-in-law *Coſtobares*, who was an *Idumæan* and had married *Salome*, after *Herod* had put her firſt huſband to death, as we have related above. This man, whom *Herod* had raiſed from an inferior rank (O) to the government of *Idumæa*, had juſtly incurred his diſpleaſure, by endeavouring to make himſelf and that province independent from him, and applying to *Cleopatra* for aſſiſtance. *Herod* would have put him to immediate death, had not *Salome* interpoſed; but ſhe, being ſince fallen out with, and willing to get rid of, him, firſt ſent him a bill of divorce; and to juſtify that unlawful action to her brother (P), told him, that ſhe had diſcovered a treaſonable deſign, which was

Alexandra *put to death.*

Salome *divorces her huſband.*

Year of the flood 2973. *Before Chriſt* 26.

[n] Ibid. c. 11.

(N) Theſe two fortreſſes were juſtly looked upon as the two main keys of the kingdom, the one commanding the temple, and the other the city; ſo that it was of utmoſt conſequence to the candidates for the crown to be maſters of them, or at leaſt of the firſt of them; for the *Jews* had ſuch an invincible attachment to the worſhip of the temple, that there was ſcarce any thing, even life itſelf, which they would not ſacrifice to the liberty of coming to that ſacred place, at all proper times and ſolemnities.

(O) He was deſcended from the ancient prieſts of *Choſe*, a deity of the *Idumæans*, before they were forced by *Hyrcan* I. to embrace the *Jewiſh* religon. This deity is not unrightly ſuppoſed to be the חוזה or *ſeer*, prophet or law-giver of the *Hebrews* (7); for if we may believe *Epiphanius* (8), both the *Idumæans* and *Arabs* of *Arabia Petrea* did worſhip *Moſes*, and paid divine honours to his ſtatue.

(P) According to the *Moſaic* law, the huſbands alone were permitted to divorce their wives, but not the wife the huſband (9). However, *Salome*, relying on her brother's friendſhip and her own politic head, aſſumed that prerogative, which no *Jewiſh* woman, that we know of, had ever done before.

(7) *Calmet. Hiſt. vet. teſt ſub A. M.* 3976. (8) *Hæreſ.* 55. (9) *Vid. Deuter.* xxiv. 1, *& ſeq. Matt.* xix. 3, *& ſeq. Mark* x. 2, *& ſeq. Maimon. de repud.*

a was carried on by her husband in conjunction with *Lysimachus*, *Dositheus*, and *Antipater*; and, as a proof of it, told him, that he privately kept the sons of *Babas* (Q) under his protection, contrary to his express commands; all which *Herod* having found true, he ordered them all to be put to death.

Herod, having by this time rid himself of the *Asmonean* race and of their most considerable partisans, began now to shew a greater disregard to the *Jewish* religion than he had hitherto ventured to do, by abolishing several of its ceremonies, and introducing some foreign customs, which were forbidden by it. He began with building a stately theatre in the city, and a spacious amphitheatre in its suburbs, and ordered public games to be celebrated in them, every fifth year, in honour of *Augustus*; and,
b to draw the greater concourse to them, he caused them to be proclaimed, not only in the neighbouring provinces, but in the most distant kingdoms, and promised magnificent prizes to those that should gain the victory. Besides great numbers of the most expert musicians, players, coursers, gladiators, *&c.* which he had sent for thither, he caused also some of the fiercest wild beasts to be brought and fought upon the stage; all which did not a little displease the zealous *Jews*, who thought it unlawful and inhuman to expose men to the fury of wild beasts. But what exasperated them most were, the trophies, with which he had caused those sumptuous places to be adorned, and which they, mistaking for statues, thought contrary to their law, which forbids all kinds of imagery, whether carved or even painted. They there-
c fore cried out against him, that he had profaned their city, and that they would never tamely bear such idolatrous monuments to be set up in it. *Herod* tried in vain to undeceive them by fair speeches; he was forced at length to lead some of the principal of them to the place, and to order the armour of the trophies to be taken down, and thereby to convince them, that there was nothing under them but bare posts. This demonstration did indeed satisfy them as to this one point, and turned their outcries into laughter; but the generality of the nation retained such an aversion against him, upon the account of his other heathenish novelties, that they looked no longer upon him as a *Jewish* king, but as a heathen and a tyrant

Ten of the boldest of them took it at last into their heads to enter the theatre with
d daggers hid under their cloaths, and either to stab the king or some of his retinue, not doubting but even their perishing in the attempt would render the tyrant still more odious. They were not mistaken; for *Herod* being informed of their design by one of his spies, and causing the assassins to be put to a most excruciating death, the people were so exasperated against the informer, that they cut and tore him to pieces, and cast his flesh to the dogs. *Herod* tried in vain to discover the authors of this affront; he was at last forced to order some women to be put to the rack, and to extort from them the names of the principal of them, whom he caused likewise to be hurried to death, together with their innocent families. This last act of cruelty drove the *Jews* into such desperate hatred against him, that he expected nothing less
e than a general revolt; to prevent which he set about fortifying *Jerusalem*, rebuilding *Samaria* (R), and garisoning several other fortresses in *Judæa*, whose situation was most

Samaria *rebuilt.* *Year of the flood* 2976. *Year before Christ* 23.

(Q) These had been great sticklers for the *Asmonean* race, and, at the siege of *Jerusalem*, had strenuously opposed the opening of the gates to *Herod*, for which that prince, upon his taking of the city, had given charge to *Castobares* to secure them; but he had let them escape, and had excused the matter to him; but *Herod* finding now that he had sent them into an asylum and maintained them there, he put their protector, and as many of them as he could find, to death.

(R) We took notice in a former section, that this city, which had been destroyed by *Hyrcan*, had been in part rebuilt by *Gabinius* governor of *Syria*, and called from him *Gabiniana*; but, he being soon after turned out, it advanced no higher than a good large village. *Herod* therefore chose to finish that work, and to restore that place to its pristine splendor; because, being but one day's journey, or thirty-five miles, distant from *Jerusalem*, he could easily make it a place of retreat, in case of necessity.

He adorned it with magnificent buildings, fortified it with walls and towers, and invited six thousand foreigners to come and settle there, who, finding the soil very fertile, became very rich in a short time. He gave it the name of *Sebaste*, which signifies the same in *Greek* as doth *Augustus* in *Latin*.

The other places which he fortified and garisoned were, the tower of *Straton*, which he called *Cæsarea*, in honour of the emperor, and made it so strong, that it seemed to command the whole country. He built likewise another strong fortress in the midst of a plain, and put in it a garison of horse. A third he built in *Galilee*, named *Gabala*; and a fourth in *Esthmonitis* in *Perea*; all which, being also well stored with arms and provisions, were a great check to the whole kingdom (11).

But he bestowed the most cost on his new *Sebaste*, to which he allowed a circuit of twenty stades, or two miles and a half. In the centre of it was a spacious square of about a stade and a half, and in the middle a stately temple. In a word, he spared no cost to render it one of the richest and most beautiful cities of his realm, and looked upon it as his favourite master-piece (12).

(11) *Idem ibid.*

(12) *Antiq l.* xv. *c.* 13.

moſt likely to keep the country in awe [n], and whoſe names the reader may find at the end of the laſt note.

Judæa viſited with famine and peſtilence.

About the ſame time, which was the thirteenth year of his reign, *Judæa* was viſited with a grievous drought, which brought on a famine, and ended in a raging peſtilence, of which great multitudes died daily for want of proper help and ſuſtenance. *Herod*, whoſe treaſury was exhauſted, by building ſo many cities and fortreſſes, and whoſe finances were reduced to the loweſt ebb, through the famine and death of his ſubjects, was forced to melt down all his plate, and to ſend it down into *Egypt*, to procure a freſh ſupply of proviſions, in order to ſtop the mouths of the people, who, as is uſual in ſuch calamities, threw all the odium of them upon him. The drought having likewiſe killed ſuch numbers of their cattle, that they had not wooll b ſufficient left to cloath themſelves againſt the approaching winter, he took care alſo to procure a ſufficient ſupply of it betimes; and *Petronius*, the *Roman* prefect then in *Egypt*, notwithſtanding the multitudes of people who applied to him from other provinces for the ſame things, did ſo far befriend him, as to ſend him a ſufficient quantity of them; which *Herod* cauſed to be immediately diſtributed among his ſubjects, but to the *Jews* preferably to any of the reſt. This generoſity did, for the preſent, change their hatred into admiration, and his praiſes were for a while the main ſubject of their diſcourſe; but as he ſoon relapſed into his cruel and ſavage humour, ſo their love was ſoon turned into hatred again, which continued to his death. However, his prudent liberality having ſtored the country with plenty of c corn, and the long drought being ſucceeded by more refreſhing ſeaſons, they began to cultivate their lands again, and found them, to their great comfort, reſtored to their former fecundity [o].

Relieved by Herod's generoſity.

As ſoon as the land had recovered itſelf from the late calamity, *Herod* went on with his building (S), particularly his ſtately palace near the temple of *Jeruſalem*, in which the gold, marble, cedar, and other precious materials, ſeemed to outvie one another. There were in it, among other apartments, two magnificent ones, to the one of which he gave the name of *Auguſtus*, and to the other that of *Agrippa*. At the ſame time he was not unmindful to ingratiate himſelf to the emperor, by more ſubſtantial ſervices than building of places to his honour; for *Gellius* having been ſent d with an army to attempt the conqueſt of *Arabia*, *Herod* failed not to ſend him very conſiderable ſuccours, and among the reſt five hundred of the ſtouteſt of his guards; and though that enterprize proved unſucceſsful to the *Romans* in a country where the air, water, and aliments, were as contrary to them as the temper of the people *, yet *Herod*'s aſſiſtance proved ſo uſeful and ſeaſonable to them, that *Cæſar* could not chuſe being highly pleaſed with it [p].

This very year alſo he married another *Mariamne*, who was the daughter of a *Jewiſh* prieſt of *Alexandria*, named *Simon*, the ſon of *Boethus*, and a woman of extraordinary beauty. To raiſe her father up to a condition fit for ſuch an alliance, he placed him upon the pontifical chair, after having diſpoſſeſſed *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Phabaus*, of that dignity. Soon after theſe nuptials, he went and built the magnificent palace of *Herodion*, on the place where he had formerly defeated the *Antigonians*. The ſituation of it was ſo inviting (T), that the *Jews* and other people gladly came and built round it; ſo that from a palace it ſoon became a conſiderable city [q]. In a word, he ſpared no coſt to leave every-where ſome monuments of his unmeaſured magnificence, as well in *Judæa* as out of it; but with this difference, that thoſe in *Judæa*

n Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 11. o Ibid. c. 12. * De hoc bell. vide Strabo. l. xvi. p Ant. ubi ſupra, & bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 16. q Antiq. ubi ſupra, & l. xviii. c. 7. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 11 & 16. Vide & Plin. hiſt. l. v. c. 14.

(S) Amongſt them, that of *Cæſarea*, mentioned in the laſt note, was the moſt magnificent next to *Sebaſte*. He beſtowed twelve years in the finiſhing and adorning of it. It ſtood on the coaſt of *Phœnice*, and was very convenient for trade, but had till then a very dangerous harbour, ſo that no ſhips could be ſafe in it when the wind was at ſouth-weſt. *Herod* remedied this inconveniency at an immenſe labour and charge, and made it one of the moſt convenient havens on that coaſt. He beautified alſo the place with ſtately buildings. The reader may ſee in *Joſephus* (13) a full account of this immenſe work, and of many others, in other places erected by that prince; which, joined to his profuſe munificence, juſtly gained him the ſurname of *Great*.

(T) This ſtately building ſtood on a pleaſant hill, about ſeven miles from *Jeruſalem*, and had the proſpect as well as command of all the country round about. The gradual declivity of it was no leſs beautiful. The reader may ſee it deſcribed, as well as the city, by the authors quoted above.

(13) *Idem ibid.*

a *Judæa* were not adorned, as the reſt were, with temples and other buildings, with ſtatues and other carvings, which he knew the *Jews* would never have borne with any patience; but as for thoſe which he built out of it, he gave himſelf all the ſcope which either his pride, or deſire of pleaſing the *Romans*, could inſpire him with; for all which he had a ſalvo ready, namely, that he did in all this only obey, and even much againſt his will, the orders of the emperor, who had a right to command him.

By this time *Herod* ſeemed to be at the height of all his wiſhes; his being in ſuch high eſteem with *Auguſtus* made him either loved or feared by his ſubjects and neighbours; and therefore, that he might cultivate that prince's favour ſtill more, he ſent his two favourite ſons, whom he had by *Marianne*, and who were grown up by this time, to be educated under his eye. Herod *ſends his two ſons to* Rome.

b *Pollio*, his intimate friend, was ordered to provide a ſtately houſe at *Rome*; but the emperor took that care off his hands, and aſſigned them apartments in his own palace; and ſo well pleaſed was he with the confidence which their father put in him, that he gave him full power to name which of them he pleaſed to be his ſucceſſor. He likewiſe added ſeveral provinces to his kingdom, whoſe names, as well as the occaſion of the gift, the reader will find in the margin (V). *Zenodorus*, from whom they had been taken, having tried in vain ſeveral ways to regain them from him, took the opportunity of the emperor's coming into *Syria*, to bring a deputation from the *Gadarenes* with him to *Antioch*, there to renew their complaints againſt *Herod*, and to accuſe him of oppreſſion, tyranny, and other ſuch crimes; and *Auguſtus* did ſeem to comply ſo far with their requeſt, that he ſet a day for *Herod*, who was there alſo, to make his defence before them; but, when he came to do it, the emperor betrayed ſuch viſible favour and partiality towards him, that his accuſers, fearing to be delivered up to his reſentment, choſe to diſpatch themſelves out of the world that very night; which they did, ſome by drowning, ſome by hanging themſelves, and other ſuch deſperate ways. *Zenodorus* in particular was ſo terrified by it, that he took a ſtrong doſe of poiſon, which quite corroded his bowels, and ended his life by the next morning[r].

Accuſed by Zenodorus.

And acquitted. Year of the flood 2978 *Before Chriſt* 21.

Auguſtus, however, ſtopped not his kindneſs here, but, looking upon the deſperate exit of *Herod*'s accuſers as a proof of his innocence and merit, appointed him his procurator in *Syria*, and forbid his governor there to undertake any thing without his knowledge and advice. At the ſame time *Herod* took this favourable opportunity to obtain a tetrarchy for his brother *Pheroras*, that he might live according to his birth, and without depending on his ſucceſſor's favour after his death (W). In acknowledgment for all theſe gifts, *Herod*, having accompanied the emperor to the ſea-port, built a ſumptuous temple in honour of him, all of fine white marble, near the *Panium*, or place whence the *Jordan* has its origin †. The vaſt number of edifices he built, and

c d

[r] Antiq. l. xv. c. 13. † De hoc vide ſupra, Vol. I. p. 577, (S), & 578, a.

(V) Theſe were the three diſtricts of *Trachonitis*, *Auranitis* or *Iturea*, and *Batanea*, which were ſituate between *Libanus* and *Perea*, on the other ſide of *Jordan* [14].

They were given to him on this occaſion; *Zenodorus*, tetrarch of a ſmall toparchy, had farmed theſe from *Varro* the then preſident of *Syria*, and ſuffered the inhabitants of it, who lived chiefly in rocks and caves, to make excurſions into all the neighbouring countries impunely. A complaint of this had been ſent by *Varro* to *Auguſtus*; upon which orders were brought back to him at any rate to extirpate thoſe robbers; and, for the more effectual doing of it, the emperor commanded him to take thoſe three toparchies from *Zenodorus*, and to put them under *Herod*, who, with his uſual ſucceſs, ſoon ferretted them out, and cleared the country of them.

Zenodorus, however, went to *Rome* to complain of the injuſtice done him in taking thoſe diſtricts from him; but the emperor, who had reaſon to ſuſpect that he had made a gain by protecting a vermin which he ought to have ſuppreſſed, would not ſo much as hear him.

Agrippa being ſoon after ſent into *Syria*, *Herod* went to meet him at *Mitylene*; and, ſoon after his return, *Zenodorus*, in hopes of meeting with better ſucceſs with him, ſtirred up the *Gadarenes* to come and proffer ſundry grievous complaints againſt him. But he found the new governor too well rooted in *Herod*'s intereſt to hear any accuſation againſt him; on the contrary, he ſent them bound to *Jeruſalem*, where *Herod*, hoping to gain them by fair uſage, ordered them to be ſet at liberty.

Zenodorus, thus diſappointed again, went and ſold the territories of *Auranitis* to the *Arabs* for fifty talents; ſo that a war was like to have enſued between *Herod* and them, they being deaf to all his offers for ending the diſpute in an amicable way (15), when *Auguſtus*'s coming in a lucky time decided the controverſy in his favour, as has been ſeen above.

(W) *Joſephus* does not tell us where this tetrarchy was ſituate; but, by what we find in another place (16), it ſeems to have been beyond *Jordan*, and at ſome diſtance from *Jeruſalem*.

(14) *De his conf. Luc.* iii. 1. *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* xvii. *c.* 7. *St. Jerom. & Euſeb. loc. Hebr. & al.*
(15) *Vide Antiq. ubi ſupra, c.* 13. (16) *Ibid. l.* xvii. *c.* 5.

and adorned with carvings and other imagery, which the *Jews* looked upon as a
deſtructive of religion and good manners, did ſo exaſperate them againſt him, that
he was forced to remit them a third part of their yearly tribute. His pretence indeed
was, that the laſt grievous dearth, which had greatly impoveriſhed the land, required
this largeſs from him; but, at the bottom, it was the murmurs and private meet-
ings of the people, which were now more frequent than ever, that extorted it from
him, in hopes that it would in ſome meaſure allay the ſourneſs of their ſpirits.
However, to let them ſee, that he was neither inſenſible of their mutinous cabals, nor
afraid to put a ſtop to them, he iſſued out an edict, expreſly forbidding all public and
private aſſemblies, whether on account of feaſts, or any other pretence, under the
ſevereſt penalties. But as he not only had his ſpies every-where, but did ſometimes b
mix himſelf among them in diſguiſe, he quickly found all theſe precautions were like
to prove to little purpoſe to keep the people in obedience. This made him bethink
himſelf of exacting an oath of fidelity from them; but this new impoſition was ſo
ſtrenuouſly refuſed by *Pollio*, or *Hillel*, and *Shamai*, at the head of the whole ſect of
Eſſenians, and by all the chiefs of the *Phariſees*, that he was forced to ſet it aſide,
without venturing to ſhew any reſentment againſt thoſe that had oppoſed him in it,
for fear of exaſperating the whole nation againſt him [a].

Propoſes the rebuilding of the temple.

He fell ſoon after upon a much better expedient to quiet them, and at the ſame
time to ſatisfy his invincible itch of eterniſing his memory, by the number and magni-
ficence of his buildings. The great attachment which they had for their temple made c
him conceive the hopes, that his rebuilding of it, in a more ſtately manner, would
not fail to recommend him, not only to the preſent *Jews*, but alſo to poſterity. The
difficulty was, to convince them of his being both willing and able to rear ſuch a
coſtly edifice, after he had pulled down the old one; and this he did in a ſet ſpeech,
which he made to their aſſembly, wherein, with his uſual eloquence, he failed not to
diſplay his zeal for the glory of God and for the promoting of his religion. Among
other things he reminded them how vaſtly inferior that ſacred place now was to that
which had been formerly built by *Solomon* (X); but this, he told them, was rather
to be imputed to the want of ability in thoſe that returned from *Babylon*, than to their
want of zeal; but now that God was pleaſed not only to raiſe him to the *Jewiſh*
throne, but to bleſs him with peace, plenty, affluence, and with the friendſhip of the d
Romans, he thought himſelf bound to make ſome ſignal acknowledgment to him for
all theſe bleſſings, and hoped, that the rebuilding of his temple in the manner he
propoſed, could not but be acceptable both to him and them; but as he found them
very much heſitating at the difficulty, length, and expenſiveneſs of ſuch a work, he
was forced to engage not to move a ſtone from the old edifice, till he had prepared
all the materials for the new. As ſoon as he had gained their conſent (Y), he ſet
immediately ten thouſand workmen to work, under the direction of a thouſand
prieſts, the beſt ſkilled in carving, maſonry, *&c.* all whom he kept under his pay.
One thouſand carts were likewiſe employed in fetching all the materials; and, in a
word, e

[a] Antiq. ubi ſupra.

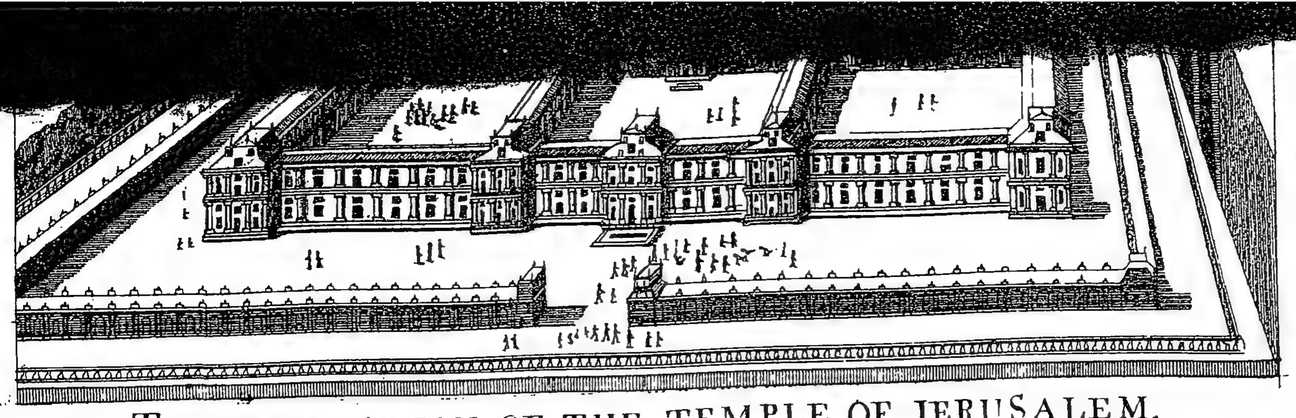
(X) *Joſephus* makes him ſay here (17), that the preſent temple was lower by ſixty cubits than that of *Solomon*; which cannot be underſtood of the holy place, which we are told (18), was but thirty cubits high; whereas that built after the captivity, was, by *Cyrus*'s own grant, ſixty cubits high (19). If therefore there be no miſtake crept into the text, both *Herod* and the *Jewiſh* hiſtorians muſt probably ſpeak of ſome of the galleries, which might be ſo much higher in the firſt than in the ſecond temple. The reader may recur to what we have ſaid on the ſubject at the beginning of this †, and in the appendix to the firſt, volume.

(Y) This aſſembly ſeems to have been held about the time of the *Eaſter* ſolemnity, when there was the greateſt concourſe of *Jews* at *Jeruſalem*; for *Joſephus* ſays it was in the eighteenth year of *Herod*'s reign; that is, as the learned *Uſher* obſerves, reckoning from the death of *Antigonus* (20), which happened not till about the *Midſummer* after his impriſonment; according to which, reckoning the nineteenth year of *Herod* not beginning till the nineteenth year before Chriſt, the ſix firſt months muſt have belonged to the eighteenth year of his reign, which brings it to the paſſover feaſt above-mentioned (21). We muſt not, however, look upon this building as a new temple, as diſtinct from that of *Zerubbabel* as that was from that of *Solomon*, but rather as the ſame rebuilt, inlarged, and adorned, upon the old foundation and with the ſame materials, as far as they could go. The very *Jews* themſelves ſtill looked upon it as the ſecond temple, and that which was to exceed that of *Solomon* in glory, by the preſence of the Meſſiah, according to the prophecy of *Haggai*; but, as we cannot inlarge on this ſubject, we ſhall refer the curious reader to the elaborate preface of *Conſtantine l'Empereur*, prefixed to his comment on the book of *Middoth*, where he will find that point diſcuſſed to his ſatisfaction.

(17) *Antiq. ubi ſupra, c.* 14. (18) 1 *Kings* vi. 2. (19) *Ezra* vi. 3. † *See p.* 6. (K).
(20) *Annal. ſub A. M.* 3987. (21) *Vide Prid. connect. ſub. A. C.* 19.



THE JEWISH PRIEST ON THE DAY OF EXPIATION.



THE ELEVATION OF THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM.

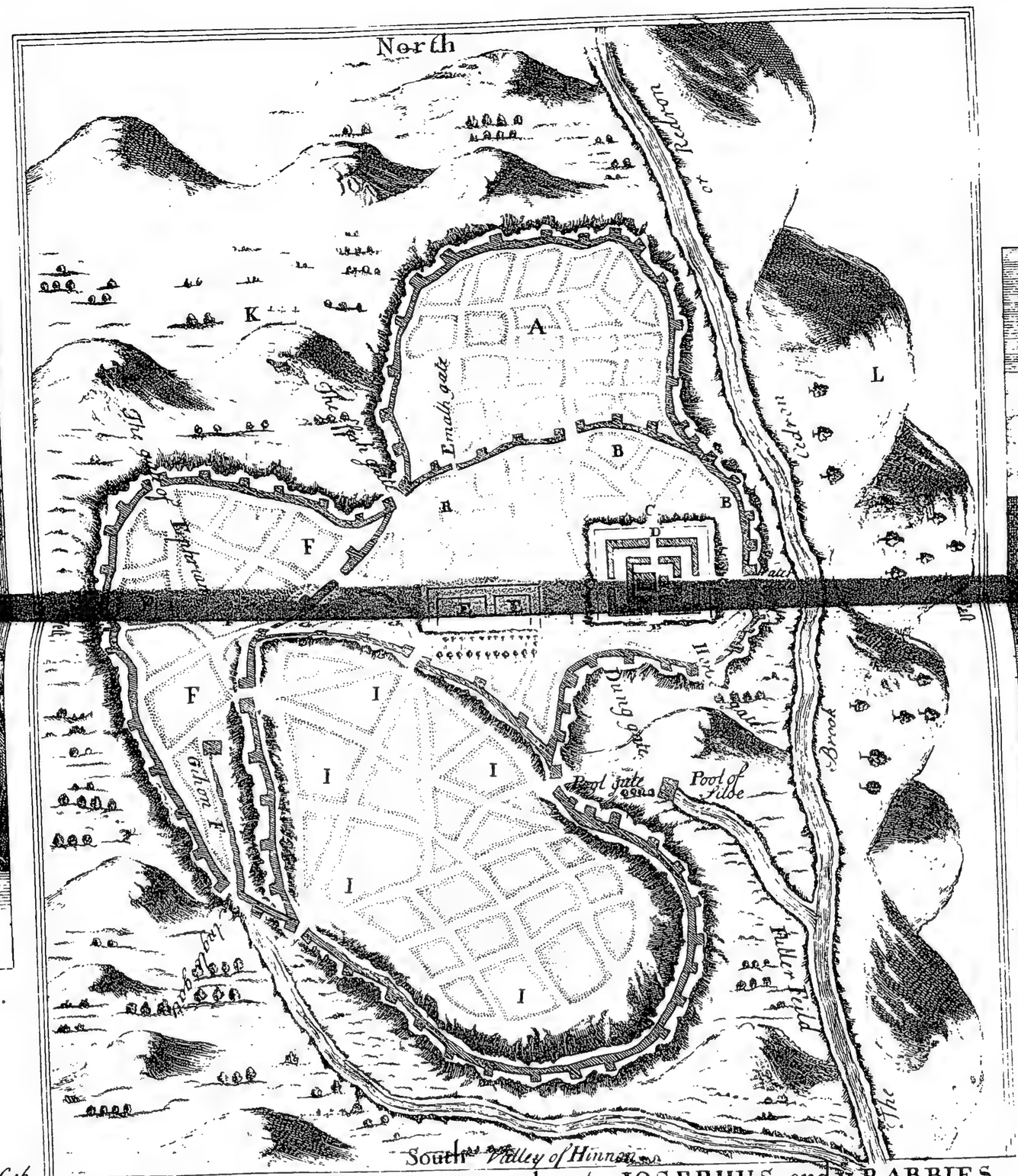


THE JEWISH HIGH PRIEST IN HIS PONTIFICAL HABIT.



THE GOLDEN CANDLESTIC.

A. *The new City built by the Maccabees.*
B. *The City of David.*
CC. *Mount Moriah.*
DD. *The Temple.*
EE. *The royal Palace.*
FF. *A new part of ye City built since Manasseh.*

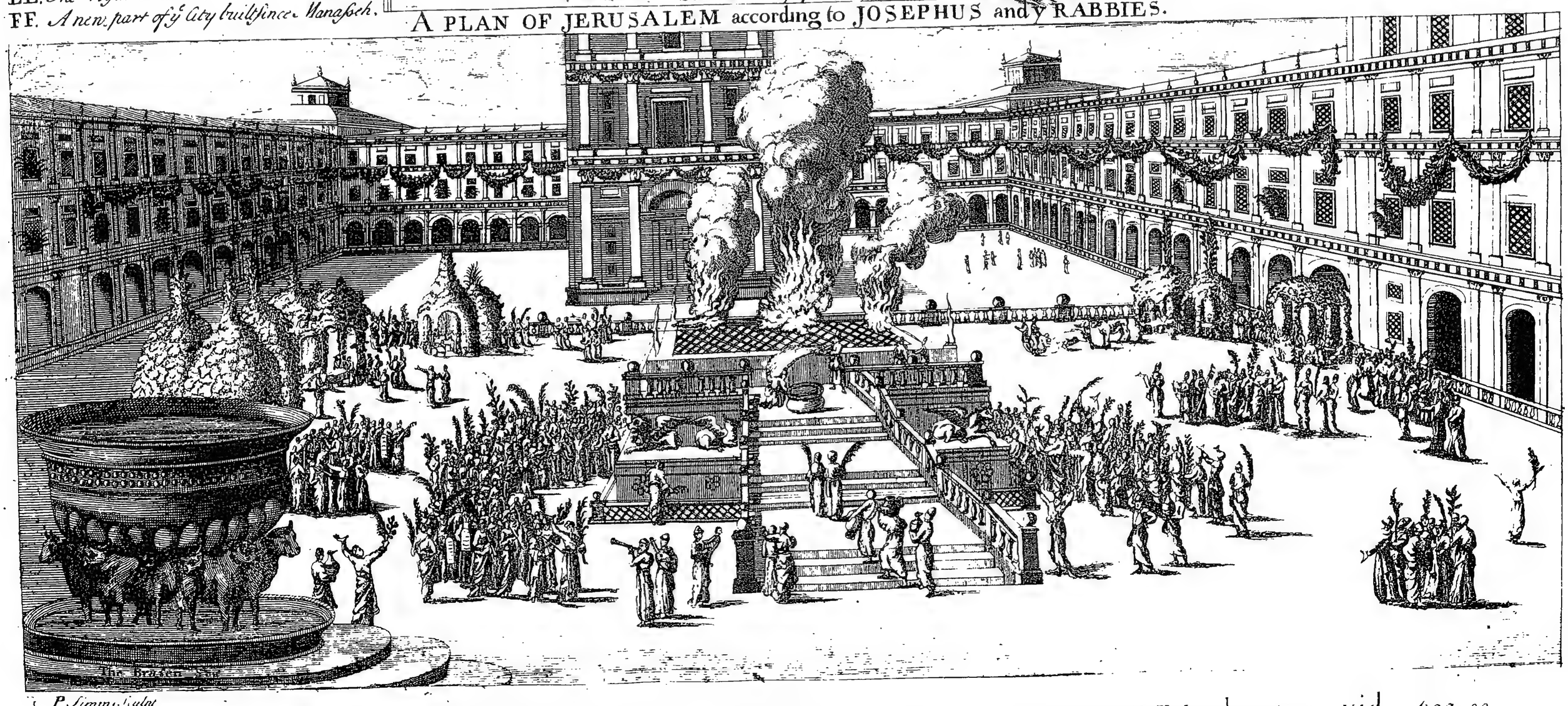


A PLAN OF JERUSALEM according to JOSEPHUS and ye RABBIES.



THE BRASEN LAVER.

GG. *The Fortress Millo.*
II. *The old City anciently called Jebus.*
K. *Mount Calvary.*
L. *The Mount of Olives.*

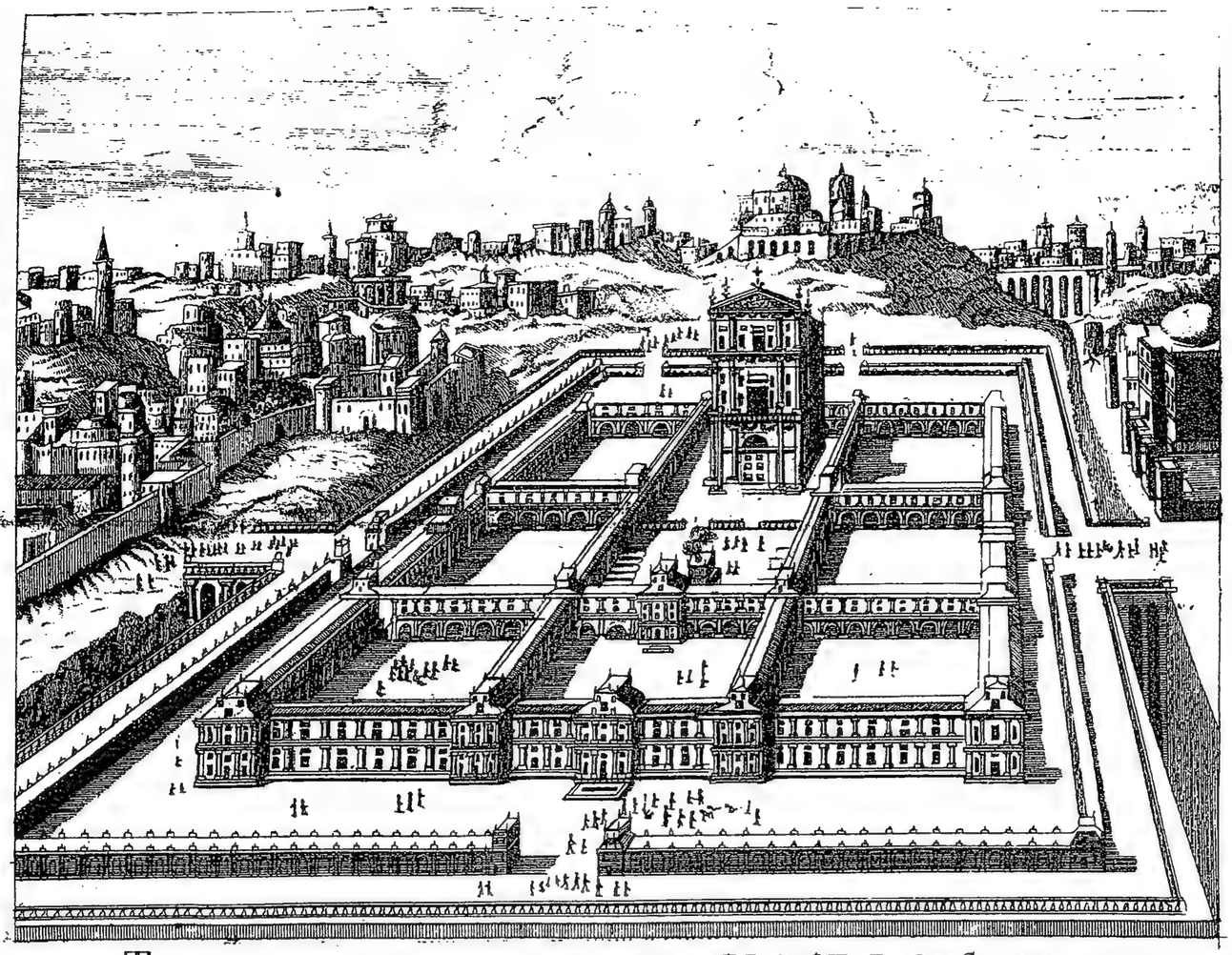


A VIEW OF THE INNER PORCH, ALTER &c. ON THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES. de quo vid *pag 99*

Vol. IV. over against page 145



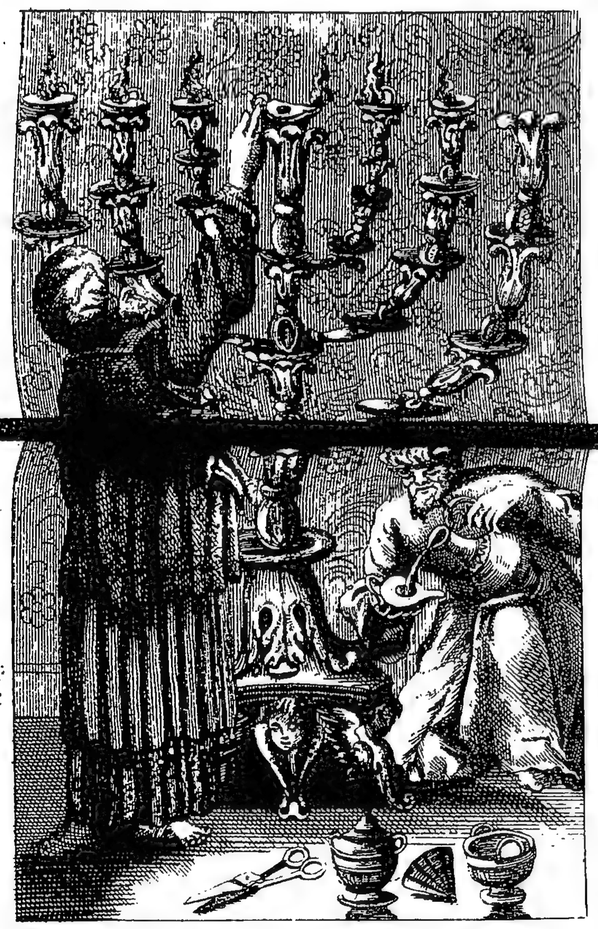
THE JEWISH PRIEST ON THE DAY OF EXPIATION.



THE ELEVATION OF THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM.

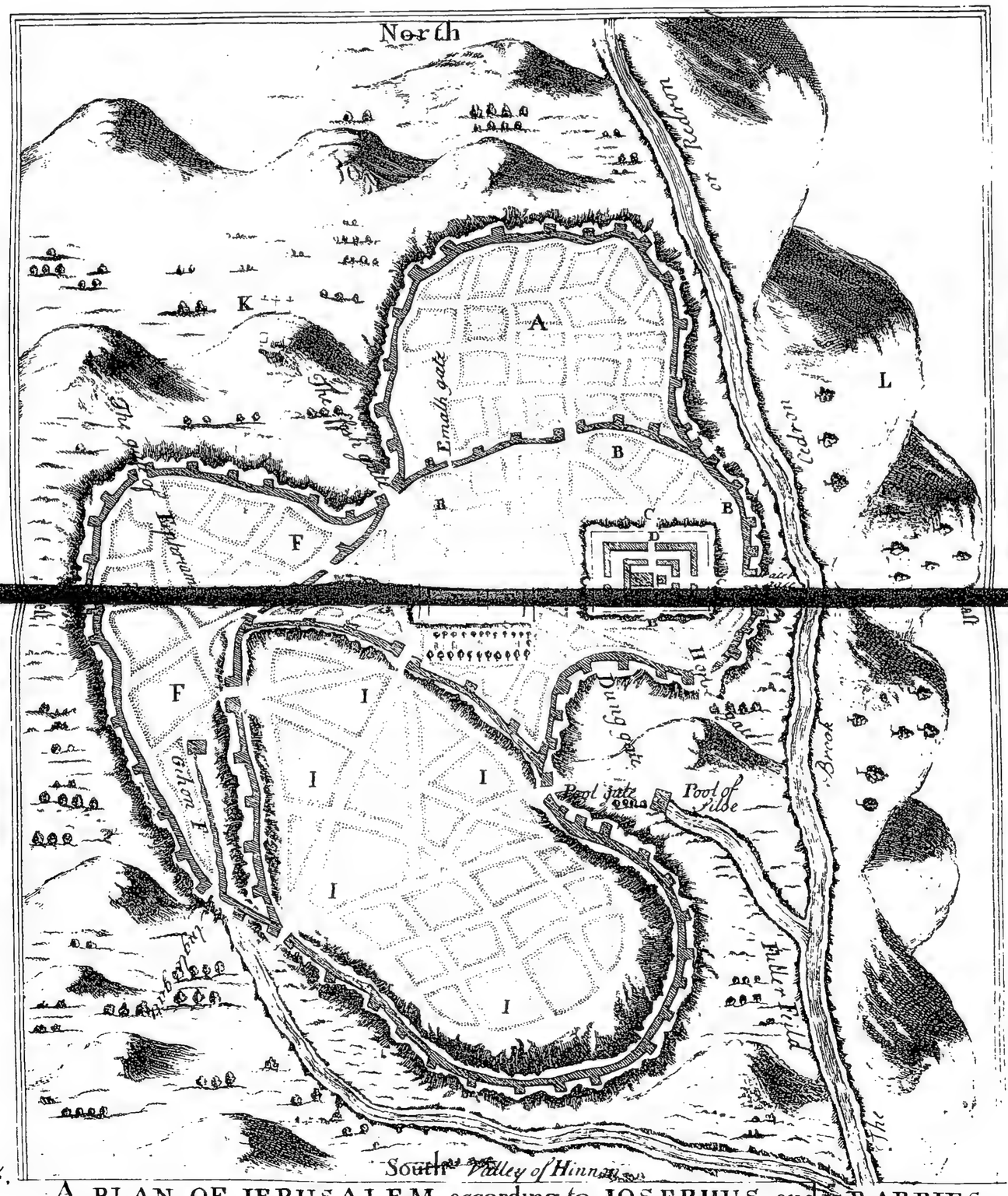


THE JEWISH HIGH PRIEST IN HIS PONTIFICAL HABIT.

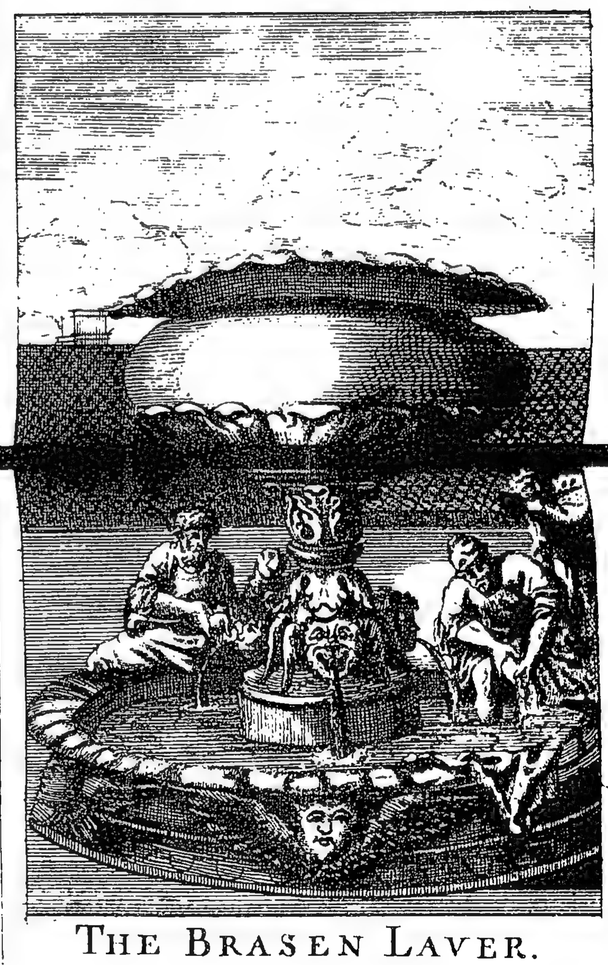


THE GOLDEN CANDLESTIC.

A. *The new City built by the Maccabees.*
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THE BRASEN LAVER.

GG. *The Fortress Millo.*
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L. *The Mount of Olives.*



a word, ſuch a number of hands was employed and ſuch expedition uſed, that he got every thing ready within the ſpace of two years, after which they ſet about pulling down the old building, and with the ſame diſpatch rearing the new one; ſo that the holy place, or temple properly ſo called, was finiſhed in a year and a half's time; during which, we are told [t], it never rained in the day-time, but only in the night. The remainder took up a little above eight years, by which time it was, if not wholly finiſhed (Z), yet made fit for divine ſervice, according to the king's firſt deſign. The temple, properly ſo called, or holy place, was but ſixty cubits high, and as many in breadth; but in the front he added two wings or ſhoulders, which projected twenty cubits more on each ſide; which made a front of one hundred and twenty
b cubits in length, and as many in heighth, with a gate ſeventy cubits high and twenty in breadth, but open and without any doors [u]. The ſtones were white marble, twenty-five cubits in length, twelve in heighth, and nine in breadth, all wrought and poliſhed with exquiſite beauty, the whole reſembling a ſtately palace, whoſe middle being conſiderably raiſed above the extremities of each face, made it afford a beautiful viſto at a great diſtance to thoſe that came to that metropolis (A). Inſtead of doors, the gates cloſed with very coſtly veils, inriched with variety of flowering of gold, ſilver, purple, and every thing that was rich and curious; and on each ſide of the gates were planted two ſtately columns, from whoſe corniſhes did hang gold feſtoons, and vines, with their cluſters of grapes, leaves, *&c.* curiouſly
c wrought. As for the galleries that ſurrounded this ſacred place, the porticoes, towers, courts, and other embelliſhments of it, we do not deſign to ſwell this ſection with them, but give a ſhort ſketch of them in the margin (B), and refer our readers for a fuller

The building finiſhed with wonderous ſpeed and magnificence.

[t] Ibid. c. ult. [u] Bell. Judaic. l. vi. c. 6.

(Z) *Joſephus* ſhews us in another place (22), that the whole was ſtill continued till the beginning of the *Jewiſh* war under *Gellius Florus*, when eighteen thouſand workmen being diſmiſſed and like to be idle, the *Jews*, unwilling their treaſure ſhould be laid up to become a prey to the *Romans*, petitioned the king (*Agrippa*) to build the eaſtern porch, which incloſed the moſt outward parts of the temple; but the king having refuſed their ſuit; thoſe men, for want of work, began to raiſe thoſe ſeditions which haſtened the deſtruction both of the city and temple; ſo that it is plain, ſome part of that building had been ſtill carried on till this time.

And hence that ſaying of the *Jews* to Chriſt, Forty and ſix years hath this temple been hitherto building; for ſo the text ought to be read, according to the import of the aoriſt there uſed by the evangeliſt (23); and indeed ſo long a time had elapſed, from the beginning of the building to the firſt paſſover after Chriſt had entered into his miniſtry, at which time the *Jews* were objecting this to him (24).

(A) This ſuperſtructure, which was probably reared on the old foundation, without ſufficient additions to it, proved, as *Joſephus* tells us (25), too heavy for it, and ſunk down about twenty cubits; ſo that it was reduced to the heighth of one hundred. A project was ſet on foot for raiſing it again to its former heighth in *Nero*'s time; but, upon ſome account or other, it was ſet aſide.

(B) We have already ſpoken in a former volume † of the foundations of this ſtupendous work, ſome of whoſe walls were raiſed from the deep valley beneath, to the heighth of three hundred cubits and upwards, and ſome of the ſtones of it forty cubits long, all faſtened to each other with lead and iron, to be proof againſt time, wind, and weather. The platform was a regular ſquare of a ſtade or furlong on each ſide; and in that deſcription we gave of the ſuperſtructure *, we confined ourſelves to what the ſacred writers had ſaid of it, without introducing the vaſt additions that had been made ſince by *Herod* and his ſucceſſors.

Since then we have two accounts of *Herod*'s temple, the one written by *Joſephus* (26), who had been a curious viewer of it; the other by *Jehudah Hakkodeſh* (27), the compiler of the *Talmud*, above one hundred and twenty years after its deſtruction by the *Romans*. From theſe the authors quoted in the margin (28) have reared each their ſeparate edifices, diſpoſed, beautified, and adorned them more by the ſtrength of their imagination, than by any ſuperior knowledge they had of the authors they copied from; though, with reſpect to even theſe, whoever conſiders their ſwollen ſtyle, will be apt to look upon their accounts of that building, rather as panegyrics, than hiſtorical deſcriptions of it. However, if either is to be preferred to the other; *Joſephus*, who had both ſeen it and deſcribed it ſoon after, if not before, its deſtruction, when he might have been contradicted by numbers, who had viewed it as well as he, is certainly more to be credited than the *Talmudiſts*, who wrote ſo long after, and when they were ſure there was none left to gain-ſay them. From him therefore we ſhall endeavour to give the beſt and ſhorteſt ſketch and plan of that ſtately work, which is as follows:

Each front of this ſquare, which, as we hinted above, was a furlong long, had a ſpacious gate or entrance, inriched with ſuitable ornaments; but that on the weſt had four gates, the one of which led to the palace, the next to the city, and the two others to the ſuburbs and fields. This incloſure was ſurrounded on the outſide with a ſtrong and high wall of large ſtones, well cemented; and on the inſide had, on each front, a ſtately piazza or gallery, ſupported by columns of ſuch bigneſs, that three men could but juſt embrace them, their circumfe-
rence

(22) *Vide Antiq. l.* xx. *c.* 8. (23) *John* ii. 20. (24) *Vide Uſſer. ſub A. M.* 3987. (25) *Antiq. ubi ſupra.* † *Vol.* I. *p.* 795, (I). * *Appen. to Vol.* I. *p.* 2, *&* *ſeq.* (26) *Ibid. & bell. Judaic. l.* vi. *c.* 6. *& alib. paſſ.* (27) *Miſhna Jeph Middoth.* (28) *Villalpand. Capell. L'empereur, Grot. Le Clerc, Lamy, Prideaux, Whiſton, Calmet, & al. mult.*

fuller account to *Joſephus*, the *Talmud*, and to ſuch other writers, as have been at the pains of compiling their ſeveral deſcriptions from them.

Herod goes to Rome.

Whilst the work of the temple was carrying on with ſuch ſurpriſing expedition, as raiſed the admiration of the *Jews*, *Herod* made a voyage to *Rome*, to pay his compliments to the emperor, and a paternal viſit to his two ſons. Perhaps alſo he did chuſe this time to be out of the hearing of ſome of the murmurings, which the zealous *Jews* raiſed againſt a law which he had lately made, to ſuppreſs the frequent incurſions and robberies which were committed in *Judæa*. By this law, it ſeems, he condemned every man that was found breaking through the walls of any houſe, to be ſold for a ſlave into foreign countries; and this had greatly diſpleaſed the nation, becauſe, contrary to that of *Moſes*, it made their ſlavery perpetual; whereas, had they been only ſold among their brethren, the ſabbatic or the jubilee year would have put an end to it. Another objection raiſed againſt that law was, that thoſe ſlaves would, in all likelihood, be tempted to forſake the *Jewiſh* religion and turn idolaters; upon which account it was ſtill more univerſally exclaimed againſt [x]. It is therefore likely, that *Herod*, who reſolved at any rate to ſuppreſs thoſe robbers, got out of the way, that he might not be importuned to repeal it. On his arrival at *Rome* (C), *Auguſtus* received him with all the marks of friendſhip, entertained him in the moſt ſumptuous manner, and delivered his ſons to him. *Herod* could not but be highly pleaſed to behold them ſo greatly improved under the care of that emperor. He acknowledged the favour in terms, and by preſents, anſwerable to the high ſenſe he had of the obligation, and, after a ſhort ſtay, took the two young princes with him back into *Judæa*. Here they were received with the loudeſt acclamations of the people, who could not forbear admiring their majeſtic port and behaviour, which, joined to the excellent education they had received in *Italy*, had rendered them in all reſpects truly accompliſhed princes. He married them ſoon after to ſuitable matches; *Alexander* to

Makes a ſevere law againſt robbers.

Marries his two ſons.

[x] Antiq. l. xvi. c. 1.

rence being about twenty ſeven feet. There were in all, one hundred and ſixty two of them, which ſupported a cedar ceiling of exquiſite workmanſhip, and formed three galleries, the middlemoſt of which was the largeſt and higheſt, it being forty-five feet in breadth and one hundred in heighth; whereas thoſe on each ſide were but thirty feet wide and fifty in heighth.

The piazza and court were paved with marble of various colours; and at a ſmall diſtance from the galleries was a ſecond incloſure, ſurrounded with a flight of beautiful marble rails, with ſtately columns at proper diſtances, on which were engraven certain admonitions in *Greek* and *Latin*, to forbid ſtrangers, and thoſe *Jews* that were not purified, to proceed further under pain of death. This incloſure had but one gate on the eaſt ſide, none on the weſt, but on the north and ſouth it had three, placed at equal diſtances from each other.

A third incloſure ſurrounded the temple, properly ſo called, and the altar of burnt offerings, and made what they called the court of the *Hebreees* or *Iſraelites*. It was ſquare like the reſt; but the wall on the outſide was ſurrounded by a flight of fourteen ſteps, which hid a conſiderable part of it; and on the top was a terrace of about twelve cubits in breadth, which went quite round the whole cincture. The eaſt ſide had but one gate, the weſt none, and the north and ſouth four, at equal diſtances. Each gate was aſcended to by five ſteps more, before one could reach the level of the inward court; ſo that the wall which incloſed it appeared within to be but twenty-five cubits high, tho' conſiderably higher on the outſide. On the inſide of each of thoſe gates were raiſed a couple of ſpacious ſquare chambers, in form of a pavilion, thirty cubits wide and forty in heighth, each ſupported by columns of twelve cubits circumference.

This incloſure had likewiſe a double flight of galleries on the inſide, ſupported by a double row of columns; but the weſtern ſide was only one continued wall, without gates or galleries. The women had likewiſe their particular courts ſeparate from that of the men, and one of the gates on the north and ſouth leading to it.

The altar of burnt offerings was likewiſe high and ſpacious, being forty cubits in breadth and fifteen in heighth. The aſcent to it was, according to the *Moſaic* law †, ſmooth and without ſteps, and the altar of unhewn ſtones. It was ſurrounded at a convenient diſtance round about with a low wall or rail, not above a cubit in heighth, which divided the court of the prieſts from that of the lay *Iſraelites*; ſo that theſe laſt were allowed to come thus far to bring their offerings and ſacrifices; but none but the prieſts were allowed to come within that incloſure. The reader will more eaſily underſtand this deſcription by the plan here ſubjoined, to which we have referred all the particulars under each paragraph by proper references.

All that needs be added here is, that *Herod* cauſed a new dedication of the whole to be performed with the utmoſt magnificence, and preſented to it many rich trophies of his former victories, after the cuſtom of the *Jewiſh* monarchs (29).

(C) *Joſephus* adds, that, in his way to *Rome*, he had the curioſity to ſtop at *Elis* to ſee the ſolemnity of the CXCIII olympiad; and that the poverty of the *Eleans* having ſunk the pomp and ſplendor of thoſe games, he ſettled a conſtant revenue on them, in order to reſtore them to their ancient luſtre (30).

The like piece of generoſity he ſhewed to the *Chians*, for whom he paid a large ſum, which they were indebted to *Cæſar*'s receivers; after which he gave them another ſum to rebuild their porticos, which had been demoliſhed in the wars (31).

† *Exod.* xx. 25, 26. (29) *Antiq. l.* xv. *c. ult. Bell. Judaic. l.* i. *c.* 16. *l.* vi. *c.* 6. *& alib. paſſ.*
(30) *Antiq. l.* xvi. *c.* 9. *Bell. Judaic. l.* i. *c.* 16. (31) *Antiq. l.* xvi. *c.* 3.

a to *Glaphyra*, the daughter of *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*, and *Ariſtobulus* to *Berenice*, the daughter of his ſiſter *Salome* [y].

But the admiration and love which the people expreſſed for thoſe two excellent princes, failed not to raiſe the envy and jealouſy of the reſtleſs *Salome*, and of thoſe of her accomplices, who had forwarded the death of *Mariamne*, as they had reaſon more than enough to fear their avenging that princeſs's death. To prevent ſo juſt and ſad a cataſtrophe, they had recourſe to their vile artifices, which had ſucceeded ſo well againſt that innocent princeſs. They began with ſpreading reports abroad, that the two young princes could not endure their father, whom they looked upon as ſtill reeking with the blood of their mother; not doubting, but when the rumour

b reached that jealous monarch's ears, it would inevitably render them obnoxious to him, and haſten their ruin. In the mean time *Agrippa* being come to *Aſia Proper*, *Herod* went to invite him into *Judæa*, where having ſhewed him his new-built cities of *Sebaſte*, *Alexandrion*, *Cæſarea*, &c. he thence led him to *Jeruſalem*. There the people met them at ſome diſtance from that metropolis, in their feſtival dreſs, and conducted them with loud acclamations into the city, where his reception was ſuitable to the magnificence of his hoſt. *Agrippa*, having ſacrificed a whole hecatomb at the temple, was forced to depart ſooner than he would otherwiſe have done, by reaſon of the approaching winter, and *Herod* failed not to load him and his retinue with ſuitable preſents, whilſt the people accompanied him with loud huzzas, and

c ſtrewed the way with flowers and odoriferous herbs where-ever he paſſed; inſomuch, that that prince did ever after take a particular delight in expreſſing the pleaſure of that journey, and extolling the magnificence of the temple and royal palace, and of the prieſtly ornaments, the ſtately buildings, and generoſity of *Herod*. *Philo* adds, that he made the *Jews* ſome conſiderable preſents, and did every thing he could to oblige them, without hurting the intereſt of their king. On the ſpring following, *Agrippa* ſailing with his fleet to the *Boſporus*, was agreeably ſurprized with *Herod*'s coming to meet him with another at *Leſbos*, wherein he had brought him ſome conſiderable reinforcements of men, arms, and proviſions; all which did ſo endear him to that prince, that he never undertook any thing without his knowledge and advice,

d nor ſcarce any party of pleaſure without his company [z].

Agrippa's *ſplendid reception in* Judæa. *Year of the flood* 2984. *Year before Chriſt* 15.

On his return to *Jeruſalem*, he aſſembled the *Jews*, and acquainted them with the ſucceſs of his arms and thoſe of *Agrippa* againſt the *Boſporans*. He added, in order to leſſen their diſcontent, that he remitted the nation a fourth part of their tribute; which made them ſome ſatisfaction for the late murmurings, which his law againſt robbers had occaſioned [a]. But whilſt things went thus ſmoothly on in his kingdom, his family was plagued with inteſtine jars, occaſioned by the hatred which *Salome* bore to his two worthy ſons. The truth is, they ſpake both of her and of her brother *Pheroras* in ſuch reſenting terms, as made them dread ſomething worſe from them. They even ventured to complain ſometimes of the injuſtice done to their mother, and

e in their behaviour ſhewed ſo little tenderneſs towards their father, that *Salome* found it an eaſy matter to alienate his affection from them. To ſuppreſs in ſome meaſure the preſumption of the two brothers, *Herod* cauſed *Antipater*, another of his ſons (D), whom he had till then educated in a private manner, to be brought to court, where he heaped ſuch careſſes on him, as only rendered him more obnoxious to them, and them more indiſcreet in their ſpeeches againſt their father, all which were ſtill carried back to him, and very often aggravated; whilſt *Antipater*, wholly employed to cultivate a good underſtanding with him, was careful never to let a word ſlip even againſt his two brothers, tho' he had taken care to place ſuch about him as ſhould do it more effectually.

f AMONG many other marks of *Herod*'s affection to this new favourite ſon (E), he obtained of *Agrippa* the favour of his accompanying him to *Rome*, and of his being preſented by him to the emperor; ſo that by this time every one began to look upon him as his father's ſucceſſor. *Antipater* ſet out accordingly; but, to prevent his two rivals

[y] Ibid. c. 2. [z] Ibid. & c. 3. Vide & Philo. legat. ad Cai. p. 1033. [a] Antiq. ibid. c. 5.

(D) This laſt ſon he had by another wife, whom *Joſephus* calls *Doris* (32), and the fourth book of *Maccabees* (33) *Doſitheus*.

(E) One of which was, that he recalled his mother, whom he had repudiated to marry *Mariamne*, the high-prieſt's daughter.

(32) *Ibid.* c. 4. (33) Cap. ult.

rivals regaining their father's favour during his abſence, he ceaſed not, both by his letters and by his agents, to turn his heart againſt them, till at length he began to look upon them as his enemies, and reſolved to take them with him to *Rome*, and there to try them at *Cæſar*'s tribunal [b]. *Cæſar* being gone by that time to *Aquileia*, *Herod* came to him, and there accuſed his two ſons of high treaſon, and required juſtice againſt them in ſuch ſtrong terms, as extorted a flood of tears from them; after which *Alexander* pleaded his own and his brother's cauſe with ſuch becoming modeſty, as eaſily convinced both the emperor and the audience of their innocence. *Auguſtus* did, in a genteel manner, reprove *Herod* for his too raſh belief, and reconciled them together; but it was not likely this peace ſhould be long-lived. *Herod* was too jealous, his ſons too indiſcreet, and their enemies too cunning and indefatigable, not to give cauſe for freſh diſſenſions. *Herod* himſelf laid the foundation for a new and dangerous one, by a ſpeech which he made to the *Jewiſh* aſſembly upon his being returned with his ſons to *Jeruſalem*; for there having acquainted them with his ſucceſs at *Rome*, he declared to them, that it was indeed his intention that his ſons ſhould reign after his death, and not till then, *Antipater* firſt, and then *Alexander*, and laſtly *Ariſtobulus* (F); but that, whilſt he lived, he did not think fit to part with the reins of government. This was indeed caſting a bone of diſcord among his ſons, and ſo it proved in the ſequel [c].

Herod *accuſes his two ſons of high treaſon before* Auguſtus.

Returns to Jeruſalem.

By this time the city of *Cæſarea*, which had been twelve years in building, being finiſhed, *Herod* cauſed the dedication of it to be performed with the greateſt pomp and ſplendor, and appointed games to be performed in it with the utmoſt ſolemnity every fifth year. *Julia*, the emperor's wife, or, as the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian always calls her, *Livia*, contributed towards the ſplendidneſs of thoſe ſports five hundred talents out of her own coffers; and *Herod* entertained his gueſts there, who were very conſiderable both in quality and number, with ſurpriſing magnificence; inſomuch, that *Auguſtus* ſaid of him, That his ſoul was too great for his kingdom; and that he deſerved to have been king of all *Syria* and *Egypt*. Beſides the city of *Cæſarea*, which, by reaſon of its beauty, pleaſant ſituation, and commodious harbour, became in time the reſidence of the *Roman* procurators, he built alſo thoſe of *Antipatris*, in honour of his father; of *Cypron*, in honour of his mother, and *Phaſaelis*, in honour of his brother: beſides ſeveral other towers and caſtles of prodigious ſize and ſtrength [d]. On the next year the *Jews* of *Aſia* and *Cyrene*, having been greatly oppreſſed by the *Greeks*, eſpecially on account of their religion and cuſtoms, ſent a deputation to *Auguſtus*, and obtained an effectual redreſs from that emperor. The purport of his decree in their favour the reader may ſee in the margin (G).

Cæſarea *finiſhed.* *Year of the flood* 2989. *Before Chriſt.* 10.

Herod might have viewed, with no ſmall pleaſure, both himſelf and the whole *Jewiſh* nation reſpected and protected by the emperor and ſenate on the one hand, and by his friend *Agrippa* on the other; but his domeſtic jars, which daily increaſed by the helliſh machinations of his brother and ſiſter, and the emptineſs of his coffers, which he had exhauſted by his profuſeneſs in buildings and feaſts, made him too wretched to taſte any pleaſure in other things. To remove theſe two corroding ſores, he betook himſelf to remedies more deſperate than the diſeaſe. To ſupply his preſent neceſſities,

[b] Ibid. c. 6 & 7. [c] Ibid. c. 8. [d] Antiq. ibid. c. 9, & ſeq.

(F) During his ſtay at *Rome*, *Auguſtus* had, it ſeems, not only renewed his former grant to him of appointing any of his ſons to be his ſucceſſor, but had likewiſe given him the further liberty of dividing the kingdom amongſt them in what proportion he ſhould think fit.

He had likewiſe granted him one half of the revenue of the mines of *Cyprus*, and had appointed him his overſeer of the other half. Several other rich preſents were alſo interchanged between thoſe two monarchs, which ſhewed their great intimacy to each other (34).

(G) That they ſhould be allowed to live according to their laws, and with the ſame privileges as they had enjoyed under the late *Cæſar* and *Hyrcan*; that their temple at *Jeruſalem* ſhould ſtill receive their yearly tribute towards the repairs and worſhip of it; that the *Jews* ſhould not be obliged to appear at the courts of judicature on the eve of the ſabbath after the ninth hour, (anſwering to three after noon) nor on the ſabbath; laſtly, that whoſoever ſhould lay hands either on the temple tribute, or on any of the ſacred books of the *Jews*, ſhould be puniſhed as a ſacrilege, and all his goods ſhould be confiſcated to the *Roman* commonwealth.

This decree was ordered to be ſet up in a public place at *Ancyra*, which had been dedicated by the whole people of *Aſia* to the honour of that monarc (35).

King *Agrippa* made much ſuch another decree in their favour, and ordered, that whoever ſtole any of the ſacred treaſure, or *Jewiſh* books, and took ſanctuary in any temple or aſylum, ſhould be torn thence, and delivered up to the *Jews*, to be puniſhed by them (36).

(34) *Antiq. ubi ſupra*, c. 8. (35) *Ibid.* c. 10. (36) *Idem ibid.*

a ties, he caſt his eyes on the tombs of *David* and *Solomon*, out of which he had heard, or pretended to have heard, that *Hyrcan* had formerly drawn ſome large ſums; and thoſe places, he thought, would prove a laſting fund for his extravagant expences. We ſhall not repeat what we have obſerved heretofore concerning this pretended theft of the *Maccabitiſh* pontiff †. All we ſhall add with reſpect to *Herod* is, that he executed his deſign with the utmoſt privacy, and went to the place in the night, accompanied only with ſome few confidents, where, inſtead of the coined gold and ſilver he expected, he found only ſome quantity of rich veſſels, curiouſly wrought, which he cauſed to be carried off. Not content with theſe, he ventured farther, to ſearch into the very coffins of the dead monarchs; but ſome ſudden damp, or, as *Joſephus* b calls it, a miraculous flame, which conſumed two of his guards, having ſcared him and his retinue, put a ſtop to his further ſearch. *Herod*, to make ſome ſatisfaction for his ſacrilege, cauſed a ſtately monument of white marble to be erected at the entrance of the ſepulchre c; but this was looked upon by the *Jews* rather as a monument of his crime, than an expiation of it.

Herod plunders David's ſepulchre.

His cruelty to his ſons.

But his cruelty to his ſons and their friends rendered him ſtill more abhorred. His vile ſiſter (H) had raiſed his jealouſy againſt them to ſuch a height, that he acted more like a furious tyrant, than a father or king, filling the city with blood, and turning his own palace into a ſlaughter-houſe. *Alexander* had been accuſed to him of having corrupted, by dint of preſents and promiſes, two of his favourite confidents, namely, his high-ſteward and cup-bearer. *Herod* ordered them immediately to be put c to the rack; whereon they confeſſed their having indeed received ſome preſents from that prince; but denied his having betrayed to them any ill deſign againſt the king. This confeſſion not ſatisfying his jealouſy, they were tortured afreſh, and again, till he had extorted enough from them to juſtify his ſending his ſon to priſon and loading him with irons. Here the young prince being grown deſperate, ſent his father four different confeſſions, in which he owned all, and more, than the torture had extorted from the other two, and at the ſame time accuſed *Salome* and *Pheroras*, with two of the king's prime miniſters and favourites, of being all alike concerned in the plot; and particularly that *Salome* had even ventured to come to him in the dead of night, and, lying down by him, had uſed many cogent arguments to convince him, that they d muſt expect neither peace nor happineſs, till they had rid themſelves of the tyrant e.

Alexander's deſperate confeſſion.

This accuſation, which was only calculated to ſet all on fire, had the deſired effect; and the jealous king, not knowing whom to truſt to, flew into the greateſt exceſſes of cruelty. There was now nothing to be heard of but racks, impriſonments, and dreadful executions abroad, whilſt the tyrant was ſo tormented with fears at home, that he often ſtarted out of his bed, as if purſued ſword in hand by his ſons and their accomplices. Thus it was hourly expected, when theſe fits of rage and dread would have run him mad, or haſtened his ſon's execution, when *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia* came in a lucky minute (I), and, by his interpoſition, ſettled a calm again, at leaſt for a time. This diſcreet prince, who knew the violence of *Herod*'s temper, e began at firſt with pitying his ſad condition, and condemning the unnatural perfidy of his ſon, threatening to take his daughter from him, and to leave him to his father's juſt reſentment; but, in the end, he had the addreſs, by degrees, to explode all theſe malicious accuſations and extorted confeſſions, and not only to perſuade him that

† Vide ſupra, p. 91, b, (M).

e Antiq. ibid. c. 11.

f Ibid. c. 12.

(H) One of her helliſh projects, and which coſt her dear, was, to get *Pheroras* to tell young *Alexander*, that the king was become ſo deſperately in love with his wife *Glaphyra*, that nothing but his forcing her from him could ſatisfy his unruly paſſion. *Alexander* taking it for granted, went to his father, and, in the humbleſt manner, mixed with a flood of tears, expoſtulated the matter with him. *Herod*, ſurprized at ſuch a black accuſation, of which he was wholly innocent, ſent for his brother, and aſked him, How he could lay ſuch a black perfidy to his charge?

Pheroras threw all the blame on his ſiſter, and pretended ſhe was the perſon who had whiſpered the thing to him. *Salome*, being ſent for, denied the whole with her uſual aſſurance; but the king reading her guilt in her looks, in ſpite of her proteſtations to the contrary, cauſed her and her brother to be baniſhed the court, and highly commended his ſon's moderation; but all this good underſtanding was ſoon after daſhed by a more helliſh accuſation, which they brought againſt that young prince, and which we are going to relate.

(I) We have already taken notice, that he was the father of *Glaphyra*, whom *Alexander* had married. This prince, who was of a prudent and cool temper, had received *Herod* and his ſons in their return from *Rome*, where they had been acquitted by the emperor, and, by his wife counſels, had finiſhed that reconciliation which *Auguſtus* had begun.

But being now informed to what height of cruelty things were carried at *Jeruſalem*, he thought himſelf obliged to come thither, and to uſe his beſt endeavours to ſettle peace in that monarch's family.

that his ſon was innocent of any deſign upon his life or kingdom, but even to make him a turn interceſſor in his behalf. *Pheroras*, hearing of this reconciliation, found no better expedient to obtain *Herod*'s pardon, than by coming in a mourning dreſs, and, at his feet, confeſſing himſelf the author of all the ſlanders raiſed againſt the two princes. *Herod*, thus reconciled to his ſons, ſet out with them for *Rome*, to acquaint the emperor with the whole affair, after having accompanied *Archelaus* as far as *Antioch* in his way homewards [g]. He was indeed under an obligation to go and clear his ſon at the *Roman* court, becauſe he had, after their ſecond falling out, exhibited ſeveral grievous complaints againſt him to the emperor.

Reconciled to Herod. Year of the Rom. 2091. Before Chriſt 8.

DURING this and his laſt journey to *Rome*, the bands of robbers, whom he had driven out of *Trachonitis*, having taken ſhelter in *Arabia Petrea*, under the protection b of *Obodas* the king of it (K), had made ſuch terrible inroads into *Judæa*, that *Herod*, on his return, not being able to come at them there, put all their relations and friends to death which he could lay his hands on; which made them more cruel and deſperate than ever. By this time the temple being finiſhed, as was hinted above, *Herod* cauſed the dedication of it to be performed with his uſual magnificence, and, on the following ſpring, ſet about the ſuppreſſing of the *Trachonitiſh* robbers. He began with a law-ſuit againſt *Syllæus* for ſixty talents which he had lent him; and having gained his cauſe before the prefects of *Syria*, *Saturnius* and *Volumnius*, *Syllæus*, inſtead of paying the money, ſlipped away to *Rome*; whereupon *Herod*, having got leave of thoſe two governors to right himſelf by arms, marched into *Arabia*, and there defeated c the robbers, demoliſhed their caſtle, and returned to *Jeruſalem*, without taking any further revenge. But this expedition was like to have coſt him dear, through the treachery of *Syllæus*, who, upon the firſt hearing of it, went and complained to the emperor, and aggravated the wrongs done to the *Arabians* to ſuch a degree, that *Auguſtus* ſent him a very ſharp reproof, and would have wholly caſt him off, had not he been better informed ſoon after. *Herod* had ſent two embaſſies to that prince, and neither of them had been able to get an audience. At length he ſent *Nicolas Damaſcen* thither, who, finding how prejudiced the emperor was againſt his maſter, bethought himſelf of an happy expedient to explode all the accuſations of *Syllæus*, by means of the embaſſadors of the *Nabathean Arabs*, without diſcovering his errand, till they had cleared the way for him (L). *Auguſtus*, being now ſatisfied of *Herod*'s d innocence and of his own too great credulity, was thinking to have taken the *Nabathean* kingdom from *Aretas*, and to have made him a preſent of it; but whilſt he was deliberating about it, freſh complaints came to him from that unhappy monarch againſt his ſons, which diverted the emperor from purſuing his deſign.

Herod out of favour with Auguſtus.

Reconciled to him.

FOR whilſt theſe things had been agitating, *Salome* and *Pheroras* had again filled *Herod*'s head with new plots and aſſaſſinations intended againſt him by his ſons; and tho', upon inquiry, nothing could be proved againſt them, but a deſign of retiring into ſome other country, where they might peaceably outlive their father's tyranny; yet the jealous king took all the reſt for granted upon this ſingle evidence, and ſent two of his miniſters to *Rome*, with orders, that, if they found the emperor reconciled e to him, they ſhould deliver his letter to him, and obtain juſtice againſt the two young princes. *Auguſtus* having read the letter, and finding *Herod* deſperately bent upon the ruin of his unfortunate ſons, ſent immediately orders to have them tried at *Berytus*,

Puts them in a way of clearing themſelves.

[g] Ibid. c. 13.

(K) This prince had a favourite miniſter named *Syllæus*, who had formerly made his addreſſes to *Salome*; but *Herod* refuſing to give her to him, unleſs he turned *Jew*, and *Syllæus* not daring to conſent to it, ſhe had been given to *Alexas*, one of *Herod*'s confidents. Hence aroſe a mutual hatred between them, which *Syllæus* improved, by perſuading *Obodas* to protect thoſe banditti, who did accordingly aſſign them the fortreſs of *Rhegma* for a place of retreat, from which they ſallied out, and committed innumerable outrages and cruelties, both in *Paleſtine* and in *Cœle-Syria* (37).

(L) Theſe were come to demand juſtice againſt *Syllæus*, who had by that time cauſed *Obodas* to be poiſoned, and was there ſoliciting the emperor for that kingdom; but the *Nabatheans*, having ſet up a king of their own, ſent this embaſſy to *Rome*, to have him confirmed there, and to have the aſſaſſin puniſhed.

Damaſcen therefore having privately gained them, directed them how to manage their audience in ſuch a manner, as to clear *Herod* of all that was laid to his charge, without betraying any other deſign than that of accuſing *Syllæus*. The thing ſucceeded to his wiſh, and *Damaſcen* putting himſelf at the head of their embaſſy, managed his accuſation with ſuch addreſs, backing it with the ſuffrages of his *Nabathean* colleagues, that *Syllæus*, who was then preſent, could no diſprove one ſingle point: but was condemned to pay *Herod*'s debt, and then to loſe his head (38).

(37) *Antiq. Jud.* l. 11 & 13. (38) *Conf. Antiq. ubi ſupra*, c. 13. & l. xvii. c. 4. *Strab.* c, 16.

a *Berytus*, before the governors of *Syria* and other neighbouring provinces, and in particular before *Archelaus*; and, if they were found guilty, he gave their father leave to punish them as he should think fit. *Herod* convened them all accordingly, except the *Cappadocian* king, whom he suspected of too great partiality to his sons; and having left these two unfortunate princes under a strong guard at *Platane*, a small town of the *Sidonians*, under pretence that they might be easily brought thence, if the judges did think it necessary, he pleaded his own cause before an assembly of above five hundred persons; but with such violence and brutish resentment, as rather raised their indignation against, than pity for, him. He spared for neither evidence nor arguments to have them condemned to die, and concluded with telling them, that b being a king, he might have done it by his own authority, according to the laws of *Judæa*; but that he rather chose to have them tried before such an assembly, to avoid the imputation of injustice or cruelty. After a full hearing, *Saturnius*, who had been formerly consul, voted, that they should be punished indeed, but not with death, and was seconded by his three sons, who were then his lieutenants; but they were over-ruled by *Volumnius*, who condemned them to death and drew the rest of the judges after him. Only they left it to *Herod* to execute the sentence, when and how he thought fit. *Gets them condemned.*

Damascen, on his return from *Rome*, did try in vain to dissuade him from too rashly depriving himself of two such sons, and leaving himself in his old age to the mercy c of the ambitious *Antipater*. *Tyro*, another old experienced soldier, came likewise to beg of him, that he might be admitted to speak to him on the same subject; and, upon his permission, freely told him the danger he was in from that young prince, who, he assured him, entertained some treasonable designs against him, whilst the chiefs of the *Jewish* nation, to whom he was grown odious on that account, did highly pity his two condemned sons, as less guilty than that brother. *Herod* stopped him short there, to make him name those chiefs; and, upon his so doing, caused them to be imprisoned. *Tyro* himself was, by the subtlety of *Salome*, accused by *Herod*'s barber, of having hired him to cut his throat. *Herod* had recourse to the rack, which he caused to be given to the accuser, and to *Tyro* and his son, a youth of about the d age of *Alexander*; and the latter, to save his father from the torture, confessed, that himself alone, without his father's privity, had resolved to kill him, and to save *Alexander*. Scarce any body believed his confession but *Herod*, who thereupon caused his two sons to be conveyed to *Sebaste*, and there strangled, or, as the fourth book of the *Maccabees* has it, hanged on a post or gallows. Their bodies were afterwards buried at *Alexandrion*, among their *Asmonean* ancestors [h]. *Puts them to death.*

Antipater having now no rival left, but his father, and *Pheroras*, tho' highly obliged to his brother, having lately fallen out with him (M), these two entered into a plot to take him off as soon as possible. *Herod* had about this time sent *Glaphyra*, *Alexander*'s widow, back into *Cappadocia*, and returned her dowry out of his own coffers. e There were still two sons left of hers, and two which *Aristobulus* had had by *Berenice*, all whom the king had caused to be carefully educated. He had likewise expressed an uncommon concern for them, as well as a remorse for the untimely death of their fathers; and as he found himself upon the decline, he was contriving how to have those young princes so advantagiously matched, that he might see them safely and happily settled before he died. But *Antipater*, who looked upon them in another view, found means to break all his measures, and to persuade him to change the disposition of his family, contrary to his first design [i]. It will not be amiss here to give an account of that monarch's wives and of their issue, in order to understand the sequel of this history. The reader will find both in the margin (N). *Year of the Julian Period 2904. Before Christ 5.*

In

[h] Antiq. ubi supra, c. 17. & 4 Maccab. c. ult. [i] Antiq. l. xvii. c. 2 & 3.

(M) The occasion of this rupture, *Josephus* tells us (39), was, that *Herod* had formerly offered his brother his daughter in marriage, whom he had refused for the sake of a favourite servant, with whom he was deeply in love, and did soon after marry. *Herod* hereupon insisted upon his divorcing her, and marrying another of his daughters. *Pheroras* bound himself in the most solemn manner to perform it within a month; but when the time came, he absolutely refused; and *Antipater*, taking the advantage of this breach, easily drew him into his treasonable design.

(N) *Herod* had nine wives, the first of whom, named *Doris*, was the mother of *Antipater*. The second was *Mariamne*, the daughter of *Simon* the high-priest, by whom he had a son named *Herod*, called also *Philip*, who had married *Herodias*, on whose account the baptist was afterwards beheaded. The

(39) *Antiq. l.* xvi. *c.* 11. *&* *l.* xvii. *c.* 3.

In the mean time another thing happened, which rendered *Herod* more odious to a the *Jews*, and more irreconcileable to his brother. An edict lately issued out, commanding the *Jewish* nation to swear allegiance to *Augustus* and to the king, had been strenuously opposed by the *Pharisees* to the number of seven thousand, as contrary to the *Mosaic* law[k]; for which contumacy *Herod* had condemned them to a severe fine, which had been paid by *Pheroras*'s new wife. This generous deed of hers had therefore so ingratiated her to that sect, that they scrupled not to persuade the people, from a pretended prophetic spirit, that God was going to transfer the crown from the line of *Herod* to the posterity of his brother's wife. *Salome* failed not to acquaint *Herod* with it, who, having put several of the ring-leaders to death, commanded his brother to put his wife away, as the cause of this new sedition. *Pheroras*, upon his b obstinate refusal to comply with his command, was forbid the court, and the rest of *Herod*'s family to have any further conversation with him. *Pheroras* was glad to take this opportunity of retiring into his tetrarchy, and took an oath never to return to court again whilst *Herod* lived. His being at that distance from the metropolis was indeed a likely expedient to prevent his being suspected of having a hand in what he was then hatching against the king's life; and for the same reason *Antipater* procured himself to be sent for to *Rome* to attend upon *Augustus*. Thus had these two politic persons contrived to screen themselves from discovery, whilst their instruments were on work to bring about their treacherous design; but an accident soon after happened, which brought their whole treason to light. c

New troubles in Judea

Herod fell sick. *Herod*, who was fallen sick and still retained a great love for his brother, had sent for him to communicate some private orders to him, and *Pheroras* had refused it, on pretence that he dared not violate his oath. He fell sick soon after, and *Herod* recovered, and was so far from resenting his late refusal, that he paid him an affectionate visit, without staying for an invitation from him. *Pheroras* dying two days after his arrival, he caused him to be magnificently buried at *Jerusalem*. But his death proved the beginning of *Antipater*'s disgrace: for two of the deceased's freed-men came and demanded justice against his wife, whom they accused of having dispatched him with some poison, which she had given him on that very evening, on which he was taken ill. *Herod* had recourse to his old way of extorting the truth by the rack; in parti- d cular, the women of *Pheroras*'s family suffered it at first with a surprising constancy; but one of them was at length forced by the excess of the torture to cry out, that she prayed to God, that *Doris*, *Antipater*'s mother, might bear her share of the torments, which she had been the cause of. At these words *Herod* having caused them to be more cruelly tortured, as well as one *Antipater*, an officer under his treacherous son, the whole plot was unravelled; and upon comparing their several depositions, and the intelligence which *Salome* had already given to the king, it was found, that the poison, of which *Pheroras* died, had been procured from *Alexandria* by a friend of *Antipater*, from whom it was conveyed by *Antipater*'s mother to *Pheroras*, in order to

Antipater's practices found out.

[k] Vid. Deut. xvii. 15.

The third was his brother's daughter. The fourth his first cousin. He had no children by these two last.

The fifth was called *Mariamne*, a *Samaritan*, by whom he had *Aristobulus* and *Antipas*, the former of whom succeeded him in the half of the kingdom under the name of *Herod*, and the latter, called also *Philip*, married *Salome*, the dancing daughter of *Herodias* above mentioned.

The sixth, named *Cleopatra*, was a native of *Jerusalem*, by whom he had two sons, *Herod*, called also *Antipas*, and *Philip*. *Herod* having married *Herodias*, his brother *Philip*'s wife, during his life, was reproved for it by *John* the baptist, and caused him to be put to death.

Pallas was his seventh wife, by whom he had a son named *Phasaelus*. The eighth was *Phædra*, by whom he had only one daughter, named *Roxana*; and by the last, called *Elpis*, he had another daughter called *Salome* (40).

As to his grandsons, by his beloved *Mariamne*, mother of *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, lately put to death, they make likewise a considerable figure in history, and especially those of the latter in the gospel, and deserve here a particular mention.

Aristobulus left two sons and a daughter, whom he had by *Berenice* his wife, as we have seen a little higher, namely *Agrippa*, *Herod*, and *Herodias*. *Agrippa*, at first clapt into prison by *Tiberius*, and afterwards made king of *Judæa* by *Caligula* (41), was he who put *James* the brother of *John* to death, imprisoned *Peter*, and was smitten with death at *Cæsarea* (42). *Herod* was made king of *Chalcis*, and is only known in St. *Luke* for his marriage with the dancing daughter of *Herodias*, as we hinted above.

As for *Agrippa*, he left a son of the same name, before whom and his sister *Berenice* St. *Paul* was admitted to plead his cause at *Cæsarea* (43), and another daughter, named *Drusilla*, married to *Felix*, governor of *Judæa* (44).

(40) *De his vide Bell. Jud. l.* i. *c.* 18. *Antiq. l.* xviii. *c.* 7. *Vid. & Matth.* xiv. 1, *& seq. Mark* vi. 14, *& seq. Luke* ix. 7, *& seq.* (41) *Bell. Jud. l.* ii. *c.* 8. (42) *Acts* xii. 1, *& seq.* *Ant.* (43) *Acts* xxv. *in fin.* xxvi. *Ibid.* (44) *Ibid.* xxiv. 24.

a to be given to the king upon the firſt opportunity. All which was upon further examination acknowledged by *Pheroras*'s wife, who added that ſhe would go and fetch it to him; and, inſtead of doing ſo, flung herſelf down from a high gallery; but her fall not proving mortal, ſhe, upon *Herod*'s promiſe of a general pardon, depoſed further, that her huſband, being ſtung with remorſe at his receiving this laſt viſit from him, had ordered her to fetch the poiſon, and to burn it before his face, which ſhe had accordingly done, except a ſmall doſe that ſhe had reſerved for herſelf in caſe of neceſſity. The box, and reſt of the poiſon, being produced and acknowledged by other witneſſes, convinced *Herod* of his ſon's perfidy, not only to himſelf, but to the two ſons of his favourite *Mariamne*. His other wife of that name was likewiſe accuſed

b of being in the ſame plot, and though nothing was proved againſt her, yet was ſhe baniſhed, her ſon *Herod* diſinherited, and her father depoſed from the high-prieſthood (O). *Doris* was likewiſe ſtript of all her coſtly ornaments, which amounted to a large ſum, and baniſhed the court [l].

But it is now time to leave for a while *Herod* in his ſad diſtracted condition, and the nation in their feuds and reſentments againſt him, and turn our eyes on more important matters; thoſe great and ineſtimable bleſſings which heaven was then ready to ſhower down, not only on the *Jews*, had they not rendered themſelves unworthy of them, but on the whole world, who, we are told, were then in an univerſal expectation of them under the promiſed Meſſiah. For about this time the angel *Gabriel*, who had been

c formerly ſent to manifeſt to *Daniel* the preciſe time of his coming, by a determinate number of weeks [m] (P), was again ſent to *Zachary*, a pious and upright prieſt of the courſe

John *the baptiſt born.*

[l] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 4, 5, & 6. [m] Dan. ix. 24, & ſeq.

(O) *Simon* was ſucceed in that dignity by one *Matthias* the ſon of *Theophilus*, a native of *Jeruſalem*. But this pontiff having on the following expiation eve contracted ſome pollution †, which incapacitated him from officiating on that grand ſolemnity, a near relation of his, named *Joſeph*, the ſon of *Elcenus*, was ſubſtituted in his room. *Matthias* enjoyed his dignity but one year, after which he was depoſed for being privy to an inſurrection raiſed at *Jeruſalem*, and ſucceed by *Joazar* his brother-in-law (45).

(P) This is juſtly allowed one of the nobleſt prophecies in the whole *Old Teſtament*, and one of the ſtrongeſt proofs of chriſtianity againſt the *Jews*, ſince it determines the very time on which Chriſt was to come into the world, enter into his miniſtry, and be cut off for the ſins of the people; ſoon after which was to follow the deſtruction of the *Jews*, or, as the prophet words it, their ceaſing to be a nation or people, and the promulgation of the goſpel, or of the new covenant, in and by that Meſſiah.

The whole prophecy runs as follows (46): *Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city to finiſh* (or reſtrain) *the tranſgreſſion, and make an end of ſins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlaſting righteouſneſs, and to ſeal up the viſion and prophecy, and to anoint the moſt holy one. Know therefore, and underſtand, that from the going forth of the commandment to reſtore and to build* Jeruſalem *unto the Meſſiah, the prince, ſhall be ſeven weeks; and threeſcore and two weeks the ſtreets ſhall be built again, and the wall, and even in anxious or* perilous) *time; and after threeſcore and two weeks ſhall Meſſiah be cut off, but not for himſelf; and the people of the prince that ſhall come, ſhall deſtroy the city and the ſanctuary, and the end of it ſhall be with* (or like) *an inundation, and unto the end of the war deſolation is determined; and he ſhall confirm the covenant with many during one week, and in the midſt of the week he ſhall cauſe the ſacrifice and the oblation to ceaſe; and he ſhall make it deſolate on account of the over-ſpreading of abominations, until the determined extermination be poured on the land, or people, that is become liable to that deſolation.*

It will not be expected, that we ſhould here enter into a comment on this prophecy, much leſs into a diſſertation on the various ways of computing the ſeventy weeks here mentioned, and the various times which interpreters, both *Jewiſh* and chriſtians, have aſſigned for the beginning and ending of that prophetic epocha. And yet, as the ſubject is of no ſmall moment, the reader will doubtleſs be glad to hear at leaſt, how it is beſt calculated and made out by the latter, and by what ſubterfuges the former endeavour to evade the force of it.

The generality of the *Jews* do agree with us, that thoſe prophetic weeks are weeks of years, or of a day for a year, according to the prophetic ſtyle. Though ſome of them, in order to puzzle the cauſe, have pretended to underſtand them of weeks of *jubilees*, or of ſeven *ſabbatic* *, that is, forty-nine weeks each, amounting in all to 3430 years (47) A good long epocha, and very proper to keep up the drooping hopes of the *Jews* about the Meſſiah's coming. Others ſtretch it ſtill farther, to ſeven thouſand years, that is, by allowing a hundred years to every week; but the generality underſtand thoſe weeks of ſeven lunar or *Jewiſh* years, as we do, according to which ſeventy weeks will make four hundred and ninety years. But here they, finding themſelves cloſely pinched by that computation, have had recourſe to various pitiful ſhifts to explode it. We ſhall give our readers a ſketch of ſome of the beſt of them, by which he may gueſs at the reſt.

Some of them pretend, that the words of the prophet, *from the going forth of the command to reſtore and to build*, are not to be underſtood from the iſſuing out of *Cyrus* or *Darius*'s decree; but from the time of thoſe words being prophetically pronounced by *Jeremiah* to *Zedekiah* king of *Judah* (48) ſome

† *Antiq. l.* xvii. *c.* 6. *Vid. & Vol.* I. *pag.* 618, c, d. 634, *& ſeq.* (45) *Antiq. ubi ſupra. c.* 8. (46) *Dan.* ix. 24, *& ſeq.* * *Concerning thoſe jubilees and ſabbatic years, ſee before, Vol.* I. *p.* 615, *& ſeq.* 612, a, & (L). (47) *Vid. N. De Lyra in Daniel.* ix. (48) *Jerem.* xxiv. 8, *& ſeq.* xxxiv. 1. *& ſeq. & alib. paſſ.*

courſe of *Abiah*, whilſt he ſtood offering the ſacred incenſe in the temple, accord- a
ing to the prieſtly office [n], to foretel him the birth of a ſon, the miraculous child of old age and barrenneſs; a ſon whom he ſhould ſhortly have by his virtuous wife *Elizabeth*, and who ſhould be a *Nazarite*, and the fore-runner and great harbinger of the world's redeemer [o]. Here the good old prieſt, ſurpized at the viſion and conſcious of his and his ſpouſe's extreme old age, could not forbear deſiring to have his faith confirmed by ſome further miraculous token; and the angel granted his requeſt, and in ſuch a manner, as might at once be a reproof to his diffidence and a confirmation of the meſſage he had delivered to him. *Zacharias* was accordingly ſtruck dumb on that inſtant, and continued ſo, till the promiſed child was actually born.

Six months after this viſion, the ſame heavenly meſſenger was ſent to an obſcure b
young virgin, named *Mary*, who dwelt then at *Nazareth*, with, and under the guardianſhip of, her eſpouſed huſband *Joſeph*, both of them of the houſe and lineage of

[n] Vid. Exod. xxx. 7, 8, & ſup. Vol, I. p. 692, a, & ſeq. [o] Luke i. 5, & ſeq.

ſome years before the captivity (49); and to ſhew their wretched ſkill in chronology, conclude the epocha with us at the deſtruction of the temple. Others, St. *Jerom* tells us (50), began it at *Darius* the *Mede*, and ended it with thoſe above-mentioned at the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; only they allowed the eight remaining weeks for the total diſperſion of the *Jewiſh* nation completed under the emperor *Adrian*.

A third ſort begin the ſeventy weeks at the deſtruction of the firſt temple by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and end it at the deſtruction of the ſecond by *Titus Veſpaſian* (1). Shrinking thereby an epoch of ſix hundred and ſixty years into this of four hundred and ninety, to make it agree with the ſeventy weeks, and thereby betraying ſtill more their ignorance of chronology. This devaſtation of the city and temple, and the diſperſion of the *Jews*, is according to this latter ſyſtem to the laſt till the overthrow of *Gog* and *Magog* by the Meſſiah; but when that will happen, they do not pretend to gueſs. For theſe reaſons they are altogether at a loſs how to explain this prophecy, ſo as to evade the conſequences drawn from it by the chriſtians againſt them, and have fallen into various hypotheſes, equally abſurd and ridiculous, about the Meſſiah. Some think, that the ſins of the nation have retarded his coming; others, that he came at the appointed time, but did not appear publicly; others, that he is ſtill hid in ſome obſcure part of the world, waiting till they are fit to receive him; other have imagined two Meſſiahs, one humble, obſcure, and rejected; and another as yet to come, glorious, warlike, victorious, and univerſally acknowledged. Laſtly, and to name no more, from a ſenſe of the manifeſt deficiency of all theſe evaſory ſhifts, they have agreed to leave the diſpute about the Meſſiah *in ſuſpendio* till better times, and have prohibited all further inquiries and calculations about it under a ſevere anathema (2).

The chriſtians are not exactly agreed either in the placing the beginning and end of theſe weeks, or in the calculations of thoſe lunar or *Jewiſh* years. Both differences, however, are inconſiderable, if duly attended to; the former is intirely owing to our imperfect knowledge of the chronology of thoſe times. Had we a ſure guide in it, the point would not be long unſettled. But whilſt in this uncertainty one author will place the beginning at the decree of *Cyrus*, another at that of *Darius*, a third at that of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and each of them endeavours to ſtretch or ſhorten the chronology of each interval, as beſt ſuits with his hypotheſis; it is no wonder there is ſo little agreement among them, and ſo little certainty to be gathered from the whole diſpute.

The difference ariſing from the various computations of the *Jewiſh* years is ſtill more inconſiderable, ſince it can amount at moſt but to nine or ten years between thoſe who make it longeſt, and thoſe who make it ſhorteſt; and who can wonder at it, or urge it as an objection againſt this prophecy, that conſiders the variety of computations, of either the *Jews*, of which we have formerly ſpoken more fully *, or of other nations, from which this epoch is to be calculated and rectified? Upon the whole then, theſe difficulties duly conſidered, an impartial reader will doubtleſs reſt ſatisfied with that ſyſtem, which beſt adjuſts the ſeventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety years, of the prophecy to the chronology of that epoch, according to the beſt light that can be had of it from the ſacred and profane hiſtorians.

Waving therefore ſome minute differences between the authors that have written on that ſubject, the ſyſtem moſt univerſally received by proteſtants as well as *Roman* catholics, is that of *Julius Africanus* (3), as it has been amended by ſome late eminent chronologers (4), who place the beginning of it, expreſſed in the words of the prophecy, *From the going forth of the commandment to rebuild*, &c. at the beginning of its execution, which was not done till *Nehemiah*'s coming to *Jeruſalem* to ſee it punctually performed, and the end of it at the death of the Meſſiah; which interval makes up the four hundred and ninetieth year here foretold. For as to the firſt, it is plain, that *Nehemiah* found the work quite obſtructed and ſet aſide, at his firſt arrival there, and that he ſat immediately about and finiſhed it (5). This command, which was given in the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes* (6), is not, however, to be underſtood, according to them, of the twentieth year of his reigning alone, which would make the whole period too long by ten years; but of the twentieth of his reigning in partnerſhip with his father (on a ſuppoſition that he was admitted into it by him ten years before his death) which will be the tenth of his reigning alone.

This ſyſtem, which ſeems clearly to remove all difficulties, is attended with only one, *viz.* the ſilence of hiſtorians, and the unlikelihood of *Artaxerxes* being admitted ſo early into partnerſhip with his father; and this objection, ſmall as it is, has been, however,

(49) *Vid. Munſter. in Dan.* ix. *Note* g. (50) *In Daniel* ix. (1) *Rabbin. plurim. Vid. int. al. Abrabanel, Solom. Jarchi, & De Lyra in loc, ſup. citat.* (2) *Vid. int. al. Baſnag. Diſſert. de* 70 *hebdomad.* * *See Vol.* I. *p.* 110, (N), 611, c. & (K), & *alib.* (3) *Apud Hieron. in Daniel, ubi ſupra.* (4) *Petav. de Doctr. Temp. lib.* xii. *cap.* 32, & *ſeq. Ration. Tempor. part.* 2. *l.* iii. *c.* 10. *Uſſer ſub A. M.* 3550. (5) *Conf. Nehem.* i, ii, & iii. *paſſ. See alſo before, p,* 21, & *ſeq.* (6) *Nehem.* i. 1.

of *David* [p] (Q), with the glad tidings, that she was chosen, by the special favour of heaven, to be the happy mother of the promised saviour of the world, to whom she should

[p] MATTH. i. 18. LUKE i. 26. & seq. iii. 23, & seq.

however, thought weighty enough to oblige the learned *Prideaux* (7) to steer a new course, which our readers will perhaps better approve than the former. But as he has treated the subject in such a full and prolix manner, as would swell this note beyond due bounds, and the book itself is in every body's hands, and in our own language, we shall refer the readers to it for the further clearing of this noble prophecy.

In the conclusion the prophet is told, that after the cutting off of the Messiah the temple and city shall be destroyed by a strange nation, that shall come like an inundation against it, and that the desolation of the land shall be preceded by an overflowing of abominations; all which sufficiently prefigures the *Roman* eagles set up in the temple, prophetically also alluded to by Christ himself (8), followed by the profanation, plundering, and firing of that holy place. In the middle of the week, the sacrifices, oblations, *&c.* were to cease, not actually, for they did not do so till the destruction of the city, about forty years after; but they lost their efficacy, and became useless and insignificant after the grand sacrifice of the Saviour of the world, which they were to prefigure, and from which alone they received their efficacy. Lastly, those who had thus rejected and put to death the Messiah, were to cease to be a people, be dispersed, desolate, *&c.* all which the *Jews* have sufficiently felt to their cost.

The destruction and lasting desolation of the city, but more particularly of the temple, was indeed to be the finishing stroke of the christian evidence against the *Jews*. We have shewn in a former volume †, how these evade the pregnant prophecies of *Jacob*, that *the sceptre should not depart from* Judah, *&c.* (9) and the reader has now seen what wretched shifts they made to elude this of *Daniel*'s week, at the expence of sense and chronology. There seemed therefore still wanting a more irrefragable proof, if not to convince, at least to silence, that infatuated nation, with respect to this important article of the Messiah's being come at the appointed time, and of the vanity of those that still expect him; and this was the prophecy of his coming during the standing of the second temple, and rendering it more glorious by his presence than that of *Solomon*, notwithstanding its great disparity in other respects, concerning which the reader may look back to what has been said at the beginning of this chapter*. When therefore this temple was destroyed, it ought to have convinced them that he was really come, as his apostles and disciples affirmed, though there had been a new one immediately built; how much more when all attempts for the rebuilding it have been hitherto frustrated? But of this we shall have a proper occasion to speak more fully in the sequel.

We beg leave here only to observe further, that if the total destruction of the city and temple, and the dispersion of the *Jews*, did not immediately follow the crucifixion of the Messiah, they became obnoxious to it from that time; and God seems only to have protracted the sentence during those forty years, to give them time to repent of that atrocious fact, which, as St. *Peter* observes (10), they had committed through ignorance. Accordingly we find, that vast numbers of them prevented it by a timely conversion (11), whilst the more obdurate sort, refusing to acknowledge that crime (12) and embrace the proffered mercy, were thereupon dispersed throughout the world, to be, against their will, a standing evidence of the truth of the scriptures and prophecies, and of their own judicial blindness and punishment.

(Q) We have taken notice in a former volume, that the *Jews* had a law which expressly forbad heiresses to marry out of their own tribes (13). It is true, the virgin *Mary* seems to have been far enough from being one of that sort, at least in possession, whatever she might be in reversion, or by virtue of the jubilee laws, according to which all lands and inheritances were to revolve to the original owner, or to his next heir or heiress †. But there was still a much greater tie, which kept the virgins of the tribe of *Judah*, but especially those of the house of *David*, from marrying into another tribe or family, namely, the sure expectation they had, that the Messiah was to be of that lineage, and to be born in *Bethlehem*, the city and patrimony of that monarch; and how careful every family was to preserve their genealogy, needs not to be repeated.

It is therefore in vain, that the *Jews* exclaim against the uncertainty of Christ's being of the seed of *David*, because *Joseph*'s and not *Mary*'s genealogy is deduced from him by the two evangelists, who is yet affirmed by them to have had no share in his conception. The certainty of the virgin's descent from that house is rendered evident enough by what we observed above, especially if we add the testimony of the evangelists themselves, who call her miraculous child the son or descendant of *David*. If it be asked, why they chose rather to give us that of her husband? it may be answered, that they conformed in it to the custom of the *Hebrews*, and even of the sacred writers, who deduce their genealogies from the male rather than the female line; for if Christ the son of *Mary* was the son or descendant of *David*, it must follow that his mother must be so too.

But the greater difficulty is, to reconcile the variations of the two genealogies of St. *Mathew* and St. *Luke*, and we much question whether the greater part of our readers would care to have all repeated that has been said on that subject, though in ever so succinct an epitome, especially considering that the point has not been so sufficiently cleared hitherto, as to leave no room for fresh cavils and objections. Yet that our silence might not be interpreted for a giving up of the cause, we shall subjoin a few observations we have been able to make, some of which, though intirely new, may yet furnish the curious inquirers into these abstruse matters, with a better key to reconcile those two genealogies, if not to clear and confirm the one by the help of the other, than they have as yet met with; and as we design the following remarks chiefly for such of our studious readers, we shall content ourselves with giving them as hints for them to exert their talents upon, without confining ourselves so much to method, as we do in other notes.

First, then, we beg leave to observe, that the titles of father and son, as well as the terms *to beget* and *be begotten*, in the language of scripture, do not always imply an immediate, but frequently a remote succession. Hence the phrase often used by *Moses*, *when thou shalt hereafter beget children and childrens children* (14), and the name of father or son given

(7) *Connect. part* 1 *Book* 5. *sub an.* 458, (8) *Matth.* xxiv. 15. *& alib.* † *Vol.* I. *p.* 462, (G), (9) *Genesis* xlix. 10. * *See before, p.* 6, b, & (K). (10) *Acts* iii. 17. (11) *Ibid.* ii. 36, *& seq.* iii. *pass.* (12) *Ibid.* v. 28. (13) *De hac vid. Numb.* xxxvi. *pass. & Vol.* I. *p.* 537, b. † *De hoc vid. ibid. p.* 614, *& seq.* 617, b. (14) *Deut. pass.*

should therefore give the significant name of *Jesus*, or *Saviour*, according to the prophecies long since written of him. Those that relate to his particular head, are as follow: *Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name* Emanuel, &c.

given to a predecessor or successor at the distance of two, three, or more generations, as will more fully appear by the sequel. This being premised will serve as a basis to the following remarks on the subject of those two gospel genealogies.

1st, St. *Matthew* gives one genealogy, and St. *Luke* another, and both in some names vary from the *Old Testament*.

2dly, St. *Matthew*, who begins his from *Abraham*, divides it into forty-two successions, called by him generations; that is,

fourteen before
fourteen under } the regal government.
fourteen after

3dly, The first fourteen are the same with those in the *Old Testament*, and in St. *Luke*.

4thly, The next fourteen in St. *Matthew* contain the legal succession of the line of *Solomon*, until its extinction in *Jechoniah*, *al. Coniah* and *Jehoiachim* (15), when the line of *Nathan*, the son of *David* and brother of *Solomon*, took place.

5thly, The inheritance in the *Jewish* polity being unalienable farther than the jubilee, as was before hinted, and then revolving to the next surviving heir, the latter, though at some distance from the former, was called the son, that is, properly the successor of the former. Thus *Salathiel*, who by St. *Luke*'s genealogy appears to have been the descendant of *Nathan* the son of *David*, is by St. *Matthew* said to be begotten by *Jechoniah* (16), the last of the *Solomonic* line, because he was the next surviving heir of the house of *David* after *Jechoniah*'s death. Had not therefore *Solomon*'s line been set down, and the end thereof noted, it could not have appeared from St. *Luke*, how *Salathiel* came by his title of succession; for the line of *Nathan* could not have any claim to it, whilst that of *Solomon* subsisted, unless in an uncertain reversion; and this will account for the difference between St. *Luke* and St. *Matthew*, in these middle fourteen generations.

6thly, But there is likewise in this latter succession a manifest variation as to the number from the books of the *Old Testament*. It has indeed been solved by saying that the evangelist aiming only at the three round numbers of fourteen generation abovementioned, had overlooked or purposely past by some of the redundant ones; and this answer hath hitherto past for current.

But the difference seems to arise from something more material, than the bare aim at an equality of numbers. The historical books set down all the kings in general that had reigned from *David* to *Jechoniah*; but St. *Matthew*, as a genealogist, seems to take notice only of those who had a legal title, and to omit the others. Of this latter sort we take *Abaziah* the son of *Jehoram* by *Athaliah* to have been, who is said to have been made king by the inhabitants of *Jerusalem* upon his father's death, because his eldest brother had been killed by *Philistines* (17), which seems to intimate, that they had chosen him in lieu of some infant son of his deceased brother. For had not this been the case, he would have succeeded of course, without the people's choice. In the same class we may put *Joash*, who succeeded his father *Abaziah*, and *Amaziah* the son of *Joash*, all who might succeed each other in prejudice to the elder branch, till this being extinct, made way for the younger in *Usiah* or *Ozias*, the son of *Amaziah*, who is therefore called by the evangelist, the son (18), that is, as we have hinted above, the successor of *Jehoram*, though at the distance of three generations above-mentioned.

Thus again *Zedekiah*, who was set up by the king of *Babylon* in prejudice of his elder brother *Jechoniah*, is likewise omitted by the evangelist. Now when these irregular successions are taken away, there will remain but the same fourteen which are mentioned in his genealogy.

7thly, The next variation between the two evangelists is in the last fourteen generations, and rises from the one's constant care of pointing out the passing of the inheritance as far as it goes in the elder branch. They both agree as far as *Zerubbabel*, after which St. *Matthew* goes on with *Abiud* and his heirs, down to *Eleazar*, where the line of *Abiud* ends; and then he sets down as his son and successor *Matthan* (19), who is by St. *Luke* mentioned under the name of *Matthat*, and was of the line of *Rhesa* (20) the son of *Zerubbabel*. So that he entered into the regular succession after the extinction of that of *Abiud*.

Thus again, *Matthat* or *Matthan* dying childless, *Eli* was obliged, according to the *Mosaic* law, to take his wife and raise up seed to him, and by him begot *Joseph* the husband of *Mary*, who, according to the same law, was still reputed as the son of the dead elder brother. For this reason St. *Matthew* rightly calls him the son of *Jacob*; whereas St. *Luke*, who did not proceed on the same method, calls him the son of *Eli*. The first gives us the name of his legal, the other of his natural, father.

St. *Matthew* might in all probability have fetched his genealogy from the records of *Bethlehem*, the patrimony of *David*, and wherein therefore none were entered, but such as by a regular lineal descent were in actual possession of it, and where the younger branch, though in actual possession of the crown, could not be regularly inrolled, as long as there was any heir of the elder left alive, or till such a time as this latter failed. St. *Luke*, on the other hand, who, as he tells us in the preface to his gospel, proposed to supply such defects as he found in those who had writ the history of *Jesus Christ* before him, fearing lest these omissions should cause some confusion, for want of pointing out when the younger succeeded the elder branch, has recourse to the book of chronicles, where the series of the successions, both regular and irregular, legal and illegal, are exhibited. So that both had their genealogies from the most authentic, though different, records, and scrupulously adhered each to his own, according to the scheme they had in view, and consequently, instead of clashing, do more probably clear and confirm each other.

There is still one difficulty left with respect to St. *Luke*'s genealogy, *viz.* his introducing of *Cainan* in the line of *Shem*, adding thereto one generation, contrary to the *Hebrew* text in *Genesis* and the *Chronicles* and all the versions of it, except the septuagint, contrary to the concurring testimony of *Josephus*, *Philo*, and other *Jewish* doctors, as well as to that of the ancient fathers; all who not only omit *Cainan*'s name, but reckon only ten generations from *Noah* to *Abraham*, whereas with this there would be eleven.

This

(15) *Conf. Jerem.* xxii. 24. *ad fin.* 2 *Kings* xxiv. 8, *& seq.* 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 9, *& seq.* (16) *Conf. Luc.* iii. 27, *ad* 31. *& Matth.* i. 19. (17) *Vid.* 1 *Chron.* xxii. 1. *&* 2 *Kings* viii. 24, *& seq.* (18) *Matth. ubi supra. vers.* 8. (19) *ubi supra, vers.* 15. (20) *ubi supra, v.* 27.

&c. [q] (R), —— *Unto us a child is born; unto us a ſon is given; and the government ſhall be upon his ſhoulder; and his name ſhall be called Wonderful, Counſellor, the mighty God, the everlaſting Father, the Prince of Peace* [r] (S); with ſome others of the ſame nature, which are not quite ſo manifeſt, nor ſo univerſally agreed on (T). But the ſurpriſed virgin

[q] Isaiah vii. 14. [r] Ibid. ix. 6.

This difference has given commentators more pains to reconcile, than we think it deſerved, conſidering the likelihood there is of its having been jumbled into St. *Luke*'s text by the careleſſneſs of the tranſcribers, there being another *Cainan* mentioned in the verſe immediately following, which might be alſo, according to the old cloſe way of writing, in the very next line. But allowing it to have been originally in St. *Luke*, it is plain, he muſt have had it out of the ſeptuagint, which verſion both he and the other ſacred writers his cotemporaries uſed, and the copy which he then had might have been corrupted after the ſame careleſs manner; for it doth not appear that all the copies of that verſion had this name, elſe it would be found in all the *Latin* verſions of it, as well as in *Joſephus*, *Philo*, and the fathers; and then they muſt have reckoned eleven inſtead of ten generations.

The ſame may be ſaid even on the ſuppoſition, that it was originally put in by the ſeventy interpreters; for as neither they, nor the tranſcribers of the *Hebrew* copy, which they took with them into *Egypt*, were infallible (at leaſt we think we have made it appear they were not, when we ſpoke of their verſion) how eaſily might that word have crept into the text by their inadvertency!

But if all this will not ſatisfy the ſcrupulous, what we have obſerved above of the diſtinction of natural and legal parents, will eaſily remove the difficulty; ſo that *Arphaxad* might be the natural father of *Sala*, and the legal one of *Cainan*, or *vice verſâ*. There is therefore no need of having recourſe, as ſome have done, to injurious ſuppoſitions againſt the *Jews*, as if they had purpoſely ſcratched out the name of *Cainan* in their *Hebrew* copies, that they might take occaſion to cry down the ſeptuagint verſion; much leſs to other more violent means, to account for ſo ſmall a variation, which, for aught appears to the contrary, was occaſioned by the mere overſight of a tranſcriber, and the more probably, of St. *Luke*'s own copy, than of either original or *Greek* verſion.

(R) This prophecy has been very much canvaſſed of late by our modern ſceptics, and as learnedly anſwered by ſeveral eminent hands. Thoſe diſputes are ſo recent, that we need not refer our readers to the authors who have wrote on either ſide. As for the difficulty that is raiſed, how the prophecy of a child thus miraculouſly born, could be a ſatisfaction to *Ahaz*, to whom it was addreſſed, unleſs it was fulfilled in his time, we have anſwered it in a former volume, to which the reader may, if he pleaſes, have recourſe †.

(S) Our readers may perhaps be willing to know what anſwer or evaſion the *Jews* make uſe of againſt ſuch pregnant prophecies; and it will not be amiſs here to give them a ſpecimen of them out of one of their ſubtileſt and boldeſt champions (21), by which he may gueſs at the reſt.

Firſt then, to the former of theſe prophecies, where the miraculous child is called *Jeſus* or *Saviour*, becauſe he was to ſave his people from their ſins, they in general, and this in particular, anſwer to this effect: Who has told you that the ſin of *Adam* has intailed any guilt on his poſterity? Was not that of his ſon *Cain*, who murdered his brother, a thouſand times greater than the biting of an apple? and yet no ſuch thing is ſaid of his poſterity being tainted with it. Beſides, where is there any mention made, that the Meſſiah was to ſave his people from their ſins? and if there was, how did *Jeſus* ſave us from them, when you own he made us commit one infinitely heavier in crucifying him? In vain do you tell us of a redeemer of ſouls, we expect none but a redeemer of bodies, a Meſſiah that ſhall deliver us from ſlavery, and make us again a flouriſhing victorious nation and kingdom.

To the ſecond prophecy, the ſarcaſtic author above quoted gives the following anſwer in a kind of triumphing tone. We will join iſſue with you, tho', according to your interpretation, it ſhould have been written *his names* (inſtead of *his name ſhall be called*) but waving that, how can his (*Jeſus*'s) name be called *wonderful, counſellor?* Did not *Judas* rather defeat his counſel, when he betrayed him unknown to him? He could not be the *gibbor*, or *mighty one*, ſeeing he was put to death: He could not be the *Abbi*, the *everlaſting father*, or *father of eternity*, becauſe he was cut off in the midſt of his days. Laſtly, he could not be called the *prince of peace*, becauſe he enjoyed none himſelf, neither have wars ever ceaſed ſince his time; yea, himſelf ſays, that he did not come to bring peace, but war upon earth.

Others endeavour to elude the force of the prophecy, by pretending that the impersonal ויקרא *vajicra*, *he ſhall call*, refers to God; and conſequently that all thoſe titles there mentioned refer to him, and not to the child there ſpoken of. But this evaſion is ſo ungrammatical and contrary to the plain import, in a vaſt number of parallel places, that others of them have diſowned it.

(T) Of this kind is that of *Jeremiah* (22): *The Lord will create a new thing upon the earth, a female* (or woman) *ſhall incompaſs a man*; which the context plainly ſhews to allude to the days of the Meſſiah, and moſt probably, from the natural ſenſe of the words, to the miraculous pregnancy of this virgin. However, the *Jews* not only take them in a very different ſenſe, but exclaim againſt us for urging this text to them.

Eſpecially the *Jewiſh* author above-quoted, who here, as every-where elſe, rather expoſes his inveterate rancour againſt the *Chriſtians*, than his ſkill in the prophetic writings. It would doubtleſs offend our reader's ears, to tell him what a filthy word this vile wretch has found for the bleſſed mother of Chriſt, by the alteration of the firſt letter of her name, or the blaſphemies which moſt of their other writers vent againſt him and his religion. It ſhall ſuffice to have given this hint of it once for all. We ſhall ſpare them for the future, ſince their diſtorting the obvious ſenſe of the ſacred writings, whilſt they acknowledge the divine authority of them, doth but the more evince the truth of the one, and the invincible obſtinacy of the other.

Another text hitherto miſunderſtood and worſe tranſlated, and which we think to be prophetical of the birth of Chriſt of a virgin, is that of the *Proverbs*, chap. xxxi. verſe 19. *The way of the man*, not *with the maid*, as our verſion renders it, but *in the virgin*; but this we have had occaſion to explain in a former volume, to which we refer the reader *.

† *Vol.* I. *p.* 831, a. & (K) (21) *Auctor. libr. Nitzahon. vid. Munſter in loc. & not in verſ. Hebr. Evang. S. Matth. c.* i. (22) *cap.* xxxi. 22. * *Vol.* I. *p.* 69, (P)

virgin was so far from calling to mind those prophecies, that she looked on her virginity, which it is most likely she had resolved to preserve under the guardianship of an aged religious husband, as an obstacle to the accomplishment of the angel's word, till, assured at length by him of the miraculous conception of that divine child, with an humble confidence she wholly submitted herself to the will of heaven. The angel having at the same time acquainted her with the pregnancy of her cousin *Elizabeth* in her old age, she went up into the mountainous country to congratulate her and her husband upon it. At the first embracing of these three holy persons, whose ecstatic joy can only be guessed from the pathetic account which the evangelist has left us of it; *Elizabeth*, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, felt her child give a leap in her womb, from which she began to conceive a higher notion of her visitor, and which she expressed in terms of the deepest respect and gratitude. *Mary*, on her part, being filled with rapturous joy at what she had heard, testified her humble sense for all the divine favours she saw herself blest with, in that most heavenly canticle, which the same evangelist has preserved to us; and, after three months abode, returned to her homely habitation at *Nazareth*. During her stay there, *Elizabeth* being delivered of the promised son, gave him the name of *John* (U), as his father had been commanded by the angel; and *Zacharias*, having testified his consent to it in writing, found his tongue immediately loosed, and his heart filled with the Holy Ghost; and broke out into an eucharistic and prophetic hymn, which inspired the wondering by-standers with singular hopes concerning this new-born child [s].

The Trachonitish robbers suppressed.

During this time, that part of *Judæa*, which is called *Trachonitis* (W), and which was very rocky and mountainous, had been the receptacle of a great number of banditti and free-booters, who, as we have already hinted, lived chiefly upon the plunder which they got by their constant excursions, sometimes towards *Judæa*, sometimes towards *Arabia*. What was still worse, they infested the roads that led from the *Babylonish* territories to *Jerusalem*, and hindered the concourse of the *Jews* of those quarters to the annual feasts. *Herod*, who had already been at a vast deal of pains to ferret them out of their dens and lurking-holes, bethought himself at length of a way of suppressing them effectually. He began with inlarging and fortifying a village, which was conveniently situated in the heart of the country, and became in time a considerable town. Hither he invited a certain *Jewish* captain, named *Zamaris*, who was gone at the head of five hundred well-armed men to settle in a castle in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*; and gave him and his men so many encouragements and immunities, that they came and fixed their abode there, and soon cleared all that country of that plundering vermin [u]. *Zamaris*, who was both valiant and religious, did not only signalise himself in this province, but left a noble offspring like himself, whose very names were sufficient to deter the rest of that gang from settling there any more.

Christ the Saviour of the world born.

The virgin *Mary*, who was returned, from her visit to *Zacharias*, to *Nazareth* the place of her abode, began now to give such signs of her pregnancy, as made her aged spouse, who had wholly abstained from matrimonial converse with her, to conceive some strong suspicion of her incontinency. He was thereupon contriving some means to give her a private divorce, without exposing her to the rigour of the law; when he was apprised by an angel, that her conception was altogether miraculous, and that he ought not to hesitate one moment to take her and her child under his patronage, since that miraculous son was appointed by heaven to be the saviour of his people. *Joseph* immediately obeyed, and took her to his home, but lived in perfect continence with her till the time of her delivery [w], if not of his death (X). In the mean time, *Bethlehem*,

[s] Luke i. 40, & seq. [t] Ibid. v. 27. ad fin. [u] Antiq. l. xvii. c. 2. [w] Matt. i. 18, & seq.

(U) In the *Hebrew* יוחנן *jochannan*, a name very expressive of that gracious dispensation, which heaven was going to display by the gospel, of which this child was appointed the harbinger.

(W) This region, which had *Arabia Deserta* on the east, *Batanea* on the west, the land of *Damascus* on the north, and *Iturea* on the south, seems to have had its name from two famous mountains, which an ancient geographer calls *Trachones* (23). The greatest part indeed of it, according to *Josephus*; who places it between *Palestine* and *Cœle-Syria*, had such ridges of rocks and mountains, especially on the sides of *Arabia* and *Iturea*, that some of them had caverns large enough to lodge a thousand men (24).

(X) This last is the most received opinion, and it is certain that the particle *till*, especially according to

(23) *Strab. Geogr. l.* xvi. *Hieron. loc. Hebr.*

(24) *Vid. Joseph. ubi supra, l.* i. *c* 7. *Euseb. in loc. sub voc. Kanath.*

lehem, the city of *David*, and not the obſcure city of *Nazareth*, being the place pointed at by the prophet for the birth of the Meſſiah [x], the divine wiſdom ſo ordered it, that the decree of *Auguſtus* for taking a freſh ſurvey of the *Roman* empire, and the number and eſtimate of all perſons, eſtates, riches, &c. (Y) ſhould reach *Judæa* about this time, which obliged the pregnant virgin and her huſband to repair thither, to be inrolled with all thoſe that were of the houſe and lineage of *David*. The great concourſe of people coming to that place, put this poor little family under two inconveniencies, *viz.* a long ſtay, and the want of a lodging and proper entertainment; yet was this alſo conducted by a ſpecial providence, that he, who was to be the pattern of humility, ſhould begin and end his race in the ſame low and dejected path. Accordingly, when the pregnant virgin found herſelf near the time of her delivery, ſhe was forced to take up with the mean accommodation of a ſtable, where having brought forth her god-like ſon, ſhe wrapped him up in ſwaddling-cloaths, and, for want of a better, made the poor manger ſerve him for a cradle.

Auguſtus's decree.

Chriſt's birth proclaimed by angels.

But this humble riſing of the ſun of righteouſneſs did ſoon break out into its peculiar luſtre, when an angel, at the head of an heavenly hoſt, proclaimed his wonderous birth to the watching ſhepherds, and celebrated it with that noble hymn, *Glory be to God on high, on earth peace, good will towards men*; and here began the firſt part of the character of that divine child, hinted above out of the prophet, to be diſplayed, *And he ſhall be called Wonderful*; wonderfully conceived, wonderfully born, and as wonderfully manifeſted. Accordingly, the angel, having declared to the ſhepherds, that on that day was born in the city of *David* a Saviour, which is Chriſt the Lord, gives them theſe wonderful ſigns to diſcover him by: *Ye ſhall find the babe wrapped up in ſwaddling cloaths, and lying in a manger* [y]; and the ſhepherds going to the place, and finding all things as had been told to them, became themſelves the publiſhers of the joyful news, and began to fill the neighbourhood with hopes of their long-expected and now aſſured deliverance. The child's parents, according to the *Moſaic* law, circumciſed him on the eighth day, and gave him the name of *Jeſus*, as they had been directed by the angel (Z) [z].

ANOTHER

[x] MIC. v. 2. [y] LUKE ii. 8. ad 12. [z] Ibid. verſ. 21. MATT. i. 21.

to the genius of the *Hebrew* tongue, doth not always imply the duration of a thing to ſuch a time, but often carries a continuation unto the end; otherwiſe Chriſt would have his ſeſſion at the right hand of God no longer than till his enemies were made his foot-ſtool (25). *Timothy* would have been obliged, according to St. *Paul*'s exhortation (26), to have vacated to the ſcriptures and other epiſcopal duties, no longer than till the coming of that apoſtle to him; and *Jacob* would have been no longer intitled to the divine protection, than till God had performed the promiſe of bringing him ſafe to his own home again (27). The reader may ſee many more inſtances of the like nature in the famous concordance of indeclinables printed by *Froben* (28).

If it be objected, why *Joſeph*, who is by St. *Matthew* called a righteous man, ſhould ſcruple to expoſe his wife to the rigour of the *Moſaic* law, which condemns all ſuch to death; it is anſwered, that the word *righteous* is here uſed by the evangeliſt in oppoſition to one of a ſevere and rigorous diſpoſition, and rather means a *charitable* perſon, who, though he abhors the crime, yet thinks there is a debt of mercy and compaſſion due to the offender; and who could have a greater claim to it, than a young and unexperienced virgin?

(Y) When this way of ſurveying came in vogue in the *Roman* empire, how, and by whom, it was performed, ſhall be ſhewn in the *Roman* hiſtory. We need only take notice, that *Auguſtus* cauſed three of theſe to be made in his time, of which this was the ſecond; it had been began ſomewhat above ſeven years before the vulgar or chriſtian æra, that is, above three years before the birth of Chriſt; and it might be well all that time going through the provinces of *Cœle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, and part of *Judæa*, before it came to *Bethlehem* (29), ſince that which had been made by *David*, of the ſingle province of *Judæa*, (thoug it doth not appear that the commiſſioners were to take an eſtimate of the eſtates, but only the number of fighting men) had taken up three whole years, though they were recalled before they had gone through with it (30).

It may not be amiſs to obſerve further concerning this decree of *Auguſtus*, that there is a kind of diſſonance between St. *Luke* and *Joſephus*, the former calling it a decree for taxing the empire, and the other affirming that no tax was paid in *Judæa* during *Herod* and his ſon *Archelaus*'s reign, and that it did not begin till the depoſition of the latter, when that province was put under a *Roman* governor or preſident. This was not till twelve years after, when *Cyrenius*, as he is called by the *Grecks* and the evangeliſts, or in the *Roman* ſtyle *Pub. Sulp. Quirinius*, was ſent preſident of *Syria* (31).

The difference is eaſily reconciled; the decree iſſued out by *Auguſtus* was in order to have the empire taxed according to the eſtimate made by this ſurvey. *Judæa*, though then ſubject to *Rome*, was excepted by the favour of the emperor, till the depoſition of *Archelaus*, when it began to take place there under that new preſident. This ſenſe, which ſeems the obvious one of the evangeliſt, doth in no way really claſh with the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian (32).

(Z) This wonderful advent of the Saviour of the word happened, according to the beſt computation we

(25) *Pſalm* cx. 1. (26) 1 *Timoth.* iv. 13. (27) *Geneſ.* xxviii. 15. (28) *Sub voc. Donec.*
(29) *Conf. Sueton. in Octavio. & Luc.* ii. 1, *& ſeq.* (30) 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 1, *& ſeq. See alſo Vol.* I. *p.* 788, d. *& not.* (31) *Antiq. l.* xviii. *c.* 1. (32) *De hoc vid. Uſſer. Prid. Calmet, & al.*

The temple of Janus shut.

ANOTHER remarkable occurrence, and very proper to usher in both this character of *Wonderful*, as well as the other of *Prince of Peace*, was, that the temple of *Janus* was then shut, which was never done, but when the empire enjoyed a profound peace [a], as it did at this time, and continued to do twelve whole years (A). But the most signal manifestation of this new-born Saviour, and which put the whole city of *Jerusalem* into an uproar, was the arrival of the *Magi*, or *Wise-men* from the east (B), to that

[a] See the authors quoted under the following note.

we have, that of our most excellent *Usher*, in the four thousand year of the world; and falls in exactly with an old tradition of the *Jews* mentioned in a former volume, that the world should last two thousand years before the law, two thousand under the law, and two thousand under the Messiah, according to the six days of the *Mosaic* creation; after which was to follow the seventh, or millennium †.

Accordingly, we find, that there was about this time an universal expectation of him among all the *Jews*, and even among the *Heathens*, who might have it probably from them; the sacred books having by this time been a considerable while translated into *Greek*, as we have seen in a former section. Neither is it improbable, they might still retain a kind of traditionary notion of him from the prophecy of *Balaam*, concerning the wonderful star that was to arise out of *Jacob* (33); and this may be the reason why these so readily embraced christianity, whilst the *Jews*, blinded with prejudice, and soothed into the hopes of a conquering deliverer, rejected both him and his doctrine. But of this hereafter.

We have seen a little higher, how the *Jews* evade those prophecies, which fixed the coming of Christ to this time by several manifest indices; and need we wonder they should do the same thing by this tradition? Their common salvo, that the sins of the nation have retarded his coming, is a plain acknowledgment, that they look upon the time as long since expired, though they will hardly own it in so many words. But here they go from a received notion of their doctors, that though God may protract or even remit the evils he denounces against men, as he did in the case of the *Ninivites*, yet he never doth so with his promises, but punctually performs them in due time. According to which notion they used to try a true from a false prophet; that is, they did not condemn him, if his threatening did not come to pass, but only when his promises failed.

This notion of the Messiah's coming being retarded on account of the sins of the nation, is indeed the natural offspring of a much greater error; their expecting him to have appeared in the pomp and grandeur of a conquering and victorious monarch, who was to free them from the *Roman* yoke, and bring this and all other nations under that of the *Jews*; for this is the sense they put on all those prophecies which set forth the glories of his kingdom; and these being the chief blessings they expected from him, and on which they set the highest value, what more likely cause could be assigned for his delay, than that of their sins?

But could they have opened their eyes to the opposite part of his character, which is there as plainly and expressly foretold, and in the very same chapter of the same prophet (34), namely, that of his humiliation and sufferings, of his being rejected, reproached, blasphemed, and persecuted, even to death; they must have concluded, that nothing less than their sins could be the cause of his coming being so long suspended. On the contrary, they would have seen, that since a person of his glorious, beneficent, and irreproachable character was to be so cruelly treated, so unjustly and so inhumanly butchered by his own people, no time could be fitter for his coming, than when their nation was come up to the height of ingratitude and injustice, of infatuation and inhumanity, as it really was, when those prophecies were fulfilled in him.

(A) This was the fifth time of its being shut since the foundation of *Rome*; the first time was under *Numa*; the second at the end of the *Punic* war; the third under *Cæsar Augustus*, after the defeat of *Marc Antony* and death of *Cleopatra*, twenty-nine years before the birth of Christ; the fourth four years after, or twenty-five years before Christ, on the reduction of the *Cantiberians* or *Cantabrians* in *Spain*; and the fifth at this time of our Saviour's birth and under the same emperor (35).

(B) It would doubtless prove an inquiry worth making, could we come at any tolerable certainty concerning these wise men, who they were? what part of the world they came from? what time of the year they arrived at *Jerusalem?* how many they were? and many more such questions, which have been started to little purpose, and to which no satisfactory light can be given. However, to spare our curious readers the trouble of consulting the various accounts that have been given of them, we shall here subjoin the most that can be found concerning them.

1st, It is generally agreed, that they were of the sect of the *Mages*, of whom we have given an account in a former volume †, persons wholly addicted to the study of philosophy, astronomy, and divination; and are supposed by some to have been the disciples or descendants of *Balaam*; whom we have mentioned a little higher, on account of his notable prophecy of the Messiah. This will not appear improbable, if we consider, that both they and their supposed master are said to have come from the east (36). Now the latter is said to have been sent for from the city of *Pethor* (37), which is there affirmed to have been situate on the banks of the river of the land of the children of his people, or, as the targum of *Onkelos* renders the place, on the river *Euphrates*, and elsewhere is said by *Moses* to have been a city of *Mesopotamia* (38). So that this country of *Arabia Deserta* seems most probably to be the place they came from; for they generally bear the name of *eastern* in the sacred writings. Another ancient author, whom we shall have occasion to mention under the next note, tells us, that they were *Chaldeans* by birth, and by profession great astronomers; and that it was by the help of this art that they understood what this new-risen star pre-signified, which made them take their journey into *Judæa*, where the new *Jewish* king was born. Now *Chaldea*, properly so called, being situate along the river *Euphrates*, was still nearer *Judæa* than the other two above-mentioned.

This will also give us some light into another question concerning them, *viz.* How long they were in

† *Vol.* I *p.* 613, b. (33) *Numb.* xxiv. 17. (34) *Isaiah* liii. *pass. vid.* & *Ps.* xxii. *pass.* & *alib. plur.* (35) *De his vid. Plutarch. in Numa. Liv. lib.* i. *Flor. lib.* ii. *Dio. Cass. l.* ii. & *al. Oros. l.* vi. *c.* 20, & *seq.* † *Vol.* II. *p.* 71, & *seq.* 206, & *not.* (36) *Conf. Numb.* xxiii. 7. & *Matth.* ii. 1 (37) *Numb.* xxii. 5. (38) *Deut.* xxiii 4.

a that metropolis, under the guidance of a miraculous ſtar (C), which ceaſed not to go before them, till it had brought them to the place and perſon they were in ſearch of.

in coming from their country to *Jeruſalem?* for if they came from the latter, they might eaſily reach it on their camels or dromedaries, the uſual, but expeditious, carriage of thoſe parts, in and about a fourteenth night; and if from the former, through the latter, one week or ten days more might ſuffice. For upon the ſuppoſition above-mentioned, of their coming from *Meſopotamia* and the banks of the *Euphrates*, the greateſt diſtance from that river to *Jeruſalem* will not much exceed ſix hundred miles. What further ſeems to confirm this conjecture is, the prophecy of the kings of *Sheba* and *Saba*, or *Arabia*, bringing their gifts to the king Meſſiah. For of him is this pſalm (29) allowed by *Jews* and *Chriſtians* to have been writ.

Some ancient authors indeed, who have fetched them from the remoteſt parts of *Perſia*, have allowed them a two years travel, and found their ſuppoſition on the inquiry which *Herod* made of the exact time of the ſtar's appearing to them, and his deſtroying all the male infants from two years and under (30); but what quite overturns this conjecture, and proves that they muſt have been at *Bethlehem* within leſs than forty days after his birth, is, that this was the place where they found him; whereas after his parents had preſented him to the Lord at *Jeruſalem*, which was to be done at the end of forty days, they are ſaid to have gone and dwelt at *Nazareth*, their uſual habitation (31).

Beſides, if they had been two years in coming, the ſtar muſt be alſo ſuppoſed to have appeared to them ſo long before, and to have directed them all that time, which is abſurd, as we ſhall further ſhew under the next note. *Herod* therefore, by ſlaying all the males under two years, might only do it for his greater ſecurity, and from ſome doubt, either that the *Magi* might not have obſerved the firſt appearance of the ſtar, or that they had purpoſely concealed it from him, out of a forecaſt they had of his bloody deſign againſt the child. We have ſeen already through his hiſtory, that he was never ſparing of the lives of his ſubjects, whenever his jealouſy or reſentment rendered them obnoxious to him.

Neither ſacred nor ancient eccleſiaſtical writers tell us, how many in number, or of what quality, they were; but this has not hindered thoſe more recent fixing theſe and many more minute circumſtances, even as far as their names, age, complexion, dreſs, retinue, and ſuch-like. As for their number, the moſt received opinion is, that they were but three, and this notion ſeems founded on the three kinds of preſents they brought with them, as if each of them had preſented a different one. But this is ſaid without foundation. An old apocryphal book has multiplied them to twelve; and adds, that they were choſen from their whole nation, and went every night on the high mountains to watch the appearance of the ſtar (32).

Thoſe that give them the title of *kings*, found their opinion partly on the text above-quoted out of the pſalmiſt, and partly on a notion, which *Tertullian* had taken (33), on what ground is hard to gueſs, that all thoſe eaſtern nations were governed by kings choſen out of the ſect of the *Mages*. To the royal crown the *Armenians* (34) have added to them that of martyrdom, which they pretend they ſuffered in that country. The great conſtable of *Armenia*, in his letter to the king of *France*, (St. *Louis*), adds, that they came thither from the province of *Tangut* (35). All this is ſaid on the authority of a tradition they have among them, and not from any authentic records; ſo that we may oppoſe to it that of the city of *Cologne*, which pretends that they died there in their way home, and ſhews not only their tomb, but their three heads, in the cathedral of that city. Their epitaph, which is in *Latin* verſe, gives them the names of *Gaſpar*, *Melchior*, and *Balthazar*.

We ſhall add one tradition more concerning them, which is, it ſeems, as ſtifly believed in ſome parts of the *Indies*, as the two laſt are in *Armenia* and *Germany*. We have it on the credit of *Jerom Osorius*, biſhop of *Algarba* in *Portugal*, who aſſures us he had it from perſons of undoubted credit, well verſed in the ancient monuments of thoſe countries, and is to this effect:

Chiperimal, king of *Crangavor*, in the kingdom of *Calecut*, having undertaken ſome long voyage by way of expiation for an inceſt he had committed, came into *Carmania*, where he met with two *Mages*, going into *Judæa* to pay their homage to a miraculous child newly born of a virgin. The king begged leave to accompany them, and on his return cauſed a ſtately church to be built in honour of the virgin and her ſon, and in which he cauſed her image to be ſet up, holding the child in her arms. We ſhall ſtop here, ſeeing there is no going further in ſearch of them, without danger of being ſtill more bewildered.

However, before we diſmiſs this note, it will be very proper to take notice, once for all, that from the very earlieſt times of chriſtianity, there ſtarted up a number of heretics, who, the better to colour their impious tenets, trumped up divers falſe goſpels and writings, under the names of ſome of the apoſtles or moſt famous diſciples of Chriſt, and ſtuffed them with ſuch variety of miraculous circumſtances and ſtories, as obliged the heads of the church to condemn and explode them, as they juſtly deſerved. But though the books vaniſhed, except their names and ſome few fragments of them, yet the memory of thoſe addititious ſtories and miracles was not ſo eaſily extinguiſhed among the vulgar, who were ignorant of their foul origin; but was propagated by a kind of popular tradition, which was afterwards too indiſcriminatively received by the writers of the fourth, fifth, &c. centuries, eſpecially where they thought it ſerved to clear a text, or ſupplied thoſe circumſtances of men and things, which had been omitted by the ſacred writers.

Thus the various notions about the wiſe-men, mentioned above, of the miraculous ſtar, we ſhall ſpeak of in the next note, and many more of the like kind, too groſs to deſerve a place here, ſeem to have flowed from the pſeudo-goſpels of *Joſeph the carpenter*, of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, of *the infancy of Jeſus*, and ſome others, falſely attributed to one or other of the apoſtles; but in time their origin being forgot, they were received as common traditions, and quoted as ſuch by ſome of the latter fathers. So that it would be unjuſt to charge thoſe great and good men, with either forgery, or even with a fondneſs for what we call pious frauds, ſeeing the perſecuted ſtate of the church during ſo many centuries made their miſtake almoſt unavoidable, which were in better times happily diſcovered and rectified.

(C) We have likewiſe a great variety of conjectures concerning this wonderful ſtar, according as men

(29) *Pſalm* lxxii. 10. (30) *De his vid. Calmet. Comment. in Matth.* (31) *Luke* ii 39. (32) *Auth. op. imperf. in Matth. homil.* 2. (33) *Cont. Marcion l.* iii. *& lib. cont. Judæos.* (34) *Vid. Chardin's travels into* Perſia, *tom.* 2; (35) *Spicileg. ap. Calmet. ubi ſupra.*

of. However, as they looked upon him as the king of the *Jews*, they first repaired to a
Whence they came to Bethlehem. the metropolis, where he was most likely to be either born, or heard of. Upon their first inquiry after him, *Herod* and the whole city was moved, and the grand sanhedrin, being consulted about the place of his birth, directed them to *Bethlehem*, the place mentioned by the prophet above quoted. Whatever hopes the rest of the *Jews* might conceive from this wonderful phenomenon and the tidings of the new-born *Messiah*, *Herod*, who dreamt of nothing but of an earthly kingdom, began to look upon that wonderful child as a dangerous rival, and resolved from that instant to nip him in the bud. To this end, he caused the *Magi* to be privately brought to him, and having carefully sifted them concerning the time of the star's appearance, and other circumstances which might serve his bloody design. he dismissed them with these words; *Go and search diligently for the child; and when you have found him, bring me word, that I may go likewise and pay my homage to him.* They set out accordingly, and were b
not a little over-joyed, when, upon their leaving *Jerusalem*, they beheld the same star still going before them, till it stood and shot its rays perpendicular upon the house where the child and his parents were. Here they approached the divine babe with suitable reverence, and having laid open their treasures, they offered him the presents of gold, frankincense, and myrrh (D); and being warned not to go back to *Jerusalem*, they returned

men are inclined, either to lessen or to multiply miracles. Of this second sort are those who think it to have been a mere comet, only with some peculiar lustre, or some other index, well understood by the wise-men (36); and others, who make no more of it than a meteor, vastly below the orb of the moon †; though either of these can hardly be admitted without the interposition of a miracle, since the supposition of an extraordinary lustre in the former, and the long and regular motion of the latter, contrary to all that we understand of meteor, seems to have required a supernatural hand. Since therefore a miracle must be admitted, and it is plain God was never less sparing of them, than upon this glorious juncture; others have with greater probability believed it to have been a luminous body created on purpose; others, that it was the very light which had appeared to the shepherds, which having been seen at a distance to the wise-men like a star, came lastly to appear to those in a more refulgent manner (37). Some think it was an angel in that figure (38); others have run still greater lengths, making it to have been the Holy Ghost, appearing in that visible shape, and have attributed such an unusual brightness to it, as even eclipsed the sun; if so, 'tis a wonder no cotemporary authors, either sacred or profane, should have said something of it.

And this will in a great measure explode the notion of those we mentioned in the last note, who make the wise-men to have been two years in coming to *Jerusalem*, and the star to have gone all that time before them; since its long continuance and irregular motion, with respect to other heavenly bodies, could not but awaken the attention and wonder of all those countries, in which it must have been seen. But this difficulty has been removed, by pretending that it appeared either to none but to the *Magi*, or only two or three times, enough for those who were watchful observers of it, but overlooked by all the rest. But this is said without foundation, or even shadow of probability; and the question of the *Magi* at *Jerusalem* seems much rather to imply, that it had been seen at least in all the countries between *Judæa* and their own.

We will not take upon us to say which of all these hypotheses is the most probable, since the sacred historian has left us in the dark, and the rest of ancient historians are quite silent about it. We shall only subjoin here what the *Platonic* philosopher *Chalcidius* says of it (39): It is not easy indeed to guess at the time in which he lived; but that he was a christian, the very passage itself plainly shews: "Let us now turn our "thoughts, says he, to another, and more holy, history, and such a one as is more worthy of our admiration. I mean that which mentions the appearance of a star, not of the nature of those which portended either a sickness or mortality, but which manifested the descent of God upon earth, to dwell among men, and to bless them with his choicest favours. Some of the *Magi*, or wise-men of *Chaldæa*, having observed this star in the night, and being thoroughly versed in astronomy, went immediately in search of this new-born God, and having found him, presented him with gifts suitable to his divine character." The reader will find in the next note, what may have been probably the meaning of this last expression.

(D) The piety of some ancient times, when allegory was in greatest vogue, and mysteries were diligently looked for in every part of holy writ, hath led men into such lengths, as it would be dangerous to follow in these days. Particularly in these presents, which the wise-men offered to the holy *Jesus*, they have pretended to find out, either his three distinct offices of king, priest, and prophet, or his divinity, royalty, and manhood (40); or, lastly, the divine virtues he was endowed with, and was to communicate to his true followers, *viz.* purity by the myrrh, which is an excellent ingredient to preserve from corruption; incense, the smoke or perfume of which is said to be the prayers of the faithful (41); and charity or beneficence, the most acceptable perfume that can be offered to the deity, and implied in the gold.

Others, grieving to see their fellow-christians feed their piety with such far-fetched notions, have sought a nearer meaning by running into another extreme, and concluded, that nothing else seems intended by those gifts, than the supplying the present and future indigencies of the child and his parents, who were shortly to be forced to take a long journey into *Egypt*. So that the gold was to defray their expences, the myrrh to preserve the babe's tender limbs in his travels, and the incense to dispel the common damps and ill-smell, either of his stable, or of those caravanzeras or inns, in which they would be obliged to lodge.

But

(36) *Orig. Maldon. Grot. Le Clerc in Matt.* ii. *Whiston, & al.* † *Calmet, ubi supra.* (37) *Leo Mag. in Matt. Lightfoot, & al.* (38) *Chrysost. Theophylact. & al.* (39) *Comm. in Timæum Platon. p.* 19. (40) *Ambros. in Luke* ii. 6. *Leo Serm de Epiphan. Theoph. in Matth.* 2. *Bern. & al. mult.* (41) *De his Vid. Baron. sub A. C.* 1. *sect.* 40. *& Calmet. sub Simeon IV.*

returned home by another way [b]. As soon as the child was forty days old, the time prescribed for the purification of women after the birth of a son [c], his parents brought him to *Jerusalem* to be presented to the Lord in the temple, and to be redeemed, according to the law concerning the first-born [d], with the price of five shekels, or of a lamb, or a pair of doves, or young pidgeons; which last was the price appointed for the meaner sort. And into such low condition was the family of *David* reduced (by this time), and so poor were the parents of the world's inestimable redeemer, that they were fain to redeem him at the lowest price. Here they were met by a venerable old man, named *Simeon* (E), a person of consummate piety, and endowed with the spirit of prophecy; to whom it had been revealed, that he should not see death before he had beheld the promised Messiah. Being therefore directed by the Holy Ghost to the temple at the same time, he took the babe in his arms, and having foretold to his mother the sorrows with which her pious soul would in time be pierced, on account of the many blasphemies and persecutions which this divine son was to be exposed to; and being now assured that nothing could add to his happiness but the joys of a future life, sung his own requiem in a short ecstatic hymn, and restored the babe to his parents. His testimony was accompanied with that of a venerable old prophetess, named *Anna*, who had dedicated the remainder of her life from her widowhood to the service of God and of his temple; and coming at that instant to the place, began likewise from thenceforth to publish this new-born Saviour to all the faithful *Israelites* [e].

b

c

What bloody expedient the jealous *Herod* pitched upon to frustrate all these predictions by ridding himself of this so dreaded child, and how he was disappointed in it by a peculiar providence, will be seen in the next section; and we shall close this, according to our promise, with a short view of the sects at this time reigning in *Judæa*, that the reader may see how it came to pass, that a Messiah, so plainly and frequently foretold from the beginning, so miraculously conceived and born, proclaimed by angels, attested by prophets, and confirmed by innumerable miracles, the infallible seals of heaven, came yet to be rejected and persecuted even to death and beyond, by those who were the keepers and expounders of those oracles, which foretold and typified him, and eye-witnesses of all his stupendous works. For though we are writing the history of the *Jews*, and not of the christians, yet, for as much as the destruction of their temple, city, and common-wealth, was owing to their refusing to

d

[b] Matth. ii. 1, & seq.. [c] Levit. xii. 2, & 6. [d] Exod. xiii. 2. Numb xviii. 15. See also before, Vol. I. p. 626. b. & (F). [e] Luke ii, 22. ad 38.

But there is a middle way between those extremes, which is, that the *Magi* offered these presents to this new-born monarch, as they looked on him merely as the future king of the *Jews*, and without any regard to his divinity, of which it doth not sufficiently appear that they were appriſed. Only they supposed, by the wonderful phænomena that preceded and accompanied his birth, that he was likely to prove such a glorious monarch, as that his reign would eclipse those of all his ancestors; but whether on account of his greater power, conquests, or for what other reason, it is not likely they could know without a particular revelation.

(E) The shortness of the evangelist's account concerning this venerable person, has been abundantly supplied by the pious and fruitful fancies of later writers, who have each contributed their mite towards the raising of his character. He has been by many (42) affirmed to have been a priest, and to have been then performing his function in receiving the child in his arms, according to the custom of redeeming the first-born. There is indeed nothing can make this incredible or improbable, if we except the silence of St. *Luke*, who, it is not likely, would have over-looked his being a priest, if he had been really such.

Some have affirmed him to have been the same with *Simon*, surnamed *The Just*, disciple of the famous *Hillel*, often mentioned in this history, who was also the master of that *Gamaliel*, at whose feet St. *Paul* had been brought up (43), and that whilst he was endeavouring after an exposition of the prophecy, quoted a little higher, *A virgin shall conceive, and bear a son*, this revelation was made to him, that he should not die before he had seen it fulfilled. So that when he came to see the miraculous mother and child, he broke out into that divine and prophetic ecstasy mentioned by the evangelist, and died soon after. *Epiphanius* adds (44), that the noble testimony he gave to this new born Saviour did so exasperate the stubborn *Jews*, that they denied him common burial.

Another set, which makes him one of the seventy interpreters of the *Greek* version mentioned in a former section †, tell us, that when he came to translate the prophecy just now mentioned, he found his faith stagger; but that his doubts were happily dispelled by this revelation, that he should see the accomplishment of it before he died (45). So that at that rate he must have lived to a good old age, since at the lowest that version was made above two hundred years before Christ, and those interpreters were scarcely chosen out of the youngest tribe.

(42) *Allat. Dissert. de Script. Simeon sub. init. prophet.* † *Vid. p.* 37, b, & *note.* (43) *Acts* xxii. 3. (44) *De vit. & mort. prophet.* (45) *De his vid. Allat. ubi supra.*

Causes of the Jews infatuation.

to acknowledge the Messiah, after he had fulfilled in his own person all that the prophets had written of him[f]; it will be necessary to examine by what prejudices and infatuation they brought this total and lasting desolation upon their country and nation; and, upon a review of the doctrines peculiar to each sect, it will be found, that their invincible attachment, each to their own tenets, were the main causes and hasteners of it. For, on the one hand, that erroneous and pernicious opinion, which every one of them obstinately held of a temporal Messiah and conquering deliverer, was attended with two very fatal consequences, namely the rejecting of the Messiah, whom they saw appear in a quite opposite character; and their seeking him in those impostors, who flattered them in their delusion and ripened them into an open rebellion. Such was *Judas Galileus*, the head of the *Gaulonitish* sect or faction, which proved the mother of infinite mischiefs to that infatuated nation, and hastened their total ruin; to say nothing of several other pretenders to the character, either of the Messiah, or of his fore-runner, which drew still vast multitudes after them. On the other hand, the irreconcileable hatred which every sect bore, either to each other on account of their different tenets, or against christianity, which was still more opposite to their own, did so weaken and distract the whole body, that, instead of joining their united counsel and strength against their oppressors, they did as much strengthen them by their mutual feuds and persecutions, as they did exasperate them by their seditious and hostile behaviour, and made their own ruin so much the easier to complete. All which will be better seen by the sequel, especially by a short view of each of those sects.

Josephus reckons four principal ones among the *Jews*; 1. The *Pharisees*; 2. *Sadducees*; 3. *Essenians*; and, 4. the *Galileans*, or the *faction of Judas Galileus*[a]. The evangelists add that of the *Herodians* to the two former, and mention nothing of the two last, probably because they did not oppose the gospel with that inveteracy which the others did. How powerful and numerous the *Pharisaic* sect was among the meaner, and what sway that of the *Sadducees* did bear among the opulent, and what perpetual wars each waged against the other, has been already frequently hinted, and will now be better understood by a short review of their different tenets.

Pharisees

I. THE rise of the *Pharisees* is very much unknown; they claim indeed their famous doctor *Hillel*, often mentioned in this chapter, for their father, as he is supposed by some to have lived during the pontificate of *Jonathan*, about a hundred and fifty years before the birth of Christ, but by others later; and more justly too, since, if he be the *Pollio* mentioned by *Josephus* along with the famous *Sameas*, he must have lived about the time of *Herod*, long before whom the *Pharisaic* sect was in high repute. 'Tis therefore likely, they claim him rather as an ornament, than as the author, of their sect. The reader may see what we have already hinted concerning those two great men in a former section †. As to the *Pharisees*, it is probable, they did not begin to distinguish themselves, till the opposite sect of the *Sadducees* started up, and made them by degrees run into the other extreme. This seems evident from the etymon of their name, whether we derive it with the generality of critics from the *Hebrew* פרש, to *divide* or *separate*, or with others[b], from another sense of that word, signifying *recompense*, or *retribution*, in opposition to their antagonists, who denied and derided it, at least as to a future life.

WE have formerly had occasion to mention one of their favourite tenets, namely that of an oral tradition conveyed down from *Moses*, and to which they attributed the same divine authority as to the sacred books *. This being strenuously opposed by the *Sadducees*, as well as the *Samaritans*, and the *Caraites* (a sect of which we shall give some account at the close of this section) made them equally detested by them. But none more incurred their hatred and resentment than our Saviour, who took all proper occasions of reproving them for the unjustifiable preference which they gave to this pretended tradition to the written word of God, and for condemning those as apostates worthy of death, who paid not the same, or even a greater, regard to the former, than to the latter.

ANOTHER tenet of theirs in opposition to the *Sadducees* was, that of the being of angels, the immortality of the soul, resurrection, and future rewards. But as to this last,

[f] Ibid. c. ult. ver. 25, & seq. Acts iii. 12 ad 22. & alib. plur. [a] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1, & seq. B. Jud. l. ii. c. 7. & alib. pass. † Page 119, c, note. [b] Vid. BASNAGE hist. des Juifs, tom. 2. l. 5. ch. 18. sect. 2. * See before, Vol. I. p. 49*, b. & IV. p. 14 (Z). & alib.

a last, they first excluded all that were notoriously wicked from having any share in it, and sent them immediately after their death into everlasting punishment. *Josephus*, who was himself a strict as well as learned *Pharisee*, affirms, that those spirits, which they called devils, were no other than the souls of such wicked men, who still retaining their mischievous propensity, were ever seeking to annoy those of the living by obsessions, &c. In the next place, this resurrection, in those that were admitted to it, was no more than a transmigration from one body to another, more or less happy, according to their behaviour in their former state. Thus the disciples asked our Saviour, who had sinned, the blind man before them, or his parents, that he should be punished with blindness [c]; and thus *Herod* and the multitude supposed b Christ to be either *John the baptist*, *Elias*, or some other prophet risen from the dead [d]. When therefore that divine master came to preach to them a more glorious resurrection, this proud sect could not but look upon it as a derogation to what they thought their superior authority and judgment, which was therefore the more offensive to them, as coming from so mean, illiterate, and contemptible a person.

A THIRD tenet was, that all things were subject to fate, or, as some expresst it, to the heavens, except the fear of God. It is not easy to guess what they meant by it: *Josephus* [e] indeed will have it, that they designed to reconcile, by this unaccountable jumble, the fatality or predestination of the *Essenes* with the free-will of the *Sadducees*. If so, this is not the only absurdity, or even contradiction, which they c held; but our learned bishop *Bull* seems to have proved, that they attributed all to fate, or to that chain of causes, to which the creator had subjected all things from the beginning [f]; among which the influence of the heavenly bodies was looked upon to be one of the principal. This seems hinted at by St. *James* in the beginning of his epistle to his new converts, where he explodes that *Pharisaical* leaven by the most beautiful opposition of the immutability of God, the giver of all good, to the mutability of the planets, which, according to that notion, must necessarily vary their aspects from a benign to a malevolent one, and *vice versâ*, even by the natural change of their courses [g].

HERE was then a new source of dislike to Christ's doctrine, which affirms men d to be the authors of their own unbelief, disobedience, obstinacy; and so answerable for that and all the train of evils which it brings after it [h]. It must be owned, however, that some critics have given a different sense to *Josephus*'s words, and whilst one makes the *Jews* from it to fall into the worship of angels, as having the government of those heavenly bodies [i], others have endeavoured to disculpate them even from their known attachment to astrology, by pretending, that by the heavens is meant no more than the eternal decrees of God, which are yet supposed very consistent with the notion of a freedom of will [k]. Both sides had an end to serve, and seem to argue according to their different notions, which it is not our business to enter further into, much less to reconcile the notion of the *Pharisees*, if it was really theirs, of a freedom c of will, with the absolute and eternal decree of the supreme being. Sure, it seems, from the address of the proud *Pharisee* with, *God I thank thee* [l], that he looked upon him as the original source of all those fansied virtues he there boasts of, whatever channel he might suppose they flowed to him from; and doth not this at least intimate that he looked upon the want of those virtues in the despised *Publican* to be owing to his being deprived, by the same arbitrary divine will or decree, of that superior grace which produced them in him? All which is contrary likewise to the doctrine of Christ, which teaches us, that God distributes to every man a sufficient share of it to profit withal, and increases it according to the improvement they make of it.

BUT their most distinguishing character, and that which rendered them most obnoxi- f ous to the just censures of Christ, was, their superogatory attachment to the ceremonial law, their frequent washings, fastings, and prayers, their public alms-deeds, hunting after proselytes, scrupulous tithings, affected gravity of dress, gesture, and mortified looks; their building the tombs of the prophets, to tell the world that they were more righteous than their ancestors who murdered them, though themselves were then plotting the death of the best and greatest of all the prophets; their over-scrupulous observance of the sabbath to the exclusion of works of the greatest charity,

[c] JOHN ix. 2. [d] MATT. xiv. 2. xvi. 14. & alib. [e] JOSEPH. ubi supra. Vid. & Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. & xviii. c. 1, 2. [f] HARMON. Apost. dissert. poster. c. 15. [g] JAMES c. 1. v. 13, 16, 17. Vid. & BLACK. vindication of the sacred classics. [h] Vid. int. al. MATT. xxiii. 37. [i] BARONIUS ap. BASNAG. ubi supra, sect. 7. [k] BASNAG. ibid. & seq. [l] LUKE xviii. 11.

rity, and many more of the like nature; whilſt they were wholly negligent of the a moral and eternal law of mercy and juſtice, of charity, humility, and the like indiſpenſable virtues. The beſt of them, contenting themſelves with abſtaining from the finiſhing act of any ſin, indulged themſelves in all the thoughts, deſires, and complacencies which came ſhort of it; whilſt others, more hardened in their vices, made no ſcruple, not only to covet, but to devour, poor widows houſes, to commit the vileſt of oppreſſions, injuſtices, and cruelties, and to encourage it in their own diſciples, under the ſpecious cloak of religion and ſanctity. Well might Chriſt then compare them to whited ſepulchres, beautiful indeed without, but within full of rottenneſs and corruption [m].

Hence that fatal and judicial infatuation, which made them overlook all the mira- b cles which he wrought before their eyes, becauſe he choſe to do ſome of them on the ſabbath; as if healing the ſick, giving ears to the deaf, eyes to the blind, life to the dead, &c. was a violation, inſtead of a hallowing, of that day, and muſt denominate him *a profane perſon*, *a ſabbath-breaker*, *a falſe prophet* and *ſeducer*, or any other odious name, rather than what thoſe miraculous works, long before foretold by the prophets, demonſtrated him to be, *the Meſſiah and redeemer of mankind*.

The laſt erroneous notion we ſhall mention of theirs, which was indeed common to the other ſects, but did more exactly tally with the haughty, rapacious, and cruel temper of the *Phariſee*, was their expectation of a glorious conquering Meſſiah, who was to bring the whole world under the *Jewiſh* yoke. Inſomuch, that there c was ſcarce a kennel-raker among them, that did not expect to be made preſident of ſome opulent province under him. How unlikely then was it, that a meek and humble *Jeſus*, whoſe doctrine breathed nothing but humility, peace, diſintereſtedneſs, ſincerity, contempt of the world and worldly things, and univerſal love and beneficence, ſhould ever be reliſhed by that proud, covetous, and hypocritical ſect; or even by the reſt of the populace, as long as theſe their demagogues ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it! But we ſhall inlarge no further upon them, thoſe who are deſirous to know more may conſult the authors quoted in the margin [n].

Sadducees. II. The *Sadducean* ſect was no leſs oppoſite to the doctrine of Chriſt. We have d already given ſome account in a former ſection † of their riſe, and of their favourite tenet, that there was neither reſurrection, reward, or puniſhment, nor even life after this. They added, that God was the only immaterial being, in conſequence of which, they admitted neither angels, nor any ſpiritual ſubſtances, but him. Whether this was the original doctrine of *Saddoc* their founder, as the *Talmudiſts* and *Joſephus* affirm, or whether theſe and ſome of their other epicurean principles were afterwards gradually introduced by his looſe diſciples, in order to rid themſelves of the dread of a ſad hereafter, as ſome moderns think; 'tis plain, this tenet was very rife with them in our Saviour's time, which made them take ſeveral opportunities of oppoſing and ridiculing his doctrine of the reſurrection [o].

Another of their tenets, equally oppoſite to the *Phariſees* and to the doctrine of Chriſt, was, that man was made abſolute maſter of all his actions, and ſtood in no need of any aſſiſtance to chuſe or act [p]. For this reaſon they were always moſt ſevere in their ſentences, whenever they ſat as judges. *Joſephus* adds in another place [q], that they looked upon the deity as above intermeddling with human affairs, which is in effect denying a providence, and conſequently all religion. But this ſavours too much of the *phariſaic* ſcandal, and it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that men of ſuch principles ſhould not only continue uncenſured and uncondemned by the ſanhedrin, but be permitted to have acceſs to the temple, to propoſe their queſtions and objections, and perform their devotions there as freely as any *Phariſee*; and, which is ſtill more ſurpriſing, ſhould be ſuffered to fill the higheſt dignities in church and ſtate. Beſides, ſuch principles ſeem altogether incompatible with their allowed belief of the *Moſaic* books, though they had rejected all the reſt, as they are by ſome ſuppoſed to have done [r]; but *Scaliger*, we think, has ſufficiently cleared them of even this laſt imputation [s], which has no other foundation, than that of our Saviour's chuſing to confute them only from the pentateuch.

In

[m] Matt. xxiii. 27, & alib. [n] Lightfoot, Drusius, Serrarius, Calmet, Pref. in comm. in Marc. & Prid. Connect. ſub A. C. 107. † Page 95, b. & (W). [o] Matt. xxii. 23, & ſeq. & alib. plur. [p] Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. [q] Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 7, & alib. [r] Hieron. in Matth. Oric. cont. Celſ. l. i. Serrar. trihæreſ. l. ii. Prid. ubi ſupra. [s] Elench. trihæreſ. cont. Serrar. c. 16

a It is true, they rejected all the pretended oral traditions of the *Phariſees*, and ſtuck cloſe to the text of the ſacred books; perhaps they might alſo give the preference to thoſe of *Moſes* above all the reſt. All the other *Jews* did ſo, and do to this day; but had they abſolutely denied the authority of the latter, it is not likely they could have eſcaped being ſeverely reproved for it, either by our Saviour and his apoſtles, or even by *Joſephus*, who gives them ſuch a foul character in other points; and yet he owns [t], that they received τα γεγραμμενα, *the written books*; which expreſſion is too general, and too much in their favour to have flowed from his pen, could he have charged them with rejecting any of them [u]. Thoſe who will have them to receive only the pentateuch, add another argument to that above-mentioned, and

b equally inconcluſive, *viz.* that the other ſacred books did too plainly impugn their particular doctrines; but muſt not they for the ſame reaſon have rejected thoſe of *Moſes*? Are there not numberleſs inſtances of angels and ſpirits? and are there not likewiſe ſeveral pregnant proofs in them, if not of a reſurrection, at leaſt of the rewards and puniſhments of a future life [w]? The very *Phariſees* themſelves laid down as a fundamental principle, that it was not enough to believe the reſurrection, unleſs one believed alſo that it was contained in the law, ſo they call the pentateuch.

Add to all this, that the reading of all the other books in the temple and ſynagogues having been introduced long before, as we have elſewhere obſerved †, it is not likely they would have aſſiſted at it; and yet we do not find, that they abſented

c themſelves from it, either upon that or any other account. What therefore the learned rabbi laſt-quoted ſays of them, ſeems moſt probably to have been their caſe, namely, that they did not reject them, but only expounded them in a different ſenſe from the other *Jews*.

Some other pretended erroneous tenets they are charged, by *Joſephus* and the *Talmudiſts*, to have held, particularly that of condemning polygamy, as forbid by the *Moſaic* law; but as they were not oppoſite to the chriſtian doctrine, nor an obſtacle to their receiving it, we ſhall paſs them by. Thoſe we have already mentioned were more than ſufficient to frighten them from it. The notion of a future life, univerſal judgment, eternal rewards and puniſhments to men, whom a contrary doctrine had

d long ſoothed into luxury, and an over-grown fondneſs for all earthly happineſs, which they looked upon as the only reward they were to expect for their obedience, muſt of neceſſity appear ſtrange and frightful; and, as ſuch, could not chuſe but meet with the ſtrongeſt oppoſition from them; eſpecially if we add what *Joſephus* obſerves, that they were, for the generality, men of the greateſt quality and opulence, and conſequently too apt to prefer the pleaſures and grandeur of this life to thoſe of another. The *Jewiſh* hiſtorian concludes their character, in oppoſition to thoſe of his own ſect, with telling us, that they were a ſet of men, churliſh and moroſe towards each other, and cruel and ſavage to all beſides [y].

Some have looked upon this ſect to have been quite cut off at the total deſtruction of

e *Jeruſalem* [z]. It is true, indeed, that they were very much weakened and thinned by the *Romans* on account of their riches and credit; but their doctrines, ſo pleaſing to fleſh and blood, were not likely to continue long without freſh advocates. Accordingly, we find them ſo well revived and numerous in *Egypt*, even from the middle of the third, or beginning of the fourth, century, that *Ammonius*, *Origen*'s maſter, thought it high time to write againſt them, or rather againſt the *Jews*, for ſuffering them to propagate their irreligious principles. Some, we are told, are ſtill to be met with in *Afric* and elſewhere, who ſtill deny a future life, and hold all the other tenets of that ſect [a]. Perhaps were they leſs odious to the ſober part of mankind, we ſhould find

f them more numerous than they appear. However, bad as they are, we are told by a *Jewiſh* chronologer [b] of a learned *Spaniſh* rabbi, named *Alpharag*, who in the twelfth century wrote a book in defence of that ſect, wherein he affirmed, that the purity of the *Jewiſh* religion was only to be found among them; whilſt the *Phariſees* clogged it with an infinity of needleſs and intolerable ceremonies.

III. The *Herodians* are ſo little known, that we need not wonder at the vaſt variety of opinions, which both the ancient fathers and the moderns have entertained concerning Herodians.

[t] Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18. [u] Vid. Le Clerc hiſtor. eccleſ. proleg ſect. 1. ſect. 3. [w] Vid. Scaliger, ubi ſupra. † p. 15. (Z). [x] Gloſſar. in Sanhedr. Vid. & Menass. Ben Israel, lib. i. de reſurrect. mort. c. 6. [y] Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 7. in fin. [z] Vid. Simon. hiſt. crit. V. T. Prid. connect. ubi ſupra. [a] Vid. Basnag. ubi ſupra. li. ii. c. 15. paſſ. Calmet. diſſert. de ſect. Jud in. prol. in evang. Marc. & al. ſup. citat. [b] Gantz Tzemach David.

cerning them, and of which the bare mention would ſwell us beyond our bounds. a
Joſephus, as we hinted above, makes no mention of them; and if the moſt general
notion be right, that they were a ſet of men who cried up *Herod* as the Meſſiah, we
need not be ſurpriſed, that this flattering hiſtorian ſhould paſs by a ſect which applied
thoſe prophecies to that *Jewiſh* monarch, with which himſelf was complimenting his
favourite emperor *Titus Veſpaſian*, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. How *Philo* comes
likewiſe to be ſilent of them, is paſt our finding out.

For it is plain from the evangeliſts, that they made a conſiderable ſect or party in our
Saviour's time; that they differed from thoſe of the *Phariſees*, *Sadducees*, and *Eſſenians*;
and that they held ſome particular tenets of a dangerous nature, ſince Chriſt thought b
fit to forewarn his diſciples againſt their leaven [c]. It is true, ſome have confounded
them with the *Sadducees* [d], becauſe St. *Matthew*, in a parallel place [e], mentions them
inſtead of the *Herodians*. But as they are often mentioned elſewhere, in contradiſtin-
ction to them [f], it is likely, that one evangeliſt only ſupplies what the other has omit-
ted. Hence it follows likewiſe, that they were not a kind of *Jewiſh* confraternity in-
ſtituted in honour of *Herod*, and like unto the *Roman ſodales*, *auguſtales*, &c. (which
were not inſtituted in that empire till a long time after *Herod*'s death) as ſome have
imagined [g], but a real ſect, diſtinct from the reſt in their principles and intereſts.

There is likewiſe a different opinion concerning them, among thoſe who affirm
them to have believed *Herod* to be the Meſſiah, namely which of the kings of that
name they gave that title to [h]. Some [i] thought it was to *Herod* I. ſirnamed *the great*, c
on account of his ſuperior proweſs, riches, magnificence, and of his kingdom's extend-
ing even beyond *Paleſtine*, which was more than any of his ſucceſſors could boaſt of.
They add, that he cauſed all the genealogies and records concerning the family of
David to be deſtroyed, to prevent their being urged in oppoſition to his own lineage.
But all this is eaſily confuted by the ſingle conſideration, that if he had been the perſon
whom they took for the Meſſiah, his dreadful death, which was looked upon as a
judgment from heaven, to ſay nothing of his wicked and hateful reign, would long
before have convinced them of their error. Whereas we find them ſtill very nume-
rous, famed, and zealous for their ſect in our Saviour's time, above thirty years after
that monarch's death. Thoſe therefore, who think that his ſon *Herod*, ſurnamed *An-* d
tipas, the ſame who took the infamous *Herodias* from his brother *Philip*, and cauſed
John the Baptiſt to be beheaded on her account, to have been the Meſſiah cried up
by this ſect, ſeem to judge with more probability. It is true, his dominion was
confined within much narrower bounds than his father's; but then it is as plain, not-
withſtanding all *Joſephus*'s panegyrics on him, that his ambition was as unlimited;
witneſs his joining in the conſpiracy with *Sejanus*, and the vaſt magazines he had fil-
led with arms, and of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place. It is not therefore
improbable, that this prince, no leſs politic than ambitious, who is on that account
called *a Fox* by a more impartial judge [i], might take the advantage of the univerſal e
expectation which the *Jews* were then in of the Meſſiah, to form a party or ſect of
paraſites, who ſhould give it out that he was the glorious perſon they looked for; and
that nation did not want for men at this time, baſe enough to flatter his ambition with
that ſacred title.

However, other critics have with greater probability reduced that ſect into a kind
of *Herodian* faction, ſet up in oppoſition to the *Phariſees* and *zealots*; and that the
Herodians maintained the lawfulneſs of acknowledging and paying tribute to the kings
that were ſet over them by the *Romans*, which was abſolutely denied by the latter.
The former likewiſe excuſed ſeveral unlawful innovations, which had been made by
Herod the Great and his ſucceſſors, as the effects of neceſſity rather than choice;
whereas the latter cried them down as heatheniſh, idolatrous, and the effects of a f
baſe complaiſance for the *Roman* emperors. Another critic, often quoted in this
chapter [k] for his new genealogies of the *Herodian* family, pretends, that they were a
ſect of platonic philoſophers, whom *Antipater* had brought from *Athens*; and adds,
that they held pretty much the ſame doctrines which the *Sadducees*, or rather that
thoſe in *Judæa* were the ſame with them. The reader may ſee that ſanguine author
ſufficiently

[c] Marc. viii. 15. [d] Hamm. Le Clerc & al. in loc. ſup. citat. Harduin. num. [e] Matt. xvi. 6. [f] Conf. loc. ſup. citat. cum Matt. xxii. 16. & alib. [g] Scalig. anim. in chron. Euseb. 1882. Causabon. proleg. in exercit. Baronian. [h] Vid. Prid. connect. in fin. part. ii. l. v. Calmet. diſſert. de ſect. Judæor. & al. [i] Vid. Basnag. hiſt. des Juifs, tom. 2 part. 2. ch. xxiv. [k] Hieron cont. Luciſer. Tertul. de præſcript. Epiphan. hæreſ. Herodian.

a ſufficiently confuted by *Baſnage* in the place above-quoted. *Beza* on the contrary infers, that they agreed with the *Phariſees* in denying the lawfulneſs of the tribute, from the inſnaring queſtion they came to put to our Saviour [l]. But it is rather plain, that their deſign, and more eſpecially that of the *Phariſees*, who ſent them to him, was of another nature. Theſe had been juſt before determining at any rate to intangle him in his anſwers, that they might find ſome matter to accuſe him, becauſe he had been ſetting forth a parable that touched them to the quick. They therefore ſent their own diſciples in company with the *Herodians* to intrap him with the queſtion in diſpute between them, *Is it lawful to pay tribute to* Cæſar [m] ? If he anſwered in the affirmative, they could object againſt him that he was an impoſtor, and not what he
b pretended, the Meſſiah, who was to free them from all foreign yoke and impoſt; and upon this they could intent a criminal proceſs againſt him, which would make them amends for his having given the preference to their antagoniſts. And if he anſwered in the negative, they gained a victory over them, and at the ſame time expoſed him to their reſentment, or rather to that of the civil power, which, they knew, would not fail to cruſh both the doctrine and its divine preacher, eſpecially at ſuch a juncture, when there was another new faction ſtarted up into a ſect, which began to appear ſomewhat dangerous.

IV. This was that of the *Gaulonites*, ſo named from *Judas* the *Gaulonite* [n], or *Galilean*, as he is called by St. *Luke* [o]. It began to appear ſoon after the baniſhment Gaulonites.
c of *Archelaus*, when his territories were made a *Roman* province, and the government given to *Cauponius*. For the *Jews* looking upon this as an open attempt to reduce them into ſlavery, *Judas* took the advantage of their diſcontent to put himſelf at their head, and to ripen them for an inſurrection. *Auguſtus* furniſhed him with a plauſible pretence for it, by iſſuing out his edict to have the whole province of *Syria* new ſurveyed and taxed about this time. *Judas* therefore, who was a man of uncommon ambition, took occaſion from it to diſplay all his eloquence, to convince the *Jews*, that ſuch a ſubmiſſion was no leſs than baſe idolatry, and ſetting up men upon the level with God, who was the only Lord and Sovereign that could challenge their obe-
d dience and ſubjection. The party which he drew after him became in a little time ſo conſiderable, that they put every thing into confuſion, and laid the foundation for thoſe great miſchiefs which enſued, and which will be ſeen in the ſequel.

This ſect, as well as that of the *Herodians*, laſted no longer than till the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; a learned author lately quoted thinks them to have been the ſame ſect, only called by different names, by *Joſephus* and the evangeliſts †; but what has been ſaid above concerning that of the *Herodians*, we think, ſufficiently ſhews the contrary. Had their ſect been the ſame, they ought to have been more properly called *Anti-herodians*, ſince that monarch's authority was equally exclaimed againſt by their chief, as that of the *Romans*; and if their doctrine, againſt which our Saviour fore-
e warns his diſciples, had been the ſame with that of the *Gaulonites*, would it not have been equally abſurd to have called it the leaven of *Herod*? *Joſephus* tells us, that it differed in no point but this from that of the *Phariſees*; and the evangeliſts introduce the *Phariſees* and *Herodians* as coming by one conſent to inquire of Chriſt concerning the lawfulneſs of the tribute, from all which it ſeems at leaſt very probable, that they were only two different parties, who ſplit themſelves into two extremes from the *Phariſaic* ſect; whilſt theſe laſt kept, as it were, in a medium between the baſe complaiſance of the *Herodians*, and the ſeditious ſpirit of the *Gaulonites*, not perhaps ſo much out of a conſcientious principle, much leſs out of any love, either to *Herod*, or to the *Romans*, as from a fear of their power and reſentment.

f V. The *Eſſenians*, though not taken notice of by the writers of the *New Teſta-* Eſſenians.
ment, did yet make a conſiderable ſect among the *Jews*, and are very much celebrated by *Joſephus* [p], *Philo* [q], by *Pliny* [r], and by ſome of the fathers and other chriſtian writers, both ancient and modern [s]; and if they were the ſame with the *Haſſidim* or *Haſdanim*, as ſome have thought, we may add alſo, by the books of the *Maccabees* and other *Jewiſh* writers. But this laſt is a mere conjecture, founded only on a fancied

[l] In Matth. xxii. 16, [m] Vid. Matth. ubi ſupra, a ver. 2. ad 17. [n] Vid. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1, 2. [o] Acts v. 37. † Vid. Prid. & Basnag. ubi ſupra. [p] Antiq. l. iii. c. 9, 18, 12. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. -. & alib. paſſ. [q] Tract. quod omnis probus liber. [r] Hiſt. lib. v. c. 17. [s] Epiph. hæreſ. 29. de Nazar. c. 4. Suid. ſub voc. προγοροι Serrar. trihæreſ. l. iii. c. 1. & al. in f. citat.

cied conformity between ſome of their principles, and auſtere way of living. The a
far greateſt part of the *Eſſenian* ſect was chiefly in *Egypt*; there was but a ſmall number of them in *Judæa*, probably by reaſon of the grievous perſecutions and inteſtine broils, that raged almoſt perpetually in it. And this may be one reaſon, why the evangeliſts make no mention of it; to which we may add another, namely, that their eremitic life, which ſecluded them from places of great reſort, and their over-weaning pretence to a ſuperior ſanctity, which inſpired them with a contempt for the reſt of the world, might make them leſs curious about Chriſt's perſon and doctrine. They might think, that if he was really the Meſſiah, he would not fail to come to ſeek them; and if he was not, he had already enemies enough to oppoſe him; and it was beneath them to leave their beloved ſolitude and contemplative life, merely to declare themſelves b
againſt him. What wonder then, that the ſacred writers ſhould overlook a proud, recluſe, and remote ſect, which neither embraced nor oppoſed the goſpel, and whoſe affectation to a greater and ſupererogatory degree of holineſs ſtood condemned by the frequent cenſures which Chriſt pronounced againſt that of the *Phariſees?*

It would be next to impoſſible to trace out their origin, or even the etymology of their name, with any certainty (A). *Pliny*, in the place above-quoted, tells us, from what authority is not eaſy to gueſs, that they were of ſeveral thouſand years ſtanding; and, what increaſed his wonder, that they had ſubſiſted ſo long without procreation. But he was in part miſtaken, becauſe, though one branch of them condemned all intercourſe with the women, as apt to extinguiſh devotion; there was c
another ſort who declared as much againſt celibacy, as tending to extinguiſh the race of mankind, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. But to come to more authentic evidence, the firſt *Eſſenians* we read of are in the fourth book of *Maccabees*, under the name of *Haſdanim* [t], and in *Joſephus* [u], where both agree that they were already ſettled in *Judæa* in the time of *Jonathan*, the brother and ſucceſſor of *Judas Maccabæus*, about a hundred and fifty years before Chriſt. We have had occaſion to mention, out of theſe two authors, one *Judas*, a prophet of that ſect, who foretold the death of *Antigonus*, brother to *Ariſtobulus*, then king of the *Jews*, and which came to paſs accordingly, though to the great ſurprize of even the prophet himſelf *. And it is not improbable, that this anchoretic ſect took its riſe a little while before the time of the d
Maccabees, when the faithful *Jews* were forced to live in deſarts and caves, to avoid perſecution. As for thoſe who ſuppoſe them to have been a branch of the *Rechabites*, who flouriſhed ſo long before the *Babyloniſh* captivity [w], and of whom we have ſpoken largely in our firſt volume †; we can only ſay they gueſs very much in the dark.

We have already hinted their different opinions concerning marriage and celibacy. Thoſe, who allowed the former, were yet very ſparing of matrimonial intercourſe, and wholly abſtained from it on the night before the ſabbath and other feſtivals, on faſt-days, and the like; and, at other times, they were no leſs careful to waſh, and uſe other purifications after it. The other branch, who condemned it, did likewiſe e
diſallow all ſervitude, and thought the diſtinction of maſter and ſervant to be againſt the law of nature, for which reaſon they never indulged themſelves the uſe of the latter; and when any of them was, either through old age, ſickneſs, or other accident, rendered incapable of helping himſelf, he received all proper aſſiſtance from the younger, who all expreſſed an uncommon readineſs, or even emulation, to perform that duty to him. But the other ſort allowed themſelves ſervants for all inferior offices.

They

[t] cap. 6. p. 97, (C).
[u] Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. & 19. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 3, & 7.
[w] Vid. Suid. ubi ſupra.
* See before, ſect. i
† p. 820, & ſeq. & (T).

(A) *Joſephus* has evaded giving us the etymology of that name, moſt probably, becauſe he knew not well where to fetch it from; and *Philo*, who derives it from the *Greek* Οσιος, *holy*, owns it to be ungrammatical; but this has not hindered other critics from aiming at it. *Epiphanius* (1) has gone the fartheſt for it of any, when he derives it from *Jeſſe* the father of *David*, or, as it is to be read, according to the *Hebrew*, ישי, *jiſai* or *jiſſhai*. *Salmaſius* derives it from the city of *Eſſa*, mentioned by *Joſephus*, as the place where *Zeno* had repoſited his treaſure (2).

If the reader be curious about ſuch things, he need but read *Serrarius* (3), where he will find at leaſt a dozen different opinions concerning the derivation of that word, enough, we think, to give him a diſguſt to etymological conjectures.

(1) *Hæreſ* 29 *de Nazar.* c. 4. (2) *Antiq.* l. xiii. c. 23. (3) *Tribæreſ.* l. iii. c. 1. *Vid.* & *Calmet. diſſert. de ſect. Jud.*

a THEY likewiſe diſtinguiſhed themſelves, in their rules and manner of life, into laborious and contemplative, otherwiſe called *Therapeutes*, the firſt ſort of them divided their time between prayer and labour, ſuch as the exerciſe of ſome handicraft, or the cultivation of ſome ſpot of ground, where they ſowed and planted ſuch roots, herbs, corn, *&c.* as ſerved for their food; and the latter between prayer and contemplation, or ſtudy. In this laſt, they confined themſelves to that of the ſacred books and morality, without troubling themſelves with any other branch of philoſophy. A late learned author has indeed ranked them among the *Pyrrhonian* or *Sceptic* philoſophers [x]; and it is true, they were very modeſt in their affirmations in point of divinity, and condemned the dogmatic aſſurance of the other ſects; but that they ever b deigned to dive into the writings of the academy or other philoſophers, ſeems improbable, from the ſingular contempt they ſhewed of all the other *Jewiſh* ſects; how much more, of thoſe of the heathens.

FOR with reſpect even to the former, they refuſed to converſe with them, for fear of contracting ſome pollution; and this notion they carried ſo far, as even to abſent themſelves from going to the temple, and contented themſelves with ſending their offerings to it by other hands.

BOTH the contemplative and laborious had their ſynagogues, their ſtated hours for prayer, for reading, and expounding the ſacred books. This latter province was always performed by the elder ſort, who were ſeated at the upper end, according to c their ſeniority, whilſt the younger, who were admitted to read the proper paraſhas or leſſons, were placed at the lower end. Their expoſitions were generally of the allegorical kind, in which they ſeemed to have out-vied all their *Jewiſh* brethren. But they paid the greateſt regard to the five books of *Moſes*, and looked upon that lawgiver as the head of all the inſpired penmen; inſomuch, that they condemned to immediate death whoſoever ſpoke diſreſpectfully either of him or of his writings. Upon this account they ſtudied, read, and expounded him more than all the reſt, and ſeem to have chiefly drawn all their divinity from the pentateuch. The doctrines and expoſitions of the elders were received with implicit faith, and in their practice they conformed with an intire ſubmiſſion to all the rules of their ſect. To give a full d account of them, were to copy out *Joſephus* and *Philo*, who have writ more copiouſly about them, and to whom we chuſe rather to refer our readers, who want a fuller detail. As for us, we ſhall content ourſelves with giving them a ſhort ſketch, out of thoſe two authors (B), of their faith and practice, as far as they differed from the other *Jewiſh* ſects.

WITH reſpect to their faith, they believed the being of angels, the immortality of the ſoul, a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, like the *Phariſees*, but ſeem to have had no notion of the reſurrection. They looked upon the ſouls of men as compoſed of a moſt ſubtile æther, which immediately after their ſeparation from the body, or from their cage or priſon, as they affected to call it, were adjudged to a e place of endleſs happineſs or miſery: that thoſe of the good took their flight over the ocean into ſome warm and delightful regions prepared for them, whilſt thoſe of the wicked were conveyed into ſome cold and intemperate climates, where they were left to groan under an inexpreſſible endleſs weight of miſery. Some other *Pythagorean* notions are likewiſe attributed to them [y], neither with certainty, nor of great moment. One thing, however, is remarkable, that among their offerings, which they made to the temple, they never ſent any living creatures to be ſacrificed there. But whether they did it with any regard to the *Pythagorean* doctrine of tranſmigration, or from any other motive, we will not determine; much leſs pretend to reconcile this abſtinence from bloody ſacrifices with their pretended regard to the *Moſaic* law and writings, where they are abſolutely injoined.

THEY

[x] HUET. foibleſſe de l' entendement, & l. i. c. 14. ſect 61.

[y] Vid. Antiq. ubi ſupra, & l. xv. c. 13. ad. fin.

(B) It will not be amiſs to obſerve to our readers, that their accounts of this ſect differ in ſome particulars, which may be probably owing to the difference there was between thoſe of *Judæa* and thoſe of *Egypt*. *Joſephus*, we may reſonably ſuppoſe, was better acquainted with the former, and *Philo*, who was of *Alexandria*, with the latter; and both may have deſcribed them according to the particular informations they had received concerning each.

However, *Philo* agrees with *Joſephus*, that thoſe of *Judæa* amounted to but about four thouſand, but he makes thoſe of *Egypt* to have been vaſtly more numerous.

†

They were likewise intirely opposed to the *Sadducean* doctrine of free-will, and attributed all to an eternal fatality or chain of causes, little short of that of *Spinosa*; so that they seem to have run into the other extreme, whilst the *Pharisees* appear to have kept a kind of medium between them. The *Essenians* were averse to all kinds of oaths, and affirmed, that a good man's life ought to be such, as that he may be credited in every thing without them (C). The *Therapeutic* sort placed the excellency of their contemplative life in raising their minds so far above the earth, as to be able to see from thence what was done in heaven (D). When they had attained to this degree, they could dive into the nature of angels, give them proper names, or rightly interpret those already given, and pry so far into futurity, as to acquire the character of prophets. We have had occasion to mention some of them already at the beginning of this article, and in the course of this chapter. All we need to add is, that when they had once gained this name, they failed not to be highly respected, not only by their own fraternity, but by both kings and people. We have seen in a former section even a *Herod* shew a more than ordinary regard to the whole sect, for the sake of one of them, who had foretold his accession to the *Jewish* crown; and at a time when they were strenuously opposing his favourite scheme, of obliging the whole nation to swear allegiance to him.

In their practice they outdid all the other sects in austerity. If we may credit *Philo*, it was a fundamental maxim with them, upon their entrance into the *Therapeutic* life, to renounce the world and all their worldly properties, which they, it seems, generously divided among their friends and relations, whom they left behind them in it (E). They never eat till after sun-set, and the best of their fare was coarse bread, with some salt and hyssop, or some such stomachic herbs. Some of them, if we may believe *Philo*, would eat but every third, and others every sixth, day; and all of them very sparingly, even of that poor chear they were allowed. Their cloathing was made of coarse wool, plain, but white. They condemned all sorts of unctions and perfumes as luxurious and effeminate. Their beds were hard, and their sleep short. In a word, as they looked upon all these austerities as the most effectual means to procure the favour of heaven and the esteem of the brotherhood, to say nothing of that of the world, they never thought they could carry them to excess. Their heads or superiors were generally chosen according to seniority, unless there started up some of the brotherhood, more conspicuous for learning, piety, prophetic spirit, or any other distinguishing merit. But some there were so very contemplative, that they never stirred out of their cell, nor even looked out at a window during the whole week. These spent their time in reading the sacred books and writing comments upon them.

On the sabbath they repaired to their synagogues early in the morning, and continued the whole day there in prayers, singing of psalms, reading, or in expounding the sacred books; at which time they kept themselves in the profoundest silence. The feast of pentecost was observed by them with greater solemnity than other festivals, and in memory, it seems, of the *Israelites* passing the *Red-Sea*, and of that solemn eucharistical hymn, which was alternately sung by the choirs of men and women, with

(C) And yet they seem to have injoined something like them on their novices, before they were admitted professed members of their society; from which some conclude, that they did not wholly condemn them, but only such as were tendered or taken without manifest and absolute necessity (4).

(D) We need not remind our readers, that every nation and religion, not to say every age, has produced men of this sublime mould, who have trampled all sublunary things under-foot, to raise themselves up to a more intimate acquaintance with the deity. We read among the heathen of *Plotinus*, a *Platonic* philosopher, who pretended to be ashamed to have a soul so refined as his, confined into a lump of matter, and of a *Porphyry*, who boasted of a vision and divine intercourse, even before he was got into his dotage 5).

The *Persees*, *Mohammedans*, and almost all the nations of *India*, have had their *Therapeutes* and visionmongers; and it would be difficult to name one church or sect of christians, that has not abounded with such mystical and super-rigid enthusiasts; but, in spight of all their austerities and pretences to greater degrees of sanctity and mortification, the uncharitable contempt they have expressed for the rest of the world has easily discovered what spirit they were of.

(E) Our authors have forgot to tell us, how this set of men lived after their admission into that sect, if they left all their worldly substance behind; since they were not, like the other branch, allowed to follow any trade, or to cultivate any land, but divided their time between prayer and study, or contemplation; and had neither wives nor servants to provide food for them, nor any other visible means, that we can find, to subsist (6).

(4) *Vid. int. al. Le Clerc, eccles. hist. prolog. sect.* 5. *Calmet. ub supra. & al.* (5) *De his vid. Bayl. Dict. sub voc.* (6) *Vid. Le Clerc ubi supra.*

with *Aaron* and *Miriam* at their head. In imitation of which, both ſexes, during this feaſt, went early to the ſynagogue in their white habit, newly waſhed; and after the uſual prayers, reading, *&c.* the men and the women, each in their ſeparate choir, ſet themſelves a ſinging and dancing, moving regularly backwards and forwards, to the right and left, and from each other, till at length their devotion was raiſed to ſuch a pitch, that they forgot the difference of ſexes, and both choirs intermingled, and continued dancing and ſinging the whole night. On the next morning they faced about towards the ſun riſing, their uſual poſition at prayers, paid their adoration to the Supreme Being, wiſhed each other a good day, and retired each to their reſpective cells. To all this we may add, that they had ſome other more ſecret rites or myſteries relating to their ſect, which, like the *Pythagoreans*, they were bound never to divulge, and which it were therefore in vain to inquire after.

THOSE of *Judæa* did live, according to *Pliny*[z], in a deſart in the neighbourhood of *Hebron*, about twenty miles ſouth of *Jeruſalem*.

THIS city, which we have ſpoken of in a former volume †, being generally ſuppoſed the place of *John the Baptiſt*'s birth, it is not improbable, that he was ſent thither to brought up among them, and lived with them till the time of his manifeſting himſelf to the *Jewiſh* nation [a]. But as for thoſe who have imagined that Chriſt and his diſciples had alſo been of that ſect, becauſe they pretend to ſee ſome conformity between ſome of his precepts and way of living and thoſe of the *Eſſenians*, they are not worth confuting, ſince there runs rather a manifeſt oppoſition almoſt through the whole. However, thoſe who will not be at the trouble to compare them, may ſee that wild notion fully confuted by the authors quoted in the margin [b], as well as another, no leſs improbable, though leſs abſurd; that the *Egyptian Therapeutes* were a ſociety of chriſtian hermits inſtituted by St. *Mark*, when he founded the church of *Alexandria* [c]. For *Philo*, who was at leaſt cotemporary with the evangeliſt, if not older, ſpeaks of them [d] as a fraternity of a much longer ſtanding, and as of *Jews* and zealous diſciples of *Moſes*, and ſtricter obſervers of the ſabbath, than any other *Jewiſh* ſect; having amongſt them hymns and writings compoſed in former times, by thoſe who had been the principal leaders and heads of their ſect; diſperſed not only through *Egypt*, but among the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, &c. Nothing of all which could have been ſaid of ſuch a ſociety of chriſtian hermits, ſuppoſing St. *Mark* had really inſtituted any thing like it. But we find no traces of any ſuch inſtitution till the beginning of the ſecond century, when thoſe aſcetics, who had formerly fled from perſecution, finding the ſweets of their ſolitude, began to erect themſelves into bodies, the earlieſt of which, that we read of, was, according to the two learned authors above-quoted, in or about the year of Chriſt 113 [e].

OTHERS have believed, that the *Eſſenians* and *Therapeutes* did afterwards renounce judaiſm, and convert to chriſtianity; and it is not improbable, that many of them did ſo; but that the bulk of the ſect embraced chriſtianity, and became, as it were, abſorbed into the ſocieties of the chriſtian aſcetics, is hard to affirm. If it be aſked, What became of them, and of all their boaſted writings and comments, if this was not the caſe? it may be anſwered, that thoſe who perſevered in their old ſect, underwent the ſame fate with the reſt of the *Jews*, and in a much greater number, as being become more odious to the *Romans* on account of their extreme conſtancy, under thoſe grievous perſecutions which they raiſed againſt them. This might probably be alſo the cauſe why their books were more univerſally deſtroyed than thoſe of the other *Jews*; though even of theſe we have nothing left but the *Chaldee* paraphraſe, of which we ſhall ſpeak in a more proper place. We ſhall have occaſion in the ſequel to ſhew, that the *Eſſenians* flouriſhed ſtill under the emperor *Trajan*, though much degenerated from their primitive purity of life and doctrine, under their new demagogue *Elxai*. Under *Juſtinian* they were ſtill known by the pompous title of angels, or angelices, and inhabitants of heaven; but, as their lives were found to fall infinitely ſhort of thoſe beings, whoſe names they aſſumed, the people ſaw through the cheat, and this was in all likelihood their laſt blaſt upon their going out, for we hear no more of them from that time.

WE

[z] Vid. Antiq. ubi ſupra, & l. xv. c. 13 ad fin. † Vol. I p. 317, 424, (G). [a] ubi ſupra. [b] Vid. LUKE i. ver. ult. [c] BASNAG. hiſt. des Juifs, tom. 4. l. ii. c. 22. & ſeq. PRID. Connect. part 2 ſub fin. l. v. [d] EUSEB. Eccl. Hiſt. l. ii. c. 17. BELLARM. BARON. Vid. & MONTFAUC. diſſert. de Chriſt. Terapeut. ap. BASNAG. ubi ſupra. [e] lib. ſup. citat. [f] DRUS. TRIGLAND. BASNAG. PRID. CALMET. & al, ubi ſupra.

We have now gone through all the *Jewiſh* ſects that made any figure in our Saviour's a time, and might here put an end to this digreſſion, if it may be called ſuch; but foraſmuch as there is ſtill one in being, and very conſiderable, as we have hinted in a former volume †, who derive their origin from the famous *Ezra* and the great ſynagogue, and are oppoſed to the reſt in ſome of their fundamentals, it will not be amiſs to ſpeak ſomething of them, before we conclude this ſection. They are called *Caraim*, or *Karraites* (F); that is, *Scripturiſts*, or perſons wholly addicted to the reading, and thoroughly verſed in the ſacred writings.

It is not eaſy to determine when this ſect firſt began. We have hinted above what claim they lay to antiquity and authority. They boaſt even a catalogue or regiſter of b all the learned who have written or taught either for or againſt their ſect from the time of *Eſdras* [f]. Some of thoſe that are diſperſed in *Poland*, pretend to carry it ſtill higher, and that they were deſcended from the ten tribes carried away by *Shalmanezer*. The *Rabbiniſts* ſeem, however, to allow them to have been a ſect at leaſt as old as the time of *Alexander the Great*, when they tell us, that *Jaddua* the then high-prieſt wrought a miracle before that prince, which the two chiefs of the *Caraites* could not imitate; but this may be put in the number of their fabulous miracles, of which they are never ſparing, whenever any competition between the other ſects and their own is in queſtion; witneſs thoſe which they urge againſt the *Samaritans*, of which we have ſpoken in a former ſection *. We ſhall give in the margin ſome of the different opi- c nions concerning their origin (G), whilſt we ſtick here to the moſt probable; which is, that they were the ſucceſſors of the *Scribes* ſo often mentioned by the evangeliſts (H), ſuch other epithets, the *Rabbiniſts* call their opponents *mamzerim*, or *baſtards*, a term of the greateſt reproach among the *Jews* †; and the *Caraites*, in return, give them the title of *bridled aſſes*, on account of their broad phylacteries and other ſuperſtitious trinkets, which theſe place a great deal of religion in, and the others deteſt. The former interpret the words of *Moſes* (11), *Thou ſhalt bind them* (the divine precepts) *for a ſign upon thine hand, and they ſhall be as frontlets between thine eyes*, &c. literally; and the others only as a precept injoining them to have a conſtant regard to, and remembrance of, them. We have obſerved in a former volume, that their mutual hatred is ſuch, that no conſideration can move them to intermarry *. A modern *Rabbinift* adds, that if a *Caraite* had a mind to turn *Traditioniſt*, theſe would even refuſe to admit him (12); and it is a common ſaying among the latter, that before a *Caraite* be admitted among them, he ſhould have firſt turned *Jew*, and then chriſtian, elſe they could not believe his converſion ſincere.

(H) The ſcribes, in *Hebrew* סופרים *ſopherim*, or *writers*, are mentioned for the firſt time in the ſong of *Deborah* (13), tho' ſome have put *Moſes* at the head of that tribe. They are often ſpoken of in the books of *Kings*, *Chronicles*, and *Ezra*, as perſons in the higheſt dignities of the *Jewiſh* commonwealth. It is not unlikely, that *David* did appoint ſome ſuch order, when he regulated the claſſes of the prieſts, levites, &c. 14), ſince there muſt have been proper ſecretaries, which is the right meaning of *ſopherim*, in church, in ſtate, in the army, revenues, &c. And as writing was not ſo univerſally practiſed in thoſe days, thoſe who excelled in it had a fair claim for ſuch an office; but theſe being manifeſtly different from thoſe mentioned in the goſpel, we ſhall push our inquiry about them no further.

After the return from the captivity, when the canon of the ſcripture was reviſed by *Ezra* and his inſpired

† Vol. I. p. 597, b, 32 in fin. not. (E).

[f] Basnag. ubi ſupra, Tom. II. prat. 2. c. 16.

* See before, p

(F) קראים from the verb *kara*, *to read* (7). As they rejected all the other writings but thoſe of the *Jewiſh* canon, and the pretended oral tradition ſo much cried up by the *Phariſees*; it is perhaps upon this account, that the *Rabbiniſts*, their bittereſt enemies, have imputed moſt of the *Sadducean* errors to them (8), tho' this be the only point in which they agreed with them.

(G) The learned *Wolf* of *Hamburg* has given us the origin of the *Caraites*, written from the memoirs of one of that ſect, named *Mordecai*; in which this laſt affirms, that *Alexander Jannæus* having put to death all the learned *Jews* of his time, *Simeon*, the ſon of *Seta* and brother of the queen, was privately conveyed into *Egypt*, where he invented the ſyſtem of the pretended *Jewiſh* oral tradition, and being returned to *Jeruſalem*, began to teach it publicly, pretending, that he was intruſted with all thoſe diſcoveries which God had made to *Moſes*, and were from him conveyed through a ſeries of hands and ages down to his time. This ſyſtem was embraced by ſome, and as ſtrenouſly oppoſed by others, who affirmed, that the whole will of God to their lawgiver was contained in the ſacred writings. From theſe laſt came the ſect of the *Caraites*, as that of the *Rabbiniſts* or *Traditioniſts* did from the former. The ſame author adds, that *Judas* the ſon of *Sabbai* became eminent among the former, and *Hillel* famous among the latter (9).

Another author (10) thinks, that thoſe two ſects ſplit themſelves ſoon after the death of the prophets, upon a diſpute about works of ſupererogation; one ſort maintaining the neceſſity of them from tradition, and the other denying it on the authority of the ſacred writings. Theſe were the *Caraites*, who thereupon pretended to be deſcended from the prophets *Haggai*, *Malachi*, &c But whatever was the occaſion of their diviſion, they conceived ſuch an irreconcileable hatred againſt each other, that they think no name or language bad enough. Among

(7) *Vide* Buxtorf. lexic. *ſub voce* קרא. (8) *Vide Abraban. append. in Haccoſri. edit. a Buxtorf.* (9) *Wolf. notit. Caraeorum,* (10) *Trigland. diſſertat. de Carait. Delph.* 1703. *Vide Calmet. ſub voce Caraites.* † *De his vide Vol.* I. *p.* 665, (N). (11) *Deut.* vi. 8. * *Vol.* I. *p.* 597, b. (12) *Vide Leo. de modern. caeem. Jud. part.* 5. *c.* 1. (13) *Judg.* v. 14. (14) *Vide int, al.* 1 *Chron.* xxiv. 6. xxvii. 32.

a ſuch as were thoſe whom *Herod the Great* conſulted about the place where the Meſſiah was to be born[e]. Theſe therefore, it is very likely, after the *Phariſaic* ſect came to have clogged the *Jewiſh* religion with ſuch a vaſt number of traditions, as rendered it wholly burdenſome, if not intolerable, became ſo out of conceit with them, that they reſolved to throw them all off, and to ſtick cloſe to the text; for which they had the name of *Caraites* or *Scripturiſts*, either given them out of contempt, or took it by way of diſtinction from the *Traditioniſts*. The difficulty is to find out the time when, and the perſons by whom, this breach was at firſt made, and doubtleſs the teſtimony of the *Caraites* themſelves, who go either as far back as *Ezra*, or, at the lateſt, as the times of *Hyrcan* or *Alexander Jannæus*, will appear too ſuſpicious. But b that of the *Talmudiſts*, who allow them, ſome as ancient as *Saddoc*, or at leaſt as *Herod the Great*, may be leſs liable to ſuſpicion; and where is the difficulty of ſuppoſing, that whilſt the *Sadducees* diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the reſt, as well by their *Epicurean* doctrines, as by their rejection of the *Phariſaic* traditions, another more moderate ſect might cloſe in with them in this laſt, without running into thoſe other extremes of the *Sadducean* leaven, which, they ſaw, were manifeſtly deſtructive of all religion, and ſo compoſe a new ſect, differing from them in all points but that, and from the *Phariſees* in that only one (I)? However, they ſeem to have been more moderate, than to have abſolutely rejected all traditions and writings. They, on the contrary, uſed them as helps, whenever they found them judicious and well-founded, and only c denied them that blind and implicit obedience which the *Phariſees* inſiſted on; but whether thoſe ſects divided themſelves ſo early as the reign of *Hyrcan* or *Alexander Jannæus*, or whether in that famous rupture between *Shammai* and *Hillel*, about one hundred years before Chriſt, or about what time after (K); whether firſt in *Judæa* or *Egypt*,

[e] Matth. ii. 4. Vide Basnag. ubi ſupra.

inſpired aſſociates, mentioned in a former ſection †, it is very probable, the multiplying and propagating, as well as the reviſing, the copies of it, which were then very ſcarce, was committed to thoſe *ſopherim* or *ſcribes*, who, by a conſtant converſe with thoſe writings, attained to a ſtill greater knowledge of them, and ſo came at length to ſet up for teachers and expounders of them, and to the name of *ſcribe* had that likewiſe added of *doctor* or *teacher* of the law. Accordingly we find one of them called by the former name in one evangeliſt (15), and by the latter in another (16); and both they and the *Phariſees* are ſaid by our Saviour to *to ſit in* Moſes's *ſeat* (17).

Theſe therefore cannot be ſaid to have made a ſeparate ſect, as ſome ancients have imagined (18), but to have been ſome of one, ſome of another; ſince it is obvious, that every one of them muſt have had their doctors and expounders, and all juſtly enough liable to thoſe ſevere cenſures which our Saviour pronounced againſt them, for putting each their ſeveral gloſſes on the text, inferring new and detrimental doctrines from it, and impoſing them on their diſciples, with as much arrogance as if they had been all infallible or inſpired. However, ſince we find theſe *ſcribes* and lawyers or doctors of the law to be often mentioned with the *Phariſees* (19), it is likely, they were more numerous in that ſect than in any other; or rather perhaps, if we conſider how neceſſary ſuch men were in church and ſtate, of how long a ſtanding they muſt conſequently have been, they may be looked upon as the root or trunk from which all the others ſprang and divided themſelves, according as their reſpective views, intereſt, education, pride, and ſuch like motives led them.

(I) The *Rabbinic* writers do accordingly accuſe the *Caraites* for having been more favourable to Jeſus Chriſt than any other ſect; and the evangeliſt ſeems to confirm it, when he introduces a *ſcribe* (20) applauding our Saviour's anſwer concerning the firſt and chief command, and agreeing with him, that the love of God, above all things, and of our neighbour as ourſelves, was of more worth than all burnt-offerings, &c.

It is true, he ſeems to be called a *Phariſee* in a parallel place (21); but *Baſnage* has judiciouſly obſerved (22), that the pronoun *them* did not refer to the *Phariſees* mentioned in the foregoing verſe, who, being confuted juſt before, were then gone to take counſel together, but to the multitude in the verſe before that, who gladly heard Chriſt's nervous anſwers to thoſe enſnaring ſectaries. We may add, that the anſwer there given by the *ſcribe*, was more like that of a ſober *Caraite*, than of a ſuperſtitious, hypocritical *Phariſee*.

That there ſeems to have been a manifeſt difference between theſe laſt and the ſcribes and lawyers, the above-quoted author ſhews from another evangeliſt, who introduces the laſt of theſe hearing patiently the woes which Chriſt pronounced againſt the *Phariſees*; but when he came to join the *ſcribes* with them, he complained loudly of it (23). Our Saviour's anſwer to him confirms it ſtill more, when he added, *Wo alſo unto you lawyers*, and laid a new charge againſt them, different from that of the *Phariſees*,

(K) *Morinus* places the riſe of the *Caraites* about the year after Chriſt 740 or 750, about which time, and not before, he ſuppoſes the *Talmud* to have been completed, and to have given occaſion to their ſeparation (24). He adds, upon the authority of a good number of *Rabbies*, that one *Ananus*, vexed to ſee his brother preferred before him to the dignity of chief of the captivity, began to declare himſelf againſt the compilers and defenders of that work, as giving a divine authority to a book, which was moſtly ſtuffed with fables, and drew a party after him. We ſhall have a more proper opportunity in the ſequel to fix the time in which it was com-

† *Vol.* IV. *p.* 13, (Y). (15) *Mark* xii. 28. (16) *Matth.* xxii. 35. 17) *Ibid* xxiii. 2. (18) *Epiph. hæreſ. Auth. of the recognit.* &c. (19) *Vide Matth. ubi ſupra, & alib. paſſ. Acts* xxiii. 9. (20) *Mark* xii 28. (21) *Matth.* xxii. 35, *& ſeq.* (22) *Ubi ſupra*, c. 17. *ſect.* 10. (23) *Luke* xi. 44. *& ſeq.* (24) *Exercit. bibl. l.* ii. *Exercit.* vi. *c.* 2. vii. *c.* 1. *Vide Baſnag. ubi ſupra, ſect* 19.

Egypt, (L), is at beſt but conjecture; and we hope we have given it the beſt light we are able to get. a

We ſhall now give a ſhort ſummary of their particular tenets, as they are oppoſed to thoſe of the other ſects.

1. They look upon the canonical books of the old teſtament as the only rule of their faith, and reject the apocryphal as of no authority, together with the pretended oral tradition of the *Phariſees*, as the wicked inventions of an incroaching and deſigning ſet of men; for which reaſon they have the utmoſt abhorrence for the *Talmud*,

2. They expound ſcripture by ſcripture; and, where that cannot be done, they call in the aſſiſtance of reaſon, and the writings and comments of other doctors, tho' without paying too implicit a regard to the latter. b

3. They commonly read the ſcriptures in their ſynagogues in the original, eſteeming it next to impoſſible to come at their true meaning from any tranſlation of them; for this reaſon they are careful to inſtruct their children betimes in that ſacred tongue; and if they ſuffer any verſion of them, it is only for the uſe of thoſe of the meaner ſort, who are not acquainted with the *Hebrew*.

4. Their prayers are likewiſe in that tongue, as being the moſt holy and energic, and the only one in which the incommunicable name of God can be properly pronounced; for they are not ſo ſcrupulous in this reſpect as the other *Jews*, who always read it *Adonai*, but pronounce it *Jehovah*, as we do. Only in their writings, prayer-books, *&c.* they chuſe to write it only with a *vau* between two *jods*. In their prayers, c wherein they expreſs a much greater fervency and devotion than the reſt, they always turn their faces towards *Jeruſalem*.

5. They expect, like the reſt of the *Jews*, the reign of the Meſſiah to be a temporal and glorious one, and attribute his long delay, partly to the ſlowneſs of *Saturn*'s motion, which they make the ruling planet of the ſabbath † and of the *Jewiſh* nation, and partly to their ſins, which have provoked God to ſuſpend the ſending of him at the promiſed time (M); for this reaſon they forbid the calculating the time of his coming under the ſevereſt anathemas.

6. They entertain the higheſt and juſteſt notions of the Deity, and of his perfections

† De hoc vide Vol. I, p. 730, (L).

completed, and ſhall only obſerve here, that the authority of theſe *Rabbies* is not only very ſuſpicious in a caſe of this nature, but is contradicted by others of older date, whom we have mentioned at the head of this article. Beſides, what we have ſaid hitherto makes it more probable, that they were of much earlier date, and that the rupture which the publication of the *Talmud* occaſioned, might be only a revival of their old diſpute, and the giving of a new life to the ſect. Sure it is, that ſome of the fathers, who are of much greater authority, have mentioned them long before (25), if not by the name of *Caraits*, at leaſt by that of *ſcribes*, who rejected all oral traditions, and ſtuck cloſe to the letter of the ſacred books. The reader may ſee another proof of it it in the next note.

(L) *Euſebius* tells us (26), that in the reign of *Ptolemy Philometor*, the *Jews* in *Egypt* were divided into two parties, the one of which expounded the *Moſaic* law allegorically, and the other literally; which latter was part of the *Caraites* character. We might further alledge, the book *Hachoſri*, to which the *Rabbies* give a very great antiquity, and which intoduces the king *Coſices* as a great admirer of the *Caraitic* ſect, becauſe they were more zealous for the law, till his *Rabbinic* teachers acquainted him with the vaſt variety of opinions that were among them, for want of admitting the oral tradition, which fixed the ſenſe of the ſacred writings. We have elſewhere indeed had occaſion to ſhew, that this book is far enough from being ſo ancient as they make it †; but it ſhews, however, how little reaſon *Morinus* had to make them ſo recent as the eighth century, upon the teſtimony of ſome partial *Rabbins*, againſt that of a number of others of more ancient date, ſome of whom own them to have appeared even in the time of the *Aſmoneans*, others of the *Sadducees*, and others of *Herod* (27), to ſay nothing of that of the fathers above quoted.

If it be objected, that *Joſephus* has ſaid nothing of them when he ſpoke of the other ſects which reigned in his time, the argument will equally hold againſt the *Herodians*, which yet ſeem to have been very conſiderable. That hiſtorian might have his reaſons for paſſing them by in ſilence. Had he ſpoke well of them, he would have diſobliged his own ſect, ſeeing he was a *Phariſee*; had he ſpoke ill of them, the *Herodians* might have expoſed him to the reſentment of that family, and even of the *Romans*, in whoſe behalf we have ſeen they divided themſelves from the *Phariſees* and *Gaulonites*; and as to the *Caraites*, they might not be ſo guilty in his eyes as they appeared to the oppoſite ſects *Joſephus* had too much ſenſe to run all the lengths, and ſwallow all the fabulous ſtories of the *Traditioniſts*, tho', like a thorough-paced ſtateſman, he outwardly joined with the moſt prevaling ſide.

(M) The reader may remember, that we have lately had occaſion to confute this ridiculous pretence, and the cauſe from which it ſprung (28), which, it ſeems by this, was not ſo confined to the carnal *Phariſees* and *Sadducees*, but their more ſober and mortified ſects gave into it.

(25) *Orig. in Matth.* xiii. 52. *Epiphan. hæreſ.* xv, *Hieron. in Iſai.* viii. 14. (26) *Præp. evangel. l.* viii. *c.* 10. † *Vide ſupra, Vol.* I. *p.* 725, (B). (27) *Vide Trigland. de Carait. c.* 3. *Druſ. triliar. Baſnag. Calmet. Prid. &c. ubi ſupra.* (28) *Vol.* IV. *p.* 160. *in fin. not.* (Z).

a tions and attributes. They affirm his providence to be as extenſive and unlimited as his knowledge; and at the ſame time allow, that mankind has a freedom to determine himſelf; but that God gave unto every man a portion of his univerſal grace to aſſiſt him in his right choice; and that our wills being influenced by our tempers and conſtitutions, but chiefly by the ſtars, makes that grace very neceſſary. They have a four fold diſtinction of this diſpoſition of the ſoul, the one of ſickneſs, the other of health, the third of life, the fourth of death. This diſtinction ſeems to have been alluded to by our Saviour in ſeveral places of the goſpel; as where he ſpeaks of the dead burying the dead; that not the whole, but the ſick, have need of a phyſician, and ſome others of the like nature.

b 7. THEIR morality was not inferior to their divinity. It kept a kind of medium between the auſtere *Eſſenian* and the epicurean *Sadducee*. Of the two they rather inclined to the former in point of abſtemiouſneſs, whether of eating, drinking, or any other lawful pleaſures.

8. THEY believe a future life of rewards and puniſhments, according to mens good or bad actions in this (N); that the ſouls come from heaven; that the future life was made for them, and that they will ſubſiſt there as the angels do.

9. WE have already hinted, that they condemned the phylacteries of the *Phariſees*. They had no leſs an abhorrence for all kind of pictures, that were uſed either by heathens, or afterwards by chriſtians, for a religious uſe, or, as they term it, to be
c worſhipped; and condemned the other ſects for being remiſs enough in that point, to make a traffick of them for gain.

10. THEY rejected the aſtronomical calculations as introduced after the captivity for ſettling the new moons and other feſtivals of the year; ſuch as we have had occaſion to mention more than once in the courſe of this chapter †. Whereas the *Traditioniſts* denied their being an innovation, and pretended, that they had been invented by *Moſes*, and had been as much in vogue before, as ſince their return from *Babylon*.

UPON all theſe, and ſome other leſs material differences, there was ſuch an irreconcileable hatred intailed between thoſe two ſects, as came little ſhort of perſecu-
d tion. They not only charge each other with hereſy, with perverting the ſcriptures, and corrupting religion; but pronounce the bittereſt anathemas they can meet with in the ſacred books againſt each other, and that publicly and ſolemnly; ſo that where either of them, eſpecially the *Phariſees*, are moſt numerous or powerful, the others muſt hear themſelves curſed, without daring to reſiſt or complain (O). The late Mr. *Ludolph*, who had been much converſant among them, told ſeveral of his acquaintance both in *England* and *Holland*, that he ſaved the life of a poor *Caraite* at *Frankfort*, who, if he had not protected him, took him home, and ſent him away privately, had been in danger of being either torn into pieces, or of being ſtarved there [h]. This mutual hatred and contempt is carefully propagated both by the parents
e to the children, and much more by the maſters to the diſciples, over whom they uſurp ſuch an uncontroulable authority, that it is next to blaſphemy and rebellion to contradict or diſobey them.

AMONG the *Caraites*, above all other ſects, the diſciples have ſuch profound reſpect for their doctors, that they neither ſit down before them till they are bid, nor go from them without their leave; and then they go backwards, keeping ſtill their faces turned towards them. They never ſpeak to or of them, without the title of lord, maſter, or ſome ſuch like term of ſubmiſſion. The doctors, on the other hand, who are

† Vide int. al. p. 71, & not. (K).

[h] BASNAG. ubi ſupra, c. 7. ſect. 25.

(N) Tho' they held this in oppoſition to the *Sadducees*, whom they therefore accuſed of maintaining the annihilation of the ſoul; yet we do not find that they believed the reſurrection with the *Phariſees*.

(O) This, we are told (29), is practiſed in *Paleſtine*, where the *Rabbiniſts*, by far the more numerous and wealthy, aſſemble themſelves on mount *Olivet* on the feaſt of tabernacles, and there pronounce all the curſes of the law againſt the *Caraites*, who are often within the hearing of them; for tho' we find their ſect diſperſed through many of the northern regions, ſuch as *Poland*, *Lithuania*, *Muſcovy*, &c. beſides thoſe that are to be met with in great numbers in *Turky*, where they enjoy much greater liberty; yet they prefer *Judæa* to all other countries, and would gladly live there rather than at *Conſtantinople*, *Cairo*, and other great cities, were they permitted to live peaceably, and free from the curſes and other ill-offices of their inveterate enemies.

(29) *Basnag. ubi ſupra, ſect. ult.*

are averſe to the *Pharaſaic* pride, treat them with great gentleneſs and humanity, and, a
for the generality, teach their ſcholars *gratis*; ſo that one may ſay, upon the whole, the
Caraites are by far the moſt religious, rational, and, bating their carnal notion of the
Meſſiah's reign, the beſt diſpoſed to embrace the goſpel of any other ſect; and we may
reaſonably ſuppoſe, that among the many thouſands of that ſtubborn nation, whom
the apoſtles converted to chriſtianity, the far greater number of them flocked to it from
that quarter; whilſt the proud *Phariſees*, full of their ſuperſufficient knowledge
and righteouſneſs, and intoxicated with an invincible fondneſs for their own traditions
and the carnal *Sadducees*, contented with the injoyments of this life, and regarleſs, if
not averſe to the thoughts of a future, ſpared no pains or artifice, cruelty or injuſtice
to oppoſe a doctrine ſo grating and contrary to theirs. This being therefore the ſtate b
of the *Jews* at the coming of the Meſſiah, we need not wonder at the reception which
both he and his doctrine met with from them; eſpecially when, inſtead of that glori-
ous, warlike, conqueror they had been made to expect, they ſaw him in the humble
guiſe of the poor, illiterate, ſon of an obſcure carpenter.

SECT. VI.

The hiſtory of the Jews, *from the birth to the death of* CHRIST.

Herod's diſtracted ſtate reſumed.

THE reader may remember, that we left *Herod* in the moſt diſtracted ſtate that c
can be well imagined; his conſcience ſtung with the moſt lively grief for the
murder of his beloved and virtuous *Mariamne* and of her two worthy ſons; his life
and crown in imminent danger from the rebellious *Antipater* and ungrateful *Phero-*
ras; his reign ſtained with rivers of innocent blood; his latter days imbittered by the
treacherous intrigues of a helliſh ſiſter; his perſon and family hated by the whole
Jewiſh nation; and laſt of all his crown and all his glories on the eve of being obſcured
by the birth of a miraculous child, who is proclaimed by heaven and earth to be the
promiſed and long expected Meſſiah and Saviour of the world. To all theſe plagues
we muſt add ſome freſh intelligences which came tumbling in upon that wretched
monarch; and which, by aſſuring him ſtill more, not only of the treaſonable deſigns d
of the unnatural *Antipater*, but alſo of the bitter complaints which his other two ſons,
then at the *Roman* court, did vent againſt them both, rendered him more than ever
completely miſerable. Had theſe two princes continued in their duty to him, they
would have been a ſupport and comfort, tho' his favourite one had proved the
traitor they had repreſented him; but whom could he truſt to, when there was not one
of his family left, that did not in ſome meaſure declare himſelf an enemy to him? This
was the dreadful view in which he beheld himſelf and his unnatural offspring; not
that thoſe two young princes were really ſo diveſted of all filial affection, as they were
repreſented to him by *Antipater* and his inſtruments; but it had been his and their
Antipater's cabals againſt his two brothers.
conſtant care and ſtudy, by ſuch vile miſrepreſentations, to render them more and e
more ſuſpected to the jealous king. Their letters were generally filled with the pre-
tended injurious reflections which thoſe two ſons whiſpered againſt him; ſuch as his
having unjuſtly murdered thoſe of *Mariamne*, and their dread of being recalled into
Judæa to be made to undergo the ſame fate. *Antipater* indeed acted under cloſer
covert, and whilſt he ſeemed, as it were, unwillingly to confirm all theſe accuſations,
pretended to excuſe them as the effects of raſhneſs and youth, which time and conſide-
ration would ſoon rectify; and indeed ſo taken up was he, either in cultivating theſe
diſcords, or in procuring himſelf friends at *Rome* and *Jeruſalem* by his profuſe libe-
rality, that he ſeems to have been wholly ignorant of the diſcoveries which the rack
had extorted from his agents in *Judæa*, eſpecially upon the death of *Pheroras*, of
which we gave an account in the laſt ſection.

IT is indeed ſurpriſing, that none of his friends in *Judæa* ſhould have ſent him
ſome private intelligence of what had paſſed at that dreadful ſcene, and warned him
to ſecure himſelf betimes from his father's reſentment; but ſo intent was he on the
means of ridding himſelf of him and ſeizing on his crown, that he even furniſhed
him with freſh proofs againſt himſelf, by ſending a freſh ſupply of poiſon to his
mother, by means of a freed man of his, in caſe the old one ſhould in any ways have
miſcarried. *Batillus*, that was the ſervant's name, was no ſooner arrived at *Jeruſa-*
lem,

a *lem*, than *Herod*, who by this time had unravelled the whole plot, cauſed him to be apprehended and put to the rack; upon which he confeſſed the purport of his errand from *Rome*. *Herod*, the better to conceal his reſentment againſt his treacherous ſon, ſent him immediately a letter, in which he ſeemed to complain only of ſome ill treatment from his mother, and charged him at the ſame time to make what haſte he could to *Jeruſalem*, that his abſence might no longer give his enemies a handle to obſtruct his intereſt in the ſucceſſion. He concluded with a promiſe, that immediately upon his arrival he would obliterate all paſt miſcarriages, and give him all the marks of paternal affection that he ſhould deſire [a]. *Batillus's confeſſion on the rack.*

Antipater, ſtill ignorant of what had paſſed in *Judæa*, and thinking his father by this time poiſoned and in his grave, was ſet out for *Judæa*, being as eager to reach b *Jeruſalem*, as his father to get him thither; but when he was come to *Tarentum*, he received a diſpatch from ſome of his friends, which acquainted his with the particulars of *Pheroras*'s death. The news gave him a terrible ſhock, not indeed ſo much out of love to the deceaſed, as becauſe he found by it, that he had miſſed his aim of poiſoning the king. He purſued, however, his journey as far as *Celenderis*, a city in *Sicily*, where being taken with a qualm at the thoughts of the affront put upon his mother, who, as we obſerved in the laſt ſection, had been baniſhed the court and ſtripped of all her riches, which he looked upon as an ill omen; he ſtopped ſome time there, to conſult with his friends, whether he had beſt proceed, or go back. At length ſome of them having fluſhed him with the ſanguine hopes, that his appear- c ance at court would diſpel all his father's ſuſpicions, he got on board again, and in a little while landed at *Sebaſte*. Here he met with a more mortifying omen, than that of his mother's diſgrace; and, inſtead of thoſe acclamations and good wiſhes with which numerous crouds had followed him to the ſhip, he heard nothing but the bittereſt curſes from the *Jews* againſt himſelf, as the bloody murderer of *Marianne*'s two brave ſons [b]. Antipater *comes back to* Jeruſalem.

WHILST *Herod* was impatiently waiting his arrival, he had not been negligent of what he thought perhaps a more important care, namely, the deſtroying of his new-born rival at *Bethlehem*, whom he ſuppoſed to be ſtill there. Finding himſelf there- *The children* d fore diſappointed by the wiſe men, from whom he expected a more particular infor- *at* Bethlehem mation concerning him, that he might be ſure of not miſſing his victim, he iſſued *maſſacred.* forth an order to have all the male infants maſſacred, not only in that city, but in all the coaſts round about, from two years old and under (F); and, by that horrid ſlaughter, verified the oracle long before delivered by one of the prophets, which the reader will find in the margin (G) [c]. But providence had already taken care to convoy

[a] Antiq. l. xvii. c. 6 [b] Ibid. c. 7. ſub. init. [c] MATTH. ii. 16, ſeq.

(F) An author of the fifth century tells us (36), that *Herod* had alſo a ſon there at nurſe, who was maſſacred among the reſt; and that it was upon this occaſion, that *Auguſtus* made that reflection upon him, that it was better be *Herod*'s *hog*, *than his ſon*. But it is more likely, that that emperor, hearing about the ſame time of the death of *Antipater*, which happened about ſix weeks after this horrid ſlaughter, and recollecting that alſo of his other two ſons, might make him break out into that bitter ſarcaſm againſt ſuch an unatural father; beſides, it is hardly probable that *Herod*, old, crazed, and diſtracted as he was, could have any children ſo young.

It is ſomething ſurpriſing, that *Joſephus*, who was in no caſe ſparing of *Herod*'s character, ſhould yet have omitted ſuch a material occurrence. The chriſtians have taxed him, and juſtly too, with partiality, as having concealed it, to avoid giving ſuch a countenance to the evangeliſt, and ſuch an ample teſtimony to the Meſſiah, as might offend his whole nation, and more particularly the *Phariſaic* brotherhood, who had been his moſt inveterate enemies.

On the other hand, there have not been wanting thoſe, who, preferring the authority of the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian to that of St. *Matthew*, have made uſe of the one, among many other topics, to cry down the other. The controverſy is ſo recent in every body's memory, that we need not here repeat it; eſpecially conſidering, that it is out of our province to enter into a diſpute, which, we think, has been ſo ſufficiently decided in favour of the latter.

As to what may be objected, that *Joſephus* has not ſcrupled in another place to give Jeſus Chriſt a moſt noble character; we ſhall only ſay here, that that paſſage has been ſhrewdly ſuſpected of forgery, as this in all likelihood would have been, were it to be found in that hiſtorian. However, we ſhall have a fitter opportunity of ſpeaking of that pretended interpolation in the ſequel of this ſection.

(G) The whole paſſage runs thus (37), tho' the evangeliſt has only quoted the firſt part, as enough to direct his readers to the reſt, as was the cuſtom before the bible was divided into chapters and verſes.

Thus ſays the Lord, a voice was heard in Ramah, *lamentation and bitter weeping*; Rachel *weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, becauſe they were not. Thus ſaith the Lord, refrain thy voice from weeping, and thine eyes from tears: for thy labour ſhall be rewarded*, or, as the original has it, *there is a reward* (laid up) *for thy labour, and they ſhall come again from the land of the enemy. For there is hope, ſaith the Lord, that, in thy latter end, thy children ſhall come again to their own border. I have heard* Ephraim *complain, ſaying, Thou haſt chaſtiſed me, and I was chaſtiſed*, &c.

There

(36) *Macrob. Saturn. l.* ii. *c.* 4. (37) *Jerem.* xxxi. 15, *& ſeq.*

vey the child far enough out of the reach of his butchers; and his parents, having been timely forewarned of his bloody deſign, had withdrawn themſelves into *Egypt*, whence he was not recalled till after the death of the tyrant; when, upon their return, fearing ſtill ſome further attempt from his ſucceſſor *Archelaus*, they were directed by the ſame heavenly monitor to turn off into *Galilee*, and to betake themſelves to their old habitation at *Nazareth*. Here was likewiſe another prophecy fulfilled in the name of *Nazarite* or *Nazaren*, which was given him from his long abode in that obſcure place (H)[d].

Soon

[d] Ibid. ver. 19. ad fin.

There was a neceſſity for taking the whole text thus far, in order to ſhew how this prophecy or promiſe of God was verified in the ſlaughter of theſe babes; and it is for want of attending to the whole, that ſome commentators have been forced to have recourſe to a primitive or hiſtorical meaning, in the carrying away of the ten tribes, and a ſecondary in this more cruel bereaving of *Rachel*, or the *Jewiſh* ſtate, of her beloved children; whilſt others, not ſatisfied with the ſolution, have run into downright ſcepticiſm. Whereas the whole, thus connected, implies no more than this, that no affliction or ſuffering, either wrongfully, or for a good cauſe, ſhall miſs of its ſure reward at the latter end.

The words therefore of the evangeliſt (38) may, and, we think, juſtly too, be thus paraphraſed and expounded: Then, or in that bitter weeping and lamentation of thoſe doleful mothers, was fulfilled, or truly verified, that ſaying of the prophet *Jeremiah*; *In* Ramah, which, in the original, ſignifies *a high place*, *was heard bitter lamentation*, &c. the mournful mothers refuſing to be comforted for their loſt children, becauſe they were now no more. But what ſays the Lord? Refrain your cryings and tears; for there is a recompence reſerved for all your labours at your latter end; and the children you count for loſt ſhall ſurely return again. And when could ſuch a comfortable promiſe be more truly verified, than when he, who brought life and immortality to light, came to aſſure us of it by ſo many irrefragable arguments, as well as by his own infallible word?

The *Jews* themſelves, eſpecially thoſe who believed the reſurrection, might eaſily have underſtood this to have been the meaning both of the prophet and evangeliſt, ſince they tell us (39), that the reaſon why God did not double the number of *Job*'s children, as he did that of his cattle, &c, when he reſtored him to his proſperous ſtate, was, becauſe thoſe children, tho' dead, were not loſt, as his other poſſeſſions were, but lived ſtill with God, and would be raiſed up at the latter end.

(H) This prophecy has likewiſe been very much canvaſſed, and hitherto in vain ſought after, tho', by the evangeliſt's words, it ſhould be in more places than one, ſince he doth not there quote any one in particular, but the prophets in general. The queſtion therefore is, whether it is ſaid any-where, that the Meſſiah ſhould be called *Nazarite?* The anſwer is not in any verſion, (except perhaps the *Chaldee* and the *Syriac*) but in the original *Hebrew*, where we ſhall find him called נוֹצְרִי *Notzer*; not indeed on account of his having received that appellation from any particular city, but by reaſon of his high character, office, and deſcent. We ſhall content ourſelves with giving two inſtances of it, which will, however, ſuffice as a clue to the reſt.

The firſt is in *Exodus* (40), where the Lord is ſaid to deſcend in the cloud, and to proclaim the name or attributes of the Lord, in the following words: *The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-ſuffering, and abundant in mercy and truth; keeping mercy for thouſands, forgiving iniquity*, &c. Where it is obſerveable, that the firſt letter in the word נוֹצֵר *notzer*, keeping, is one of thoſe which the *Jews* call *majuſcula*, or large letters, ſuch as occur only about thirty times in the whole old teſtament †, and are, according to them, never uſed by the ſacred writers, but to imply ſome great myſtery to be contained in the word.

We ſhall not here diſpute, whether the words in the paſſage above-quoted are thoſe of God there appearing, as our, and moſt, verſions underſtand it, or of *Moſes* calling upon him there, tho' the latter ſeems to us moſt probable, from thoſe that go immediately before, *Vajicra beſhem Jehovah, and he called on the name of the Lord.* It is ſufficient, that the name of *Notzer* is given to the divine perſon there appearing, which could not be that of God the Father, whom no man hath ſeen at any time; but of the Son, in that human appearance he often took both before and under the *Moſaic* diſpenſation; and for further proof of which, we ſhall refer our readers to what has been ſaid in a former volume *, and all we ſhall add is, that none could have a better claim to this title of *Notzar cheſſed*, *keeping* or *preſerving mercy*, than he that came to obtain it for us at no leſs a price than his own ineſtimable life.

The other place we ſhall mention, is in *Iſaiah* (41), where the ſame Meſſiah is called a *Netzer*, or, *a branch* out of the old ſtem of *Jeſſe*, &c. where the word נֵץ or מִנֵּץ which we tranſlate *ſtem*, ſignifies *the old ſtump of a tree, after the main body* has been cut off; and the *netzer the ſpontaneous ſhoot which ſprings from it*; and ſuch was indeed the houſe of *David* at the time of Chriſt's birth, reduced to the loweſt degree of poverty and obſcurity, tho' at but fourteen generations diſtance from *Zerubbabel*; but we muſt remember, that the prieſts, the *Aſmoneans*, and afterwards *Herod*, had held the kingdom and government of *Judæa*; whoſe intereſt therefore it was to ſuppreſs that family, leſt ſome of them ſhould in time wrench it out of their hands. Neither was this done without the particular conduct of providence, and in purſuance of thoſe prophecies in which the low and humble ſtate of the world's Redeemer is ſo lively deſcribed; and accordingly we find, that when his parents came to *Bethlehem*, they were ſo poor, that his mother could not purchaſe a room in that city, where ſhe might be decently delivered of him, but was forced to make uſe of a ſtable for herſelf, and of a manger for her child; or, which is indeed more likely from a cloſer examination of the text, was delivered in the open fields, and laid the divine babe, εν τη φατνη, *in a crib*; for in that ſenſe the ſeptuagint commonly uſe that word.

If then the Meſſiah is in *Geneſis* and *Iſaiah* emphatically called *Notzer* or *Netzer*, and that name is given him by the *Jews*, in their doing ſo, tho' by way of contempt, they did but fulfil thoſe prophecies of him, tho' unwittingly, unwillingly, and in deriſion; and it is ſtill more to his glory, that it was com-

(38) *Matth.* ii. 17. & *ſeq.* (39) *Rabb. Plur. comm. in Job, c. ult. Dieg. de Stunica, & al. ibid.* (40) c. xxxiv. 5, & *ſeq.* † *Vid int. al. Vol.* I. *p.* 429, (T), 484, (S). * *De his vide Vol.* I. *p.* 723, (Z) (41) c. xi. 1.

a Soon after this maſſacre at *Bethlehem*, arrived *Antipater* at *Sebaſte*, and from thence went directly to *Jeruſalem*, where *Herod* had ſo cloſely concealed his deſigns concerning him, that he made no heſitation to go and offer himſelf at the gates of the palace. They were immediately opened to him; but, upon his being entered, they were ſhut up again to all his retinue. Upon his being introduced to the king, he went to throw himſelf at his feet, and to embrace his knees; but met with a ſtern repulſe, and was immediately arreſted; and when he aſked the reaſon of it, he was upbraided with the death of his brothers, and referred over to *Varus*, by whom he ſhould be judged on the very next day. *Quintilius Varus* had ſucceeded *SextusSaturninus* in the government of *Syria*, and, being arrived at that province, was juſt then come to *Jeru-*
b *ſalem*, to pay a viſit to *Herod*, and was thereupon deſired by that monarch, that he would preſide as judge at the trial of his rebellious and unnatural ſon. *Antipater* was accordingly brought the next morning before him, and a numerous aſſembly, whom *Herod* had convened for that purpoſe. Upon his firſt appearing, he threw himſelf upon his knees, and begged that they would have pity on him, and not condemn him unheard. *Herod*, who was alſo preſent, only bid him ſtand up, that he might the better level his reſentments at him. He upbraided him with his ſecret deſigns of poiſoning him, and unravelled the whole conſpiracy lately diſcovered, appealing for the truth of it to his relations and friends, and other evidences, whom he had alſo poſted there to prove all his accuſations; the laſt of which, and that which he vented
c with greateſt vehemence, was the death of his two brave ſons, Of whom, ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to *Antipater*, thou haſt been but the too unnatural follower, if they were guilty, and the baſe murderer, if they were innocent. His exceſſive grief, followed with a flood of tears, which he could not refrain at the naming of thoſe two unhappy princes, obliged him to ſtop ſhort, and to beckon to *Nicolas Damaſcen* to go on and open the reſt of the accuſation, and then proceed to the proofs of it.

Antipater, who knew but too well his own guilt and the undoubted evidence which was there ready to prove it againſt him, prevented *Damaſcen*'s going on, and began to plead his own cauſe; the ſum of which was, the unlikelihood of his ever entertaining any thoughts of ſuch a horrid parricide, eſpecially after the dreadful
d puniſhment of his two brothers for the like attempt. He loudly complained againſt the baſeneſs of his accuſers; but *Damaſcen*, being at length permitted to ſpeak, gave ſuch ſatisfactory evidence to the court, that there could be no room left to doubt of his being really guilty. *Varus*, however, told him for the laſt time, that if he had any thing to reply to invalidate the proofs alledged againſt him, he might now freely do it, ſeeing it was *Herod*'s and his own earneſt deſire, that he might prove himſelf innocent. *Antipater*, for want of better evidence, had recourſe to oaths and bitter curſes, which he plentifully wiſhed on himſelf, if he was guilty; but this being the uſual refuge of the blackeſt criminals, the preſident, to ſtop his mouth at once and bring the trial to a fair iſſue, ordered ſome of the poiſon, which had been mentioned in the evi-
e dence, to be brought, and given to a condemned perſon before the court; which being done accordingly, the man died almoſt as ſoon as he had taken it. *Varus* immediately left the court and *Judæa* to return to *Antioch*, without declaring his opinion to any but to *Herod*, who ordered his ſon to be ſhut up in a priſon, and ſent letters to *Auguſtus* to acquaint him with the whole trial, charging at the ſame time the meſſenger to give that emperor all the further particulars of it by word of mouth [e].

Antipater's arrival.

His trial for treaſon.

His defence.

He is caſt.

PRE-

[e] Antiq. ubi ſupra.

completed in him in that ſublime ſenſe in which he is called by that name in the law and the prophets. The *Jews* had two falſe notions concerning Chriſt, the one, that he was born at *Nazareth*, and conſequently that he was a *Galilean*; and the ſecond, that out of *Galilee* there never aroſe any prophet (42). Since then he ſet up both for a prophet and for the Meſſiah, they thought that the name of *Nazarene* was ſufficient to confute both thoſe claims, and therefore give it both to him and to his followers; and theſe gladly embraced it, on account of its true and genuine ſignification, as he is called in *Moſes*'s writings the *notzer*, or *keeper* or *depoſitory of mercy*, and by *Iſaiah the ſprout out of the old withered ſtock of the houſe of* David.

Some interpreters have imagined, that the evangeliſt alluded to the *Nazarites* among the *Jews*, of whom we have ſpoken more fully in our firſt volume *, or to *Joſeph*, who is emphatically called by his father *Nazir Achauf* (43), *ſeparate from his brethren*; or, as we have formerly explained that place †, *crowned above his brethren*, and whom they look upon as a type of the Meſſiah. But all this is ſuppoſed, for want of attending to the different ſpelling of theſe two words, *viz.* the firſt with a ץ, and ſignifies *to keep*, and the other with ז, and ſignifies *to crown*, *ſeparate*, &c. Now the former can be the only right one here, it being given him on account of his living at *Nazareth*; which word is written with the *tzade*, and not the *zain*.

(42) *Vide John* i. 46. vii 41 & 52. * *p.* 631, & *ſeq.* (43) *Gen.* xlix. 26. † *Vol. I. p.* 465, (R).

PRESENTLY after, there was another discovery made by an intercepted letter from *Antiphilus*, who was then in *Egypt*, and directed to *Antipater*; the purport of which was as follows: "I have sent you *Achme*'s letter, (I): you know what risque I run by "so doing, since I should lay myself at the mercy of two most potent families and "my inveterate enemies. It concerns you therefore to look to it, that nothing mis-"carry." The business was to find this letter of *Achme*, and the messenger pretended to be ignorant of any other, except that above-mentioned. At length, upon closer search, another was found sewed in the lining of his waistcoat, which, upon their reading of it, was to this effect: *Achme* to *Antipater*: *I have written to your father, according to your direction, and have inclosed in the packet the forged letter from* Salome *to the queen my mistress; and I doubt not but the king, upon his reading of it, will put her to death as a traitress.* This pretended letter of *Salome* was contrived by *Antipater*, and dressed up by *Achme*, who wrote to the king as follows. Achme *to* King Herod: *Out of a desire I have to serve you, by acquainting you with any thing that concerns your safety, I have herewith sent you a letter of* Salome *to the empress my mistress, in which she desires her leave to marry* Syllæus (K). *Pray tear it as soon as read, since the discovery of it would cost me my head.* *Herod*, upon reading and comparing the whole, caused his son to be brought before him, bound as he was, and shewed him the letters, and at the same time asked him, what he had to answer for himself? *Antipater*, at the sight of them, was thunderstruck, and could not utter a word; and upon its being insisted on, that he should name his accomplices, he only mentioned *Antiphilus*. *Salome*, who was touched to the quick at this attempt against her, after having expressed her innocence by many antic gestures and direk imprecations, strenuously insisted to have the traitor executed out of hand. *Herod*, on the other side, was thinking at first to have sent him to *Rome* to have been tried before *Cæsar*; but fearing, upon second thoughts, lest he should either be rescued by the way, or acquitted by his friends there, contented himself with sending a full account to the emperor, together with the intercepted letters; and remanded his son to his prison[f].

Herod's last illness and will.

WHILST his embassadors were hastening to *Rome*, *Herod*, worn out with age, sickness, and numberless cares and inquietudes, fell into a violent disease, which, added to all his other misfortunes, made him so remorse and choleric, that he became a burden to himself, and to every one about him. Finding his end approaching, he set about making his will, by which he appointed his youngest son his heir and successor, the misrepresentations and calumnies of *Antipater* having rendered his other two sons, *Archelaus* and *Philip*, obnoxious to him. He bequeathed in legacies, a thousand talents to *Augustus*; five hundred to his empress, and left a considerable fortune to the unworthy *Salome*. The rest of his estate, lands, revenues, and money he ordered to be divided between his children and grandchildren.

A tumult in the city.

BUT if he was capable of receiving any real satisfaction from this disposal of his crown and wealth according to his inclination, it was soon after soured by a seditious tumult, which was raised about this time by *Judas*, the son of *Seraphæus* and *Mattahias*, the son of *Margolothus*, two *Jewish* doctors, equally eminent for their learning and piety. These men, at the pleasing news of his being given over, unhappily took it into their heads to stir up a good number of their disciples, at the head of the city youth, to go and pull down all the structures which that monarch had built contrary to their laws. These, with their two masters at their head, having heard a report about the middle of the day that *Herod* was expired, went immediately to the temple-gate, over which he had set up a golden eagle of extraordinary bigness and exquisite workmanship, and began their pious work with pulling it down, and breaking it into pieces with axes and hammers, as the greatest eye-sore of all. The king's commander in chief, expecting it to be the beginning of a sedition, ran immediately to the place with a body of his troops, and was agreeably surprised to find it only a mob of youths, who immediately dispersed themselves at his arrival. Forty only of them,

[f] Idem ibid. ad fin.

(I) This *Achme* was by nation a *Jewess*, in the service of *Julia Augustus*'s wife; but had been bought over by *Antipater* with large sums, to contrive this plot against his father and his aunt *Salome* (44).

(K) *Syllæus* was a *Nabathean* and *Herod*'s sworn enemy, and was soon after beheaded at *Rome* for betraying *Ælius Gallus* into the *Arabian* expedition, and for some other crimes (45).

(44) *Joseph. Antiq. l.* xvii. *c.* 7. *ad fin.*

(45) *De hoc vide Strab. l.* xvi.

a them, with their two chiefs, proving intrepid enough to ſtand their ground, were immediately ſeized, and brought to the dying king; and upon their being aſked what motive had induced them to ſuch an attempt on the temple? boldly anſwered him, that they had long ſince reſolved upon it; and that it was their only grief, that they had deferred it ſo long. They added, that they neither feared his anger, nor any puniſhment he could inflict on them, ſince what they had done was in obedience to their law, and from a pure zeal for the glory of God.

This affront having raiſed in ſome meaſure his drooping ſpirits, he ordered them to be ſent in chains to *Jericho*, whither he alſo cauſed himſelf to be conveyed in a litter, by reaſon of his extreme weakneſs. Here he aſſembled the heads of the *Jews*, Herod's *ſpeech to the aſſembly.*
b and, in a ſet ſpeech, reminded them of the great and glorious things he had done for them, and of the ſumptuous edifices he had reared to the glory of God, during his whole reign, and for which he expected to have deſerved better returns, and to have endeared both his perſon and memory to the whole nation; but that, to his great grief, he found it quite the reverſe, ſince they had dared, even during his life and in the face of the ſun, to offer ſuch an affront to him; and not to him only, but much more to God, to whom that golden ornament had been dedicated; ſo that they had even turned their malice into an open ſacrilege. The aſſembly could eaſily have told him, that his pretended dedication of a figure forbidden by the ſecond commandment, was no other than a piece of idolatrous complaiſance to the *Romans*; but
c being afraid to rouſe his cruelty too far, they contented themſelves with diſclaiming the fact, and allowing it to deſerve an exemplary puniſhment. *Herod*, ſomewhat ſoftened by this anſwer, contented himſelf with depoſing the high-prieſt (L), whom he ſuſpected to have been a private encourager of the tumult, and giving that dignity to his brother *Joazar*; after which he cauſed *Mattathias* the ringleader and the reſt *The zealots* of the priſoners to be burnt alive, and forgave all the reſt [g]. *burnt alive.*

This indignity, however, gave him reaſon enough to think what mourning the *Jewiſh* nation was like to make for him; and as his diſeaſe became more and more loathſome and intolerable (M), and made him ſtill more deſperate and inhuman, he bethought himſelf of ſuch a horrid expedient to prevent their rejoicing at his death;
d as ſcarcely entered into the heart of any tyrant. He iſſued out his ſummons for the heads of all the *Jews* to repair to *Jericho* on a ſet day, under pain of death; and, upon their arrival, ordered them all to be ſhut up in the *Circus:* and having ſent for Herod's *laſt* his ſiſter *Salome* and her huſband *Alexas*, gave them ſtrict charge to have them all *legacy to the* butchered as ſoon as his breath was gone. By this means, added he, I ſhall not only Jews. damp the people's joy, but ſecure a real mourning at my death. About this time came back his meſſengers from *Rome*, with *Auguſtus*'s approbation of *Antipater*'s ſentence, and the news that *Achme* had been there put to death for her treachery. *Herod* could not but feel a ſenſible joy at it, in ſpite of all his tortures; and finding himſelf at that time very hungry, he called for an apple and an knife; but his pains increaſe-
e ing at that inſtant, and he eſſaying to put an end to them with the knife, made a grandſon of his, who tried to ſtop his hand, give a great ſhriek, which alarmed the court, and made every body without believe that he was dead. The report of it ſoon reached *Antipater*'s priſon, who expreſſed ſuch lively joys and hopes at the news, as haſtened his execution; for his gaoler having acquainted the king with it, threw him into ſuch a rage, that he diſpatched one of his guards on the very inſtant to put him

[g] Antiq. ubi ſupra. c. 9.

(L) This was that *Mattathias*, of whom we have had occaſion to ſpeak heretofore, who having contracted ſome pollution in a dream on the eve of the expiation day, was forced to ſubſtitute another to perform the ceremonies of that ſolemnity. *Joſephus* adds, that the moon ſuffered an eclipſe on the night following that pontiff's depoſition (46).

(M) This diſeaſe which *Joſephus* (47) doth not ſcruple to call a judicial one, was ſo complicated, and attended with ſuch nauſeous and frightful ſymptoms, that we believe our readers will gladly ſpare us the repetition of them here. However, the king, ſtill flattering himſelf with the hopes of a cure, ſent for phyſicians from all parts, who, having tried their art in vain, adviſed him at length to the hot waters of *Callirhoe*, on the other ſide of *Jordan*, which empty themſelves in the lake *Aſphaltites*. Upon his coming thither, he was ordered to be ſet in a veſſel of oil up to the neck, which, inſtead of relieving him, threw him into a fainting fit, out of which he was with difficulty brought by the outcries of his attendants. It was then that he firſt began to think his diſeaſe incurable; upon which he ordered a donative of fifty drachms *per* head to all his ſoldiers, and proportionably to his officers, and ordered himſelf to be conveyed to *Jericho*, where he ſoon after iſſued out that bloody edict we are going to mention in the text.

(46) *Antiq. ubi ſupra, c.* 8. (47) *Idem ibid.*

him to death[a]. He outlived his son but five days, during which he altered his will a
Antipater put to death. atreth, left his kingdom to *Archelaus*, made *Antipas* tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Perea*; and left to *Philip* the regions of *Trachonitis*, *Gaulon*, *Batanea*, and *Panias*, which he erected likewise into a tetrarchy. To *Salome*, besides fifty thousand pieces in money, he gave the cities of *Jamnia*, *Azotus*, and *Phasaelis*, with some considerable legacies to his other relations. He died in the seventieth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh
Herod's death. after his advancement to the *Jewish* crown, and the thirty-fourth year after the expulsion and death of *Antigonus*[i] (N), and to the no small joy of all the *Jews*.

FOR *Salome* and *Alexas*, bad as they were, and in spite of all the oaths and protestations their tyrannic brother had extorted from them at his death, were so far from executing his last inhuman orders, that they even strove to smother the shameful secret b
The imprisoned chiefs released by Salome. Year of the World 3000. *After Christ's birth* 1. *Before the vulgar æra* 5. *Archelaus proclaimed.* from the nation. To this end they went immediately after his being expired to the hippodrome, where the heads of the *Jews* were detained, caused the gates to be flung open, and declared to them, that it was the king's order they should all depart to their respective homes, he having no further occasion for their presence; which they accordingly did; soon after which, and not till then, they published the news of *Herod*'s death (O). They then summoned the chief officers and soldiery to an amphitheatre at *Jericho*, and read to them a letter from the deceased king, in which he thanked them for their past services and fidelity to him, and desired them to shew it now to his son *Archelaus*, whom he had appointed his successor. His last will was read to them at the same time by *Ptolemy*, the then keeper of the royal seal, in which c there was this remarkable clause, *That it was to be of no force till ratified by* Cæsar. The audience, however, taking it for granted, that the emperor would not fail to confirm it, sent out an universal shout, *Long live king* Archelaus; and both officers and soldiers promised him the same allegiance and attachment which they had shewn to his father.

THE new king, to shew his gratitude to him, began with preparing him a funeral
Herod's funeral. answerable to his greatness and dignity. His body was laid on a sumptuous golden litter, enriched with variety of precious stones, wearing the royal crown on his head, and holding the sceptre in his hand. His sons and grandsons, of whom we have spoken in a former section, his sister and her husband, accompanied with the rest of his relations, marched by his side, and were followed by all his officers, both civil and military, according to their rank. Among the latter his guards led the van; then came the *Thracians*, next the *Germans*, and, last of all the *Gauls* or *Galatians*; all of them armed and in order of battle. The procession was closed with five hundred of the king's domestics with aromatic perfumes, and proceeded to his castle of *Herodion* mentioned in the last section, which was was about eight stades, or a thousand paces, distant from

[a] Ibid. ad fin. [i] Ibid. c. 10. sub. init.

(N) Archbishop *Usher* dates his death on the 25th of *November*, the seventh month, called *Cisleu* (48). Another learned chronologer observes, that it gave the *Jewish* nation a joyful occasion for a festival, as he died hated of all wise men (49).

Our learned prelate has therein followed the *Jewish* book last quoted, which places his death on the seventh day of that month, according to the *Hebrew* computation; but a late critic has since pretended, that the old *Megillah* had been long since lost, and this new one foisted into the world instead of it, and is therefore of no authority (50). We shall content ourselves with referring our readers to another learned man (1), who has fully confuted this assumption, it being quite out of our province to enter further into that dispute.

The *Jewish* historian sums up *Herod*'s character in these remarkable words (2); *He was a man inexorably cruel, and a slave to his passions. His will was his law; and yet no man, in the general, more fortunate than he. He mounted the throne from the condition of a private man, fell into many difficulties, but surmounted them all, and lived at last to a great age. As to his domestic broils with his children and family, how unhappy soever he may have been in my opinion, yet was he fortunate in his own; for he got still the better of his enemies.*

(O) Whether this unexpected release of the *Jewish* heads was really owing to the less brutish temper of *Salome* and her husband, or whether it might not, as they gave it out, have been ordered by the relenting tyrant at his last agonies, and suppressed by the *Jewish* historian out of hatred to that monarch; sure it is, that the very design, much more the prosecuting it so far, must argue him to have been a monster of cruelty, and capable of the most horrid butcheries, to satiate either his ambition or resentment.

This will sufficiently take off the objection against the probability of his murdering so many infants in and about *Bethlehem*, drawn from the horridness of the act; and we have had occasion already to shew, that *Josephus*'s silence of it can much less invalidate the authority of the evangelist, who affirms it as a fact well known to the *Jewish* nation.

(48) *Sub A. M.* 4021. *chronol. p.* 1. *c.* 9. *fol.* 5. *et infra, c.* 10. (49) *Vide Megillath Taanith sub men. Cisleu.* (50) *Bern. Lamy. appar.* (1) *Joh. Meyer. annot. in Megill. Taan. p.* 62. *& seq.* (2) *Antiq.*

from *Jericho* (P), and where they depoſited his remains, according to his will [k]. They returned from thence to *Jeruſalem*, where *Archelaus*, having finiſhed the ſeven days mourning for his father, according to the *Jewiſh* cuſtom, gave the people a magnificent feaſt. He went next to the temple cloathed in white, and in the midſt of their loud acclamations; and, being there ſeated on his golden throne, gave the people thanks for the zeal they expreſſed for him; but added, that he would not aſſume the title of king, till it had been confirmed to him by *Auguſtus*, tho' that, as well as the royal diadem, had been offered to him at *Jericho* by the ſuffrages of the whole army. He concluded with aſſuring them, that, as ſoon as he was confirmed by the emperor, his chief care and ſtudy ſhould be to deſerve that love they ſo unanimouſly teſtified for him, and to make his reign more eaſy and happy, than that of his father had proved to the *Jewiſh* nation. This ſpeech was followed with freſh vollies of huzzas; after which they began to try the ſincerity of it, by a number of petitions ſuitable to their different exigencies. Some begged for an alleviation of their tribute, others for the total abolition of their cuſtoms, others again for the releaſe of priſoners; all which were readily granted at this lucky juncture, *Archelaus* not thinking it adviſeable to exaſperate them by a denial. The whole ceremony was concluded with ſuitable ſacrifices, and a ſumptuous entertainment, which he gave there to his friends.

Archelaus's ſpeech to the Jews.

THE *Jews*, however, ſoon reſumed their rebellious courſe in ſpite of all theſe grants. That afternoon was ſcarcely over, before a number of malecontents, who had been for ſome time holding ſecret cabals for raiſing new mutinies, broke looſe in a body, and, for want of a more plauſible pretence, came beating their breaſts, bewailing the deaths of *Mattathias* and others of his accomplices, who had been burnt for pulling down the golden eagle; and demanded juſtice againſt thoſe friends of the deceaſed king, who had had a hand in their deaths; particularly they deſired, that the high-prieſthood might be taken from *Joazar*, to whom it had been given upon that occaſion. This unexpected indignity failed not to exaſperate the new king; but as he was upon the point of departing for *Rome*, and was unwilling either to have his journey ſtopped by this tumult, or to go away before it was quelled; he ſent his maſter of the horſe to appeaſe them by fair words, and to remind them, that the king would do nothing till he was confirmed by the emperor, : but, before he could utter a word to them, they fell a pelting him with vollies of ſtones, ſo that he was forced to withdraw. He ſent ſome freſh officers on the ſame errand, and they met with the ſame reception; inſomuch, that they wanted but number to have raiſed themſelves into open rebellion. By this time the feaſt of the paſſover was come, which brought a great concouſe of people from all parts to *Jeruſalem*; during which ſolemnity the malecontents never ſtirred from the temple, but choſe to beg for ſubſiſtence of the comers, rather then leave the place, or intermit their godly work, till they were drove from it by main force [l].

A new tumult raiſed.

Archelaus, who juſtly feared, leſt theſe mutineers ſhould ſpread the infection among the multitudes that repaired to the feaſt, ſent an officer at the head of ſome troops, with expreſs orders either to diſperſe them, or to ſeize on ſuch as ſtood their ground. They were ſcarcely come in ſight of the revolters, before they found themſelves briskly attacked by them, and by a greater number of ſtrangers, whom their outcries had inſpired with the ſame rebellious ſpirit; a bloody encounter followed, in which moſt of the ſoldiers were killed upon the ſpot, and the officer terribly wounded and narrowly eſcaped with his life. This freſh indignity obliged at length *Archelaus* to ſend his whole army againſt them, with orders to his cavalry to kill all that came out of the temple, and to hinder the ſtrangers from aſſiſting them. After another obſtinate fight, in which three thouſand of the rebels were killed, the reſt were ſoon put to flight, and betook themſelves to the mountains; upon which the king publiſhed an order

The mutineers diſperſed.

[k] Idem ibid. & bell. Jud. l. i. c. ult. [l] Antiq. ubi ſupra. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 1.

(P) Or rather, as *Joſephus* has it in another place (3), two hundred ſtades or furlongs; for leſs than that could hardly be, conſidering that it was but ſixty from *Jeruſalem*. Our learned *Uſher* therefore ſuppoſes ſome error crept in the former, and that the hiſtorian there meant, that the cavalcade marched but eight ſtades a day (4).

Mention being alſo made of an *Herodion* upon one of the mountains of *Arabia* (5), Mr. *Reland* juſtly concludes, that there muſt have been two caſtles of that name built by that monarch, the former in the neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem* and *Tekoah*, *viz.* this where he was buried; and the other at a greater diſtance, and on the other ſide of *Jordan* (6).

(3) *Bell. Jud. l.* i. *c. ult. in fin.* (4) *Sub A. M.* 4002. (5) *Bell. Jud. ibid. c.* 16, *& alib.*
(6) *Palæſt. illuſtr. ſub Herodion.*

order for all ſtrangers to depart to their own homes, by which an end was put to the paſchal ſolemnity for that year, the rebellion ſuſpended for ſome time, and *Archelaus* was left at liberty to prepare for his journey to *Rome*[m]. He ſet out ſoon after accordingly, leaving the government of the kingdom to his brother *Philip*, and took with him his mother *Mattace*, by nation a *Samaritan*, *Nicholas Damaſcen*, an old friend and counſellor of his late father, and a great number of other friends. He was likewiſe accompanied by his aunt *Salome*, with her children and ſome other near relations, who pretended to aſſiſt him with their intereſt at the *Auguſtan* court, when their real deſign was to obſtruct his confirmation, and to accuſe him to the emperor of the maſſacre of his ſubjects lately committed in the temple.

Archelaus *goes to* Rome. *Year of the flood* 3000. *Of Chriſt* 1. *Before the vulgar æra* 5.

When *Archelaus* was come to *Cæſarea*, he was met there by *Sabinus*, *Auguſtus*'s intendant of *Syria*, who was haſtening into *Judæa*, to take care of the rich legacies which *Herod* had bequeathed to that emperor. He had, however, been diſſuaded by *Varus*, in his way thither, from undertaking any thing further, till the emperor's will was known, and *Archelaus* confirmed in his kingdom; ſo that he had been prevailed upon by that *Syrian* governor to ſtay in that city, till he received further orders from *Rome*. He ſtayed, however, no longer there, than till *Varus* was returned to *Antioch*, his capital; after which he went immediately to *Jeruſalem*, lodged himſelf at the royal palace, and ſummoned the king's treaſurers to give him an account, and to put him in poſſeſſion of thoſe treaſures; but as theſe had orders from *Archelaus* not to part with them till his return, they refuſed to deliver them to *Sabinus*, alledging, they would preſerve them for *Auguſtus*, till they received further directions from him. By this time *Archelaus* and his retinue were arrived at *Rome*; and among thoſe whom the ſubtle *Salome* had brought with her to oppoſe his election, was *Antipas*, another of *Herod*'s ſons, whom that monarch had appointed his ſucceſſor by his firſt will, and whom ſhe deſigned to ſet up againſt his brother, under pretence, that that was of greater validity than his ſecond. *Antipas* had been perſuaded to take this ſtep, not only by *Salome*, but much more by one *Ireneus*, an eloquent orator, and one that was perfectly verſed in all the affairs of ſtate, had been admitted into the inmoſt ſecrets of *Herod*'s court; and, being come with him to *Rome*, was moſt likely to preſent that young prince's claim to the beſt advantage. With that orator was alſo another great ſtateſman, named *Ptolemy*, the brother of *Nicolas Damaſcen*, and one of the late king's counſellors. *Antipas* had likewiſe brought his mother *Cleopatra*, born at *Jeruſalem*, with ſome other relations and friends; and theſe were ſcarcely come to *Rome* with him, before they found means to draw the greateſt part of *Archelaus*'s relations and partiſans over to their ſide[n] (Q).

Antipas *oppoſes him.*

There was ſtill another thing which very much weakened the intereſt of *Archelaus*, namely, his officers at *Jeruſalem* refuſing to deliver up *Herod*'s legacies to *Sabinus*; of which both he and *Varus* had taken care to inform the *Roman* court. *Archelaus* was therefore forced, in his own vindication, to preſent a memorial to the emperor, in which he exhibited his title to the crown, the particulars of *Herod's* laſt will, together with an inventory of the treaſure which that monarch had left behind him, to which he likewiſe added his royal ſignet with which that will was ſealed. This memorial was ſoon followed by another from *Antipas*, in which were diſplayed ſuch allegations as were moſt likely to invalidate *Herod*'s laſt will and his brother's title. *Auguſtus*, having peruſed the writings on both ſides, ſummoned a council of his friends, to examine their reſpective claims, and made *Caius*, the ſon of *Agrippa* by his adopted daughter *Julia*, preſident of it. *Antipater*, the ſon of *Salome*, an eloquent ſpeaker and ſworn enemy to *Archelaus*, opened with a ſpeech full of the bittereſt invectives againſt him; ſuch as his having aſſumed the royal title and authority, without ſtaying for the emperor's conſent; his having cauſed three thouſand *Jews* to be maſſacred in the temple by his own troops at the late paſſover feſtival; his having turned out ſeveral eminent officers, and put others in their room; his having preſumed to

Antipater's *ſpeech againſt* Archelaus.

[m] Antiq. ibid. c. 11. Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra. [n] Idem ibid.

(Q) It ſeems by *Joſephus*'s account, as if *Archelaus*'s party had taken ſome diſguſt at him, either from his ſevere manner of quelling the late tumult in *Judæa*, or on ſome other pretence; whilſt *Antipas* and his friends took care to inſpire them with hopes of a milder government under him. But there was ſtill a third party, who liking neither of the brothers, nor indeed any of *Herod*'s family, did what they could to make them both miſcarry in their pretenſions, in hopes of living ſolely and more quietly under the dominion of the *Romans*.

a to ſit on the royal throne, heard and adjudged cauſes, and granted conſiderable immunities, releaſed all the priſoners whom his father had cauſed to be ſhut up in the *Circus*; all this by his own aſſumed authority, and in the quality of a *Jewiſh* monarch. He likewiſe accuſed him of unnatural contempt to the memory of his deceaſed father, from whom he had received ſuch ſignal tokens of paternal love, and of his having ſpent the night, which followed that monarch's death, in ſuch feaſting and jollity, as was like to have raiſed a ſedition among the people, who could not behold ſuch a flagrant inſtance of ingratitude, without the utmoſt deteſtation. He concluded with telling the court, that *Herod*, who beſt knew the oppoſite tempers of the two brothers, had not ſo much as dreamt of appointing him his ſucceſſor, whilſt he enjoyed b his health and ſenſes; but had expreſly named *Antipas* to that dignity; but ſuppoſing that he had conceived a better opinion of *Archelaus* during his laſt ſickneſs, he has ſhewn you now what a king he is like to prove; what uſe he is like to make of his power, ſince, even whilſt in the condition of a private man, he could ſend his troops into the very temple, to cut the throats of his ſubjects.

Damaſcen ſpoke next, and anſwered the greateſt part of *Antipater*'s accuſations, by ſhewing, firſt, that, with reſpect to the pretended maſſacre in the temple, nothing leſs than ſuch a ſeverity could quell the ſedition then kindled; that thoſe men were only a band of rebellious fellows, and the firſt aggreſſors, not only in raiſing the tumult, but in murdering thoſe officers whom the king had ſent to appeaſe them by c the mildeſt means; and that he had acted nothing in this, or in any other inſtance, but by the advice of thoſe who were now turned his accuſers: that, as to the alteration which *Herod* made in his will about the ſucceſſion, he, being in his perfect ſenſes at that time, had doubtleſs very good reaſons for what he did, and might probably have obſerved ſomething in *Antipas*'s behaviour or character, which obliged him to prefer his brother to him; and as a further proof that he had altered it upon cooler thoughts, he urged his ſubmitting the validity of it to the emperor, without whoſe approbation it was to be of no force. As ſoon as he had made an end of ſpeaking, *Archelaus* went and threw himſelf at *Auguſtus*'s feet in ſuch humble guiſe, as moved his compaſſion towards him. *Cæſar* raiſed him up, pronounced him worthy of the d *Jewiſh* crown, and promiſed to do nothing contrary to his father's will; after which he diſmiſſed the aſſembly without any farther deciſion, being deſirous to take ſome time to conſider, whether he ſhould beſtow the kingdom ſolely upon him, or divide it among *Herod*'s children, ſeeing they all applied themſelves alike to him for redreſs °.

While theſe things were tranſacting at *Rome*, the reſtleſs *Jews* had raiſed a new inſurrection in *Jeruſalem*, which was, however, ſuppreſſed by *Varus*'s ſpeedy arrival from *Antioch* and the puniſhment of the ringleaders; but, upon his return to *Antioch*, having left *Sabinus* with a *Roman* legion to keep that metropolis in awe, this general, ſeeing himſelf ſuperior to the *Jews*, made a bold puſh upon the fortreſſes of the city, and the treaſures of the *Herodian* family, with a deſign to convert them to his own e uſe. He choſe, however, a wrong time for ſuch an attempt; and the *Jews*, who came flocking thither to the approaching feaſt of pentecoſt, not perhaps ſo much out of devotion as to oppoſe his deſigns, did quickly divide themſelves into three bodies, one of which beſieged him and his troops in the royal palace, whilſt the other two went and poſſeſſed themſelves, the one of the *Hippodrome*, and the other of the temple on the eaſt and north ſides of it; ſo that he was incloſed on every ſide, and in danger of being overpowered by the *Jews*. Theſe were the more exaſperated againſt him, becauſe he had forced his way into the treaſury of the temple, and brought away four hundred talents out of it, beſides other rich plunder, which his ſoldiers had carried off, in ſpite of all their oppoſition. This deſperate attempt had happened as follows: f the *Roman* general ſeeing himſelf hemmed in on all ſides, and on the brink of being aſſaulted by the reſolute *Jews*, ſent an expreſs to deſire *Varus* to come immediately to his aſſiſtance; whilſt himſelf getting up on the top of one of the towers of the caſtle, named *Phaſael*, from thence beckoned to his troops to make a ſally on the enemy. They did ſo, and had an obſtinate ſkirmiſh with them, in which they killed a number of *Jews*. The reſt, not at all diſcouraged at this loſs, got up on the outer galleries of the temple, from which they galled the *Romans* with ſtones and arrows, whilſt thoſe of the enemy from below had quite loſt their ſtrength before they could reach them. Tired at length, and aſhamed to ſee the advantage the *Jews* had over them; they

Sabinus *beſieged.*

° Antiq. ubi ſupra c. 11. Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra.

they brought vaſt quantities of wood and other combuſtible matter to the foot of the wall, and letting it on fire, plied it ſo briſkly with freſh fuel, that the flame reached at length to the corniſhes of the gallery; which, being of timber and covered with paint and wax, on which the gilding was laid, were eaſily ſet on a blaze. A great number of the *Jews* on the battlements periſhed in the flames, whilſt the reſt caſting themſelves down headlong, either died by the fall, or by the enemy's ſword; ſo that not one of all thoſe brave men was left alive, the *Romans* giving no quarter to any of them. As ſoon therefore as the flames were ſo far abated, that theſe could wade through them, they broke into the ſacred treaſury, from which they carried off the plunder above-mentioned.

Some Jews burnt and killed.

These two actions therefore could not but highly exaſperate the *Jewiſh* nation, and make them double their vigour againſt him. Accordingly, whilſt one part was taken up in undermining the palace, another was endeavouring to cauſe a defection from the *Roman* general, by promiſing an amneſty and free leave to march off unmoleſted to as many as ſhould leave the place. They added the like promiſe to *Sabinus*, upon the ſame conditions, and aſſured the *Roman* troops, that they had no other deſign in taking up arms, but to free themſelves from the tyrannic yoke of the *Herodian* family. *Sabinus* would have gladly embraced the offer; but the injuries he had done the *Jews* would not permit him to rely on their promiſe, ſo that he choſe rather to wait for the reinforcement he expected from *Varus*. During this time new troubles were raiſed in other parts of *Judea*; among others two thouſand valiant veterans of the late king, who had been diſcharged from the ſervice, aſſembled themſelves in a body, and fell upon *Archelaus*'s forces commanded by his nephew *Archiabus*; but this young general, not daring to face them upon equal terms, knowing them to be old experienced ſoldiers, went and ſecured himſelf as well as he could in ſome fortreſſes, and other places of difficult acceſs [P],

A ſedition raiſed by Judas.

We have heretofore had occaſion to mention one *Ezechias*, a captain of a gang of bandits, whom *Herod* had with much difficulty caught and put to death, with about forty of his troops. This man left a ſon named *Judas*, who, ſeeing now the country labouring under a kind of civil war, took this opportunity to revenge his father's death; and having got together a band of moſt deſperate fellows at *Sephoris*, a city in *Galilee* (R), after ſeveral incurſions into the king's dominions, forced at length into the royal armory, where he equipped his men *cap-a-peé*, and from thence into the treaſury of all the places where he came, and being thus furniſhed with men, arms, and money, injected terror into the whole province, and plundered all he could come at; and ſo ſucceſsful was he for ſome time, that he began to aim at the ſupreme power; whence he is thought, not without good grounds, to have been the ſame which is mentioned by St. *Luke* under the name of *Theudas* (S).

A ſecond by Simeon.

He was not the only one that aimed at the crown, during theſe troubleſome times. There ſtarted up another, named *Simeon*, a perſon of comely ſtature, ſtrongly built, and well eſteemed by the *Jews*, and ſufficiently conceited to think himſelf worthy of it. He had been employed by *Herod* in affairs of great importance with credit. As ſoon therefore as he appeared at the head of a party, the people ſaluted him king of the *Jews*; and he, to ſhew his zeal againſt the two rival ſons of his late maſter, led his men directly to *Jericho*, where they ſet the royal palace, a rich and ſtately building, in flames. He proceeded to do the like to ſeveral others, giving his men the whole plunder

[P] Antiq. ubi ſupra. Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 2. [q] Acts v. 36.

(R) This city, tho' not to be met with in *Joſhua* or any of the ſacred writers, at leaſt by any thing like that name, is frequently mentioned by *Joſephus*; and we have had occaſion to ſpeak of it in a former ſection, as one of the five places in which *Gabinius* ſettled his independent tribunals. It was in the tribe of *Zebulun*, not far from the mountain and plains of *Thabor*, and was one of the firſt cities in *Galilee* on the road to *Ptolemais*. It became afterwards the metropolis of that province in *Nero*'s time, when that emperor gave it to young *Agrippa*.

It has been ſince known by the name of *Diocæſarea*. It is placed at about twelve miles (more or leſs, for authors are not agreed about it) from *Tiberias*, and near the famed mount *Aſhmon*, or *Asamon*, which was looked upon as the center or navel of *Galilee* (7).

(S) This ſeems more than probable, not only from what each hiſtorian ſays of him, the one, that he aimed at the crown, and the other, that he gave himſelf out to be ſome eminent perſon, or great deliverer; ſuch as the *Jews* were in more than ordinary expectation of at this time; but likewiſe from the affinity of their name תודה *Theudah* in the *Syriac*, anſwering to the *Hebrew* יהודה *Jehudah*, and to the *Greek* Ἰούδα; (8).

(7) *De hac vide Joſeph. Antiq. l.* xiv. *c.* 10. xvii. *c.* 12. *Bell. Jud. l.* ii. *c.* 2. *& alib. paſſ.* (8) *Vide ann. Uſſer. ſub A. M.* 4003.

a plunder of them. What further miſchiefs ſuch a leader, at the head of ſuch reſolute fellows, might have done, if their career had not been timely ſtopped, is eaſy to gueſs; but, happily for that country, *Gratus*, *Archelaus*'s general, or, according to *Tacitus* [r], *Varus*, the *Syrian* governor, fell ſuddenly upon them, and, whilſt they fought with more courage than ſkill, gave them a total overthrow. *Simeon* was caught in his flight in ſome narrow defile, and, being brought to the general, had his head immediately ſtruck off [s]. Whilſt theſe were plundering and burning the royal palaces in one part of the country, another gang was doing the ſame in another; particularly that of *Amatha* on the *Jordan*, built probably by *Herod* for the benefit of the hot waters, which that city was famed for [t], and took its name from (T).

b But the moſt deſperate and dangerous of all thoſe ſeditious gangs, for they raged in every place like an epidemic diſeaſe, was that of one *Athronges*, heretofore an obſcure ſhepherd, of no merit or worth, but what he challenged from his gigantic ſtature and brutiſh ſtoutneſs. This fellow ſet up likewiſe for the royal authority. He had four brothers of the ſame monſtrous ſize, whom he made his lieutenants over the multitudes that came flocking to him, for the honour of fighting under his banner. He took upon him the royal diadem, and tho' he often conſulted his council, yet acted according to his arbitrary will. He hated the *Romans* and *Herodians* alike; but the former felt oftener the effects of his cruelty. He gave no quarter to either ſide, when they fell into his hands; but he ſeemed rather to bend his force againſt the *Ro-*

c *mans*, becauſe their late plunders and cruelties were freſher in every body's memory. He laid an ambuſh againſt one of their convoys of corn near *Emmaus*, and fell upon them ſo ſuddenly, that he left their commanding officer and forty of his men dead on the ſpot, and would in all likelihood have cut them all off, had not *Gratus* come in good time to their aſſiſtance. At length, after many ſuch exploits, the mock monarch fell into the hands of *Archelaus*, after his return into *Judæa*. One of his brothers was taken by *Gratus*, and another by *Ptolemy*. The laſt of them ſurrendered himſelf upon good conditions; and ſo the whole gang was diſperſed. But all this while the whole country was ſtill in a flame from freſh inſurrections, as well as from that of the *Jews* againſt *Sabinus*, whilſt the *Herodian* competitors were waiting at *Rome* for the

d emperor's deciſion.

A third by Athronges.

His gang defeated.

By this time *Varus*, being appriſed of the danger *Sabinus* and his legion were in, took the road to *Judæa*, at the head of his other two, which was all that he had then in *Syria*, and with four troops of horſe and ſome foot, which he had got from the neighbouring tetrarchs. He ordered their rendezvous at *Ptolemais*, where he received ſome freſh auxiliaries, beſides fifteen hundred more, which the king of *Arabia* ſent him to *Berytus*, more out of hatred to the *Herodian* family, than love to the *Romans*. With part of his army *Varus* marched towards *Samaria*, whilſt the reſt, under the command of his ſon, made an inroad into that part of *Galilee* which was neareſt to

Varus *marches againſt the beſiegers.*

Ptolemais. This laſt, having put to flight all that oppoſed him, went and took *Sepho-*

e *ris*, ſold all the inhabitants by auction, ſet fire to that noble city, and reduced it into a heap of rubbiſh. His father, on the other hand, paſſed by *Samaria*, becauſe he heard that it had had no hand in the *Jewiſh* inſurrections, and marched ſtraight to *Jeruſalem*. In his way he ſuffered his *Arabian* troops to plunder and burn ſeveral villages and towns; ſuch as *Arus*, becauſe it belonged to *Ptolemy*, a friend of *Herod*; *Sampho*, and *Emmaus*; this laſt in revenge of the ſlaughter which *Athronges* had made of the *Romans* near that place; but the inhabitants of it, foreſeeing the ſtorm, had timely forſook it. Whilſt this was doing without the city, the beſiegers, who were *Raiſes the ſiege.*

juſt going to ſtorm the palace, having heard of *Varus* coming with ſuch a force, raiſed the ſiege and marched off in a fright; upon which the beſieged came forth, with

f the grandchildren of *Herod*, to compliment him on his arrival, and to thank him for his timely help. *Sabinus* was the only one who did not follow their example; but ſtole away privately towards the ſea. *Varus* gave a very ſevere reprimand to the inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, for the late hoſtilities againſt the *Roman* legion; but was ſoon appeaſed, when he was appriſed, that they neither had a hand in it, nor were able to hinder it, being themſelves pent up by thoſe foreign *Jews*, who were come to the feaſt and had begun the tumult. However, as he thought it expedient to make a

ſevere

[r] Hiſt. l. v. [s] Joseph. ubi ſupra. [t] Euſeb. Onomaſt. ſub voce.

(T) From the *Hebrew* חמה or חמת *Chamah*, or *Chamath*, in the *regimen*, ſignifying *hot*. Mr. *Reland* thinks it to be the ſame with *Ramoth-Gilead*.

ſevere example of the ringleaders of it, he ſent ſome of his troops through the whole a kingdom, with orders to make a ſtrict ſearch after them, and bring them priſoners to him. Upon their return they brought a vaſt number of thoſe wretches, two thouſand of whom he cauſed to be crucified, and releaſed the reſt. This ſeverity did not hinder another body of ten thouſand from taking up arms againſt him, which prevented his diſbanding his auxiliaries, as he had deſigned, and obliged him to ſend them to quell this new revolt. They eaſily compaſſed it, becauſe the enemy, inſtead of ſtanding the brunt, ſurrendered themſelves at diſcretion. *Varus* forgave the common people, and contented himſelf with ſending the chiefs of them bound to *Auguſtus* [u].

A new inſurrection quelled.

ALL this while *Archelaus* was ſoliciting the emperor to ratify his father's will, and b to name him king of *Judæa*. About this time *Martace* his mother died; ſoon after which there arrived a deputation from *Judæa*, conſiſting of fifty of the heads of that nation, who were ſent to oppoſe his election, and to beg of the emperor, that their country might be made part of the province of *Syria*, and ſubject to the governors of it, without kingly government. They were ſeconded by above eight thouſand *Jews* then ſettled at *Rome*; who all profeſſed an averſion to a kingly government, and a deſire of living under that of the *Romans*, provided they might be allowed the free exerciſe of their religion and laws. *Auguſtus* referred the matter to a council of his own friends, whom he convened at the temple of *Apollo*, which he had lately built, and where both ſides were to be heard in their turn. Here the *Jewiſh* embaſſadors c began with inveighing againſt *Herod*, who, they affirmed, had governed their nation not like a monarch, but like a tyrant, violating all their laws both ſacred and civil; impoveriſhing a nation, whom, at his firſt acceſſion to the crown, he had found rich and opulent; ſacrificing an infinite number of his ſubjects either to his ambition, jealouſy, or reſentment, not ſparing even the matrons and virgins of diſtinction, either in his fury or his luſt; notwithſtanding all which, they would gladly have accepted of his ſon *Archelaus* for their prince, had he not given them ſo many convincing proofs of his tyrannic diſpoſition, an inſtance of which they urged in the maſſacre of the three thouſand mutineers in the temple, before he had received the imperial confirmation. They concluded with a petition to *Auguſtus*, that he would put their nation under the d *Syrian* governors, and then he would ſoon be convinced, whether the *Jews* were really ſuch rebellious people as they had been repreſented to him; and not, on the contrary, men of the moſt ſteady loyalty to the ſuperior powers. All this was immediately anſwered by *Damaſcen*, who took upon him to vindicate the deceaſed, as well as the new, king, from the charge of tyranny and cruelty. And *Auguſtus*, having heard both ſides thus far, diſmiſſed the aſſembly, without declaring his reſolution, till further conſideration.

HE was not long, however, before he decided the controverſy in ſuch a manner, as convinced the world of his friendſhip both to *Herod* and to his offſpring. He beſtowed the half of the kingdom on *Archelaus*, under the title of *Ethnarch*, or *governor of a* c *nation*, and backed it with a promiſe that he would give him that of king, as ſoon as he heard that he had rendered himſelf worthy of it. This part or ethnarchy contained *Judæa Propria*, *Idumæa*, and *Samaria*; but he exempted this laſt of one fourth part of their taxes, in conſideration of their peaceable behaviour during the late troubles in *Judæa* and *Galilee*. However, this partition, as well as change of title from a king to an ethnarch, plainly ſhews, that he was nothing leſs than ſatisfied at his proceedings; and indeed, whatever *Damaſcen* might urge to colour his too ſpeedy aſſumption of the regal power, it is plain, he had not paid that regard to the emperor which he ought to have done; all which was ſufficiently aggravated by the oppoſite party. And as he looked upon that young prince as too likely to follow his father's violent meaſures, f nothing could be more prudently thought on to keep him within due bounds, than ſuch a conditional promiſe. He likewiſe diſmembered from *Judæa* the cities of *Gaza*, *Gadara*, and *Hippon*, becauſe they followed the cuſtoms of the *Greeks*; and joined them to the province of *Syria*. *Joſephus* reckons the whole yearly revenue of this new ethnarchy to have amounted to ſix hundred talents. The remainder of *Herod's* kingdom was divided between his other two ſons, *Philip* and *Antipas*; the former of whom had the regions of *Batanea*, *Trachonitis*, and *Auranitis*, to which *Cæſar* added that part of *Galilee* which had formerly belonged to *Zenodorus*, mentioned a little higher.

Cæſar's diviſion of the Jewiſh kingdom.

[u] Antiq. & bell. Jud. ubi ſupra.

a higher, and which alone amounted to about one hundred talents *per* year. The latter had the greateſt part of *Galilee*, and the countries beyond *Jordan*, amounting to two hundred talents a year. *Salome* had for her ſhare, beſides half a million of ſilver, the cities of *Jamnia*, *Azotus*, and *Phaſaelis*, to which *Auguſtus* added that of *Aſcalon*. The reſt of *Herod*'s legacies, particularly the fifteen hundred talents which he had bequeathed to him, he generouſly diſtributed between his other relations, his grandſons, and two virgin-daughters, whom he married to *Pheroras*'s ſons, reſerving for himſelf only a few of his moveables, not ſo much for their value, as out of regard to the memory of his deceaſed friend [w].

THIS new diviſion of the *Jewiſh* kingdom was ſcarce ſettled, before there ſtarted *A pſeudo* Alex-
b up a new pretender, who quickly drew a numerous party after him. He was a *Jew*, *ander ſets up for the crown.* brought up at *Sidon*, and ſo like the late *Alexander* the ſon of *Herod* by *Mariamne*, formerly put to death, that, when he came to give himſelf out to be the ſame, and to have been preſerved alive, he eaſily deceived, not only the bulk of the *Jews*, but even thoſe who had been acquainted with that unfortunate prince. He was aſſiſted in this impoſture by a cunning fellow, who had formerly gone through all the intrigues of *Herod*'s court, and who finding the young man capable of carrying it on with great likelihood of ſucceſs, adviſed him to ſet about it immediately. Theſe two accordingly began with giving out, that the two young princes, *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, whom the *Jews* ſuppoſed to have been put to death purſuant to their father's order,
c had been preſerved by a faithful friend, and two other perſons ſubſtituted in their ſtead. Theſe two went firſt to *Crete*, thence to *Melos*, where they raiſed conſiderable ſums of money from the *Jews* that were ſettled in thoſe iſlands. Having ſucceeded ſo well at their firſt ſetting out, they reſolved to ſail for *Rome*; and being arrived at *Putcoli*, were met by all the heads of the *Jews*, eſpecially by thoſe who were in the intereſt either of the *Herodian*, or of the *Aſmonean*, families, of both which they looked upon him as the immediate heir, and conſequently as the only rightful king of the *Jews*. Upon this ſuppoſition, they ſpared neither pains, coſt, nor acclamations, to render his entry into *Rome* as ſplendid as poſſible. The litter or chair of ſtate in which he was carried, the vaſt crouds that accompanied him, and the reception he
d met with at every place he came to, were all anſwerable to the high notion they had conceived of him.

AS ſoon as they were come to *Rome*, whither the reſt of the *Jews* flocked in *Diſcovered by* crouds, to pay their homage to this new-riſen offſpring of the *Aſmonean* race, *Au-* Auguſtus. *guſtus*, who knew *Herod* too well to believe that he could be impoſed upon in a matter of ſuch importance, ſent one of his freedmen, named *Celadus*, formerly a companion of the two brothers, to bring this new *Alexander* to him. *Celadus* was as eaſily impoſed upon as the reſt; but *Cæſar*, who examined him with a more curious and unerring eye, ſoon diſcovered a manifeſt deficiency in the port and majeſty of this upſtart, from what he had obſerved in that young prince, beſides a certain calloſity
e in the hands of the former, which convinced him of the cheat. He therefore aſked him and his inſtrument, What was become of his brother? and why he did not likewiſe come and make out his claim to the *Jewiſh* crown? and was readily anſwered by both, that *Ariſtobulus* had ſtaid at *Cyprus* to wait the iſſue of this journey, that if one of the ſons of *Mariamne* miſcarried, the other might be preſerved to keep up the *Aſmonean* race and title. Their mutual agreement, which ſtill helped to confirm the reſt, ſerved only to make the emperor look upon the whole as a forged ſtory; and, to be further convinced of it, having taken the young man aſide, he, partly by threats, and partly by a promiſe of ſparing his life, extorted a full confeſſion of the whole impoſture, the conſequence of which was, that the young man was ſent to the gallies, *Puniſhed.*
f and the other, who had been the contriver of it, was condemned to be hanged. As for the *Jews* who had aſſiſted them with money, *Cæſar* thought their loſs and diſappointment a ſufficient puniſhment [x].

BUT neither the diſlike which the *Jews* had ſhewn upon this occaſion to the *Herodian* family, nor the prudent caution which *Cæſar* had given *Archelaus*, proved ſufficient to keep him within due bounds. He was no ſooner returned into *Judæa*, than *Year of the* he began to betray ſome marks of his arbitrary and reſenting temper. He began *flood* 3001. with the depoſition of *Joazar* from the high-prieſthood, on pretence, that he had ſided *Of Chriſt* 2. with *Before the vulgar æra* 2.

[w] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 13. Vide & STRAB. & TACIT. ubi ſupra. [x] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. ult. Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 5.

Archelaus's *tyranny.*

with ſome of the late mutineers; and beſtowed that dignity on *Eleazar* the brother of the depoſed pontiff. He next repudiated his wife *Mariamne*, and married *Glaphyra*, the widow of his brother *Alexander*, contrary to the *Moſaic* law, becauſe ſhe had had ſeveral children by him, and had been married, ſince her firſt huſband's death, to *Juba* king of *Mauritania*. He depoſed ſoon after the new-inſtalled pontiff upon ſome diſguſt, and raiſed *Jeſus* the ſon of *Sias* to that dignity. He beſtowed an immenſe deal of coſt in rebuilding and beautifying the royal palace at *Jericho*, and bringing down one half of the ſtream, which watered the village of *Nerea*, into the grove of palm-trees which he had planted in the neighbouring fields [y]. About this time *Caius*, coming from *Egypt* [z] into *Judæa*, expreſſed his contempt of the *Jewiſh* religion, by refuſing to offer up ſacrifices at *Jeruſalem*, for which he is ſaid to have been commended by *Cæſar* [a]. a b

THE firſt years of *Archelaus* proved peaceable enough; but the people at length, both *Jews* and *Samaritans*, being tired with his tyrannical reign, joined in a petition to *Auguſtus* againſt him; which had no ſooner reached him, than he ſent an agent of his into *Judæa*, without any other letter, to fetch the *Jewiſh* ethnarch to him. *Archelaus*, tho' warned, as well as the inceſtuous *Glaphyra*, by ſome portending dreams (V), had given ſo little heed to them, that *Cæſar*'s meſſenger found him in the height of his mirth, when he came to acquaint him with his orders, and obliged him to haſten with him to *Rome*. Upon their arrival there, *Auguſtus*, with his uſual equanimity, heard both the charge and the defence; after which he condemned *Archelaus* to be baniſhed to the city of *Vienne*, in *Gaul* or *Dauphiné*, and all his goods to be confiſcated. *Judæa*, by this ſentence, being reduced into a province of the empire, was ordered to be taxed, and *Cyrenius*, the then governor of *Syria* and a man of conſular dignity, was ſent thither to ſee it executed (as we have lately hinted upon another occaſion); after which having ſold *Archelaus*'s palaces, and ſeized upon all his treaſure, he returned to *Antioch*, leaving the *Jews* in no ſmall ferment upon the account of this new tax [b]. c

Baniſhed. Year of the flood 3005. *Of Chriſt* 6.

The cauſe of their future wars and total deſtruction.

Coponius, the *Roman* general of horſe and governor of *Judæa* under *Cyrenius*, had accompanied him in that expedition; and his preſence, as well as the good offices of *Joazar* the then high-prieſt (W), had, for a while, kept the nation under ſome reſtraint, till *Judas* the *Gaulonite*, of whom we have ſpoken in the laſt ſection, and one *Saducus*, a turbulent *Phariſee*, ſet it again into a flame. We hinted before, that this boutefeu took upon him to condemn this taxing as ſlaviſh, idolatrous, and inconſiſtent with their duty to God, the only ſovereign who could claim any homage or allegiance from the children of *Abraham*. This topic ſeldom failed to make an impreſſion on a people, who were taught to look upon themſelves as the only favourites of heaven, and upon the reſt of the world as deſigned to be their ſlaves; but it wrought much more effectually at this time, when their hopes of the Meſſiah or temporal deliverer inſpired them with a tenfold diſdain againſt the yoke, which their d

conquerors

[y] Antiq. ibid. Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra, c. 6. [z] OROS. l. vii. c. 3. [a] SUETON. in Octav. c. 93.
[b] JOSEPH. Antiq. ubi ſupra. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 6.

(V) Theſe dreams, which, whether true or falſe, ſhew how much the *Jewiſh* nation was addicted to them, our author gives us the following account of:

Archelaus ſaw ten ears of corn full ripe, and ten oxen devouring them; which viſion made ſuch an impreſſion on him, that he conſulted the wiſeſt and moſt expert magicians and *Chaldeans* about it (9); but they differing in their opinion, one *Simon* an *Eſſenian* interpreted the ten ears of the ten years of *Archelaus*'s reign, which, he ſaid, was to have a ſpeedy end, ſignified by their being devoured by the oxen. The event verified his interpretation, as appears by the ſequel.

That of his wife needed not, it ſeems, a conjurer to expound it. She dreamt, that her firſt huſband, the unfortunate *Alexander*, came to her; and, whilſt ſhe was preparing to receive him with open arms, upbraided her with her faithleſs incontinency, in marrying *Juba*, and then his brother *Archelaus*, after ſhe had had ſo many children by him; but, added he, I ſhall ſoon rid thee of this reproach. The conſequence was, that ſhe juſt lived long enough to tell her dream, and died within two days after it (10).

(W) *Joſephus* has forgot to tell us how he was reinſtalled into this dignity, of which he had been deprived by *Archelaus* ſome years before, to make room for the ſon of *Sias*, hinted a little higher; but it is probable, that, after that prince's baniſhment, *Joazar* found means to recover that dignity under the *Syrian* governor; and this might be the motive of that zeal which he ſhewed in appeaſing the diſcontented *Jews* (10).

But this laſt action, inſtead of confirming him in his pontificate, proved the cauſe of his ſecond depoſition, it having rendered him ſo obnoxious to the *Jewiſh* nation, that *Cyrenius* was forced, for quietneſs ſake, to turn him out of it, and to put *Ananus* in his place (11).

(9) *Bell. Jud. l.* ii. *c.* 6. (10) *Ibid. & antiq. ubi ſupra.* (11) *Antiq. l.* xviii. *c.* 3.

a conquerors were then laying upon them. *Judas* therefore could not have wiſhed for a more favourable juncture, to make himſelf the head of a numerous and powerful party; And therefore, added he, it is high time, that you ſhould make a ſtrenuous puſh for your country's freedom, and, without expecting new miracles to be wrought for you, do but depend on the favour of providence, and you need not doubt of coming off conquerors. There wanted but this laſt incentive to ſet them a madding after the promiſed liberty. Accordingly, we find that his ſpeech worked them into a kind of furious phrenſy, which quickly vented itſelf into the moſt horrid butcheries and cruelties; his party plundering, burning, deſtroying, and murdering every-
b where, indiſcriminately *Jews* as well as *Gentiles*; and, in a word, all that oppoſed his ſpecious pretence of religion and liberty. The war, being thus kindled within and without, brought on a grievous famine, and next a peſtilence; all which did end at length in the total ruin of that rebellious and unhappy nation [c]. All this was owing to the ambition of this new upſtart ſect or faction, of whom we have already given an account in the cloſe of the laſt ſection; to which we ſhall only add, that, after the death of their chief, they diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the godly name of *zealots*, and under that ſpecious title committed the moſt unheard-of cruelties, and carried their violence even into the very temple.

The temple polluted by the Samaritans.

All this while the *Samaritans* had not forgot their old grudge againſt the *Jews*, though they had been ſo long quiet. *Cyrenius* was ſcarce gone out of *Judea* before
c they began to hatch new miſchiefs againſt them; they waited till the next approaching feaſt of the paſſover, when, on the eve of it, a number of them having by private means ſlipt into the temple, ſtrewed the galleries and other places of reſort with dead mens bones, ſo that the prieſts on the next morning, finding that ſacred place polluted, were forced to put a ſtop to the ſolemnity. How they afterwards purified it, and what other remedy they took to renew the feſtival, *Joſephus* doth not tell us; he only adds, that it made them more cautious for the future to guard the avenues from all ſuch inſults. However, the ceremony was ſoon reſumed, and it was on this feſtival that Chriſt, being then twelve years of age, came with his parents to that ſolemnity, according to the *Jewiſh* cuſtom, which obliged all the males that have
d attained to that age, to repair to the temple on the three grand feſtivals †. Here the holy child choſe to ſtay unknown to his parents, who were departed with the reſt of the company. They did not miſs him till night, when having in vain ſought him among their relations and acquaintance, among whom they ſuppoſed him to have been, they returned immediately to *Jeruſalem*. Here, after a three days ſorrowful ſearch, they found him at length in the temple, ſitting among the *Jewiſh* doctors, and ſurpriſing them with the wiſdom of his queſtions and anſwers, ſo far beyond his mean education and tender years. His pious mother, though raviſhed at ſo pleaſing a ſcene, could not forbear expreſſing ſome tender reſentment at the ſolicitude which his abſence had given her. The ſhort anſwer he returned was not preſently underſtood
e by them, but yet was a lecture full of excellent wiſdom: Wiſt ye not, ſaid he, that I muſt be about my father's buſineſs? and ſo he really was; for as he had been ſent to be teacher of the world, and as he now commenced what the *Jews* called a ſon or diſciple of the law, it became him, who was to be our pattern, to make his firſt acceſſes to his future office of inſtructor, by coming to learn of thoſe whom God had appointed to preſerve and teach the knowledge of his laws. His mother ſuffered none of theſe ſayings to ſlip out of her memory, and ſhe and her huſband gladly returned with him to their mean habitation, where he continued in a dutiful ſubjection to them. In this humble privacy, his wiſdom increaſing with his ſtature, he attracted the eyes and hearts of all that beheld him, and continued exerciſing the trade of a carpenter (X) till

Jeſus Chriſt *ſtays after the feaſt.*

[c] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1. & ſeq. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 8, & ſeq. Conf. & Exod. xxiii. 15. & xxxiv. 23. Deut. xvi. 16. & Luke ii. 41, & ſeq.

† See before, Vol. I. p. 603, (O).

(X) This is the common received opinion, founded on an ancient tradition, that *Joſeph* dying ſoon after this feaſt, he being by that time very old, the child *Jeſus* was obliged to work at that trade, to maintain himſelf and his mother; and is further confirmed by the *Jews* calling him ſometimes the carpenter, and ſometimes the carpenter's ſon (12).

We beg leave to take notice here alſo, that this increaſe of knowledge which the evangeliſt attributes to him, is very inconſiſtent with *Arius*'s notion of the λογος or *word* ſupplying the place of the ſoul in him; neither has any of his followers, either ancient or modern, been as yet able to take off the difficulty. The *Socinian* ſyſtem would indeed more effectually

(12) *Conf. Marc.* vi. 3. & Matth. xiii. 55. John iv. 42.

till the thirtieth year of his age, when he began to make a more glorious appearance a into the world.

Cauponius was soon after this feast succeeded by *Ambivius*, in whose governorship *Salome* died, and bequeathed her three cities, mentioned a little higher, together with the fine grove of palm-trees planted by *Archelaus*, and all her vast treasure, not to either of her nephews, who still held their small toparchies, but to the empress *Julia*, or, as *Josephus* affects to call her, *Livia*. *Ambivius* after a short time was succeeded by *Annius Rufus*, and *Augustus* died at *Nola* in *Campania*, as shall be seen in the *Roman* history, and was succeeded by *Tiberius*, after this latter had been somewhat above two years admitted into the copartnership of the empire. From this latter must the fifteenth year of *Tiberius*, mentioned by the evangelist [d], be taken. *Tiberius*, upon b his coming to the empire, recalled *Rufus*, and sent *Valerius Gratus* into *Judæa*, who was the fourth *Roman* governor or procurator of it, and continued in that government eleven years [e]. About five years after his being entered into it, he deposed the high-priest *Ananus* or *Annas* in the fifteenth year of his pontificate, and raised *Ishmael* the son of *Fabus* to that dignity. Being soon after displeased with his choice, he took it from *Ishmael* on the next year, and gave it to *Eleazar* the son of *Ananus*, whom he had lately deposed. *Eleazar* in a year's time was forced to resign, and was succeeded by *Simon* the son of *Camith*, who, within the compass of another year, was turned out, and *Joseph*, surnamed *Caiphas*, and son-in-law to *Annas* above-mentioned, was put in his room [f]; so uncertain and venal was that dignity become by this time (Y). c

Various changes of governors and high-priests. Year of the Jews 3014. Of Christ 15.

Gratus himself was soon after recalled, and succeeded by *Pontius Pilate*, a person who exceeded all his predecessors in injustice, extortion, and cruelty, and so thoroughly wedded to his own interest, that he was capable of the vilest actions to promote that favourite end. *Josephus* has been somewhat sparing of his character; but *Philo* has left us a lively draught of it, a short sketch of which the reader may see in the margin (Z); by which he may judge how qualified he was for the part he was shortly to act, in passing the most unjust sentence on the most innocent of men.

Year of the Jews 33. Of Christ 32. He had had his commission from Tiberius.

We hinted a little higher, that the other sons of *Herod* had still kept possession of their toparchies, notwithstanding *Archelaus*'s deposition and banishment; it will be d therefore very proper here to give some further account of them, before we enter into a new and different scene. They had each of them settled themselves the best they could in their small territories. *Antipas*, better known by the name of *Herod*, who had the country of *Galilee*, began with rebuilding the city of *Sephoris*, which had but a little before been reduced into ashes by the son of *Varus*, and surrounded it with a strong wall and towers, so that it became the bulwark, and one of the best cities, of that division; and as he had been successful enough to ingratiate himself with the new emperor, he built another, a fine city, on the northern banks of the lake of *Genezareth*, and call it *Tiberias*, in honour of him (A); and from thence that lake came to be called the sea of *Tiberias*. This city he was forced to people mostly with *Galileans* e and strangers, because it being built on a ground which was full of sepulchres, the going over which pollutes the *Jews* seven whole days, he could hardly get any of that

Herod built Sephoris and other cities.

[d] Luke iii. 1. Vid. USSER. sub A. M. 4017. PRID. sub An. C. 12. [e] Antiq. ubi supra, c. 3.
[f] Comp. Joseph. ubi supra, & Luke iii. 2. John xviii. 13. Acts iv. 6. [g] Legat. ad Caium.

effectually do it, were it not in too many cases diametrically opposite to the doctrine of the gospel. There remains therefore no other way to remove it, than by owning that Christ had a human soul as well as a human body, and that the former, notwithstanding its union with his divine nature, was as capable of improvement in wisdom, as the latter was of increase in strength and stature; which is undoubtedly the ancient doctrine of the christian church.

(Y) These are the two high-priests that are mentioned in the gospel to have prosecuted and condemned *Jesus Christ* to death; and *Caiphas*, or, as he is there call'd, *Caiaphas* (13), was the person who adjudged it necessary that he should be cut off to save the nation from ruin.

(Z) His whole administration, according to this author, was one continued scene of venal justice, rapine, tyranny, and every wicked action of racking and putting innocent men to death, untried, and uncondemned, and of every kind of savage cruelty.

(A) *Josephus* adds, that it was not far from the hot baths of *Emmaus*; for which reason we think it necessary to remind our reader of what we observed in a former note, that the *Jews* gave the name of *Hamah* and *Hammath* to all places that had any such waters; that of *Emmaus* is the same, only softened and grecified. We must therefore not confound this last with another in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem* (14), which bears the same name, and most likely upon the same account.

(13) John xi. 49, *& seq.* (14) *Vid. int. al. Luc.* xxiv. 13. *Vid. & Reland. Palæst. illustr. l. i. c. 47.*

a that nation to ſettle there, though he endowed it with conſiderable privileges, and gave its inhabitants the greateſt encouragement, *viz.* lands to ſome, houſes to others, to take off their qualms of conſcience about treading on dead bodies. Another city, formerly called *Betaramphtha*, he rebuilt, and called by the empreſs's name, *Julias*. His brother *Philip* followed his example, and built the village of *Bethſaida*, on the oppoſite end of the ſame lake, into a magnificent city, and called it likewiſe *Julias*, and gave the name of *Ceſarea* to *Palcas*, the place where the *Jordan* has its ſpring-head, after he had greatly inlarged and beautified it [h]. During this time came out that edict of *Tiberius*, which obliged all *Jews* and *Egyptians* to depart from the city of *Rome* [i], or, according to another, out of the territories of *Italy* [k]. The cauſe of this Jews *baniſhed* Rome.

b edict, being ſome vile practices, which a few mean perſons of each of thoſe nations had been acting in the imperial city, is foreign to our preſent ſubject; we refer our readers for a further account to *Joſephus* [l] and the two authors laſt quoted. All that we need add to it is, what *Philo* has obſerved more than once [m], that this ſeverity againſt the *Jews*, whatever pretence it might be coloured with, was hatched underhand by *Sejanus*. That wicked miniſter, who knew how oppoſite his plots and deſigns were to the known loyalty of the *Jews*, could not but conceive ſome dreadful jealouſies from them, which obliged him at length to rid himſelf of them (B).

Year of the flood 3018. *Of Chriſt* 19.

HITHERTO *Judæa*, though in a violent ferment on account of the late tax, and ſome other tumults which the *Romans* had appeaſed by main force, had not, however, broke out into ſuch a violent and univerſal flame, as it did after the coming of *Pilate*. Pilate *cauſes*

e It was this governor, whoſe fierce, obſtinate, and cruel temper, haſtened on thoſe *new troubles in* Judæa.

ſeditions and revolts, which did not end but with the total extirpation of the *Jewiſh* ſtate. His predeceſſors had hitherto wiſely forbore to bring the *Roman* ſtandards into the city, becauſe their bearing the images of men and living creatures made them to be had in abomination by the *Jews*. But *Pilate*, who thought it beneath him to ſhew them the ſame complaiſance, ordered his troops, which were to winter in that metropolis, to enter it in the night, with thoſe ſtandards covered, and cauſed *Sets up ſtandards at* Jeruſalem.

them on the next morning to be diſplayed. This new and ſhocking ſight put the whole city into an uproar; they went to him in a body to *Cæſarea*, where he then was,

d and begged of him that they might be removed to ſome other place; but were anſwered, that he could not comply with their requeſt, without glancing an affront on the emperor. As they ſtood ſtiff in their petition, and he in his denial, ſix whole days, five of which the former had continued proſtrate on the ground before his palace, night and day [n], he at length came out to them, as with deſign to give them audience; and being mounted on his tribunal, which he had reared in the circus, gave the ſignal to ſome of his troops, whom he had conveniently poſted, to fall on them, and to murder all that ſhould not immediately depart, and who inſtantly came out and ſurrounded them. The *Jews*, however, far from being terrified at ſo horrid a perfidy, did meekly hold out their necks to thoſe butchers, telling them and the governor, that the loſs of their lives was nothing ſo terrible to them as the violation of their

e laws: and *Pilate*, who expected nothing leſs than ſuch a paſſive conſtancy in that turbulent nation, was ſo moved at it, that he at length granted their requeſt, and ordered the ſtandards to be removed out of their metropolis [o].

BUT as he ſeems to have been wholly bent upon mortifying and ſpighting the *Jewiſh* nation, he ſoon reſumed his uſual courſe. A project came next into his head to ſet up a number of ſhields in the royal palace of *Jeruſalem* in honour of *Tiberius* (C); but which the *Jews* failed not to reſent, as an indignity offered to them, rather than a compliment to that emperor. He had, it is true, taken care that there ſhould be no carved images upon them that might give them offence; but the very inſcription of them was, they thought, contrary to their law; otherwiſe, there was nothing *Shields conſecrated to* Tiberius *hung up in the royal palace.*

f more common, both before and after the *Jewiſh* captivity, than for the *Jewiſh* monarchs

[h] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 3. [i] TACIT. an. l. ii. c. 85. [k] SUETON. in Tiber. c. 36. [l] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 4. [m] Legat. ad Caium. [n] Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 8. [o] Id. ibid. & antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 4.

(B) What ſeems to confirm what our author ſays on that ſubject is, that, after the death of that faithleſs miniſter, the emperor expreſſed himſelf more favourably with reſpect to the *Jews*, in the orders he ſent to the ſeveral governors of his provinces, as ſhall be ſeen in the ſequel.

(C) This tranſaction we have from *Philo* (15); *Joſephus* makes no mention of it.

(15) *Legat. p.* 1033, *& ſeq.*

narchs to cover even the front of the temple with such ornaments, as the reader must have often observed through the course of their history. The magistrates therefore of that metropolis, with the sons of *Herod* (D) at their head, went to represent to him in the most civil terms, that such a consecration was contrary to their laws, and to beg of him that he would pay a greater regard to them. *Pilate* repulsed them with his usual scorn and obstinacy, till they ventured at length to advise him, not to push things so far as to exasperate the nation into an open revolt. They added, that if he had received any such command from *Cæsar*, he need but shew it to them, and they would immediately dispatch a deputation to *Rome* to petition the emperor against it. These last words threw the governor into a strange dilemma: on the one hand, he dreaded nothing so much as such a deputation, which would in all likelihood lay open all the iniquities of his administration: on the other, if he complied with their request, in removing the shields, he not only gave an advantage to a people he hated and despised, but exposed himself to the resentment of the emperor, who might probably look upon such a compliance as an affront to himself, and a compliment to the *Jews*. The magistrates, perceiving the trouble he was in, immediately withdrew, and sent soon after a very pressing, but submissive, letter, to *Rome*, which had the desired effect. *Tiberius* immediately dispatched another to *Pilate*, wherein he highly blamed him for what he had done, and ordered him to remove the shields into some other place; which he accordingly did, and sent them to be hung up at *Cæsarea* [p].

a

b

c

His next project to vex the *Jews* was, to find out some specious pretence for drawing money out of the sacred treasury. This was indeed the most effectual way to touch them to the quick, next to the rifling of the temple; for he knew but too well their invincible attachment to those two places. The plausible pretext he chose for it was, the bringing of an aqueduct, about two hundred furlongs off, into *Jerusalem*; the expence of which he expected should be supplied out of the sacred depository, and demanded accordingly of them, that a tax should be levied upon it. However, as he knew that this would not fail to provoke the people into a mutiny, so he took care to provide against it, by causing a number of his soldiers to mix themselves with the croud, with clubs hid under their coats, to be ready upon a signal to fall upon the mutineers. He was hardly seated on his tribunal, before it was surrounded accordingly by a vast concourse of *Jews*, who came exclaiming against his project, and where some of the meaner sort, as is usual in such mobs, accompanied their clamour with bitter invectives against him. *Pilate* had not heard them long, before he gave his men the signal, who immediately fell on the *Jews* pelmel with their clubs, wounded, lamed, and even killed many of them indiscriminately, and dispersed the rest. *Josephus* doth not tell us, whether *Pilate* went on with his design, neither is it easy to guess, either from him or from *Philo*, at what year of his government the three last-mentioned transactions happened. All that can be gathered from the whole is, that he took all the pains he could to make it uneasy to them, from the beginning to the end of it, and that the *Jews* were not behind-hand with him, either in opposing his designs, oppressions, and cruelties, or in giving him fresh troubles by their tumults and seditions, in which every sect joined to give a helping hand, though at ever so great variance in other points. This was the dismal state of *Judea*, when the Saviour of world made his first public appearance into his ministry: miserably torn by their intestine broils: oppressed with the heavy yoke of the *Roman* emperors, and of their more rapacious substitutes: divided into factions and sects, which treated each other with greater rancour and inhumanity, than their very oppressors: deceived, and often led to their ruin by upstart demagogues, false prophets, and pretended Messiahs; and soothed and flattered to a degree of judicial infatuation, into the mistaken notion of a speedy temporal deliverer, and of a glorious and lasting scene of conquests, triumphs, and other earthly happiness, under his auspicious reign. All which proved so many invincible obstacles to their embracing that salvation, which Christ the true Messiah came to offer them, and made them run into the very jaws of that

d

Another tumult caused by Pilate.

The causes of the Jews *infidelity and destruction.*

e

[p] Legat. ad Caium.

[q] Antiq. ubi supra.

(D) Meaning probably of the late *Herod the Great*; who those sons were, our author doth not tell us; but we may reasonably suppose two of them to have been *Herod Antipas*, tetrarch of *Galilee*, and *Philip* his brother, mentioned a little higher, both willing enough at that time to oblige the Jews. The other two must have been probably some of his grand-children.

a that deſtruction, which their rejection of him and his doctrine, joined to all their other impieties, did ſhortly bring upon them. All which will be beſt ſeen by a ſhorter view of the three laſt years of his life: of the irrefragable credentials he brought with him, and the obſtinate and unreaſonable oppoſition they made againſt him: of his love and tenderneſs towards them, and of their malice and ingratitude to him: of his irreproachable innocence, and of their injuſtice in condemning him to death: and laſtly, of the innumerable evidences given to them after his reſurrection, of his being the true promiſed Meſſiah, and of their invincible hardneſs and obſtinacy in rejecting him to the laſt. We ſhall therefore cloſe the preſent ſection with a ſhort account of thoſe three laſt ſignal years of his life and his doleful exit on the croſs;
b confining ourſelves chiefly to ſuch particulars as have an immediate connection with the two main points in our view; the divinity of his miſſion, and the juſtice of the *Jews* puniſhment in the deſtruction of their city, temple, and commonwealth, and total diſperſion of their nation, for their obſtinate rejection of him and his doctrine (E).

It was now the thirtieth and laſt jubilee ſince its firſt celebration in the land of *Canaan* †, when Chriſt, in the thirtieth year of his age, came to preach a more glorious and acceptable one, not to the *Jewiſh* nation only, but to the whole world. The

Chriſt enters into his miniſtry.

Jewiſh

† See before, Vol. I. p. 615, b, c. Usser. ann. ſub. A. M. 4030.

(E) It will be perhaps objected, that in entering thus far into thoſe two religious points, we go out of our limits as hiſtorians, and that, inſtead of writing a continuation of the hiſtory of the *Jews*, we are going to prove the truth of chriſtianity againſt them. But let it, we pray, be conſidered, that though this were the real caſe, the harm would not be great; and that, provided both points are kept going ſtill hand in hand, and we do not ſo fix our eye upon one, as to loſe ſight of the other, we ſtill anſwer the two main ends of hiſtory, to make men wiſer and better.

We ſhould moreover be guilty of a flagrant injuſtice to the infatuated *Jews*, if we ſhould neglect ſo fair an opportunity of reminding them of the ſource of all their misfortunes, and pointing out to them their only remedy. We have heretofore taken notice of a promiſe make to them by God, that though their ſins had cauſed them to be diſperſed through the four quarters of the world, yet, as ſoon as they were brought to an humble acknowledgement and confeſſion of them, he would gather them home again into their own land.

Accordingly, before their total diſperſion, the longeſt captivity they underwent was but of ſeventy years, though it was brought upon them by the horrideſt crimes, ſuch as idolatry, murders without number, ſacrileges of the blackeſt nature committed by *Manaſſes* and his wicked ſucceſſors; and yet they had this comfort in the midſt of their puniſhment, that the ſame prophets who had foretold their captivity had likewiſe ſet a period to it; and were ſtill encouraging them to bear their chaſtiſement patiently, ſince God would certainly put a happy end to it at the time prefixed.

What crime can they then charge themſelves with of ſo atrocious a nature, as to bring this more dreadful captivity of ſeventeen hundred years upon them, without one prophecy, or even comfortable glimpſe, when they ſhall ſee an end to it? If they know of any ſuch ſin, why do they not confeſs and acknowledge it, and thereby put a period to their miſery? for God's promiſe ſtands as ſure now, as it did three thouſand years ago.

Since then they are ignorant of this grievous crime; why ſhould we make a difficulty to point it out to them, when we have ſo fair an occaſion offered? why ſhould we not tell them, that it was their putting the Meſſiah to an unjuſt and ignominious death? and which they are ſo far from acknowledging, that they juſtify and glory in it, and by ſo doing murder him ſtill in their hearts, as often as they think or ſpeak of him, and ſo become partakers of their anceſtors guilt as well as puniſhment.

Again, The ſcripture doth in ſeveral places, but more expreſly St. *Paul* (16), aſſure us, that there will be a time when they ſhall be all recalled; and their having continued ſo long unblended with other nations, notwithſtanding their diſperſion through every part of the habitable globe, is a ſtrong proof of it. For whatever ſuperficial heads may imagine, an impartial thinker will eaſily obſerve, that nothing but a particular providence could have kept them in that unmixed ſtate, as they have continued in theſe ſeventeen centuries, when he ſees even in his own land a multitude of nations, in a much leſs time, as much blended and abſorbed into one common name, as their bodies are into one common earth. Eſpecially when we conſider, by what weak ſupports, or rather poor mean evaſions, their faith and hopes have been kept up, ever ſince they have ſeen all ſcripture calculations concerning the time of the Meſſiah ſo long elapſed; to ſay nothing of the many diſcouragements they have at one time or other met with from every nation under heaven.

We are aſſured by the ſame apoſtle (17), that this recall of the *Jews* will not be till after the fulneſs, or total converſion, of the *Gentiles*. Were the former once rightly appriſed of this, it is likely their zeal in obſtructing the one would inſenſibly abate, when they ſaw that it was the fatal means of retarding the other.

We may add, that ſince the beſt hiſtorians have not thought it out of their province to plunge into the deep abyſs of obſcurity, to find out the cauſes of the decadence and fall of kingdoms and empires, but have even endeavoured to diſcover them in certain aſpects of the heavenly bodies, tranſits of comets, and ſuch like amuſing dreams; may we not much more be allowed to venture to trace this remarkable one of the *Jews* under the conduct of ſuch infallible guides, as the ſcripture and hiſtory affords us? All which will be beſt ſeen, when we come to compare Chriſt's prophecies, againſt that unhappy people, and the wonderful accompliſhment of them, as we have it related by one of the beſt hiſtorians of their own nation

(16) Rom. xi *paſſ.*

(17) *Ibid. verſ.* 25, 26

Jewish was usually ushered in by the sound of the trumpets, the new christian one by the voice of one crying in the wilderness, *Prepare ye the way of the Lord*, and so on[r]. This was the miraculous son of *Zacharias*, a priest, prophet, and fore-runner of the Messiah, who having left the wilderness, where he had spent his younger days, came now to preach repentance and the kingdom of the Messiah, in the fifteenth year of *Tiberius*, and in the high-priesthood of *Joseph*, surnamed *Caiaphas*, mentioned a little higher. The austerity of his life (F) and the newness of his doctrine drew daily great numbers of *Jews* to be baptized by him in the *Jordan*, supposing him to be the Messiah; but he quickly disclaimed that glorious title, assuring them, that he was only sent as his precursor, and to point him out to them, as the person who was to baptize them with the Holy Ghost. *Jesus* came accordingly to the place soon after to be baptized among the rest, and *John* in an humble guise excused himself from that high office; but being at length prevailed upon to go into the river with him, upon their coming out of the water, the Holy Ghost visibly descended and lighted upon him, whilst a voice was heard from heaven, saying, *This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased*[s]. Whereupon the baptist took that opportunity to manifest him to all that were there present, and to bear this ample testimony of him, that he was the very Christ, and the lamb of God, who was to take away the sin of the world[t].

Year of the Flood 3029. *Of Christ* 30.

Baptized and manifested by John.

As *John* continued baptizing and preaching in the neighbourhood of *Bethabara* (G), a great concourse of people flocked to him from all parts, especially in their return homeward from *Jerusalem*, where they had been celebrating the feast of tabernacles, which fell out about the beginning of *November* †. Among them was a great number of the *Pharisaic* sect, whom he severely rebuked upon several accounts, particularly on their pretended privilege of being *Abraham*'s posterity; assuring them at the same time, that as long as their lives were so opposite to that of that glorious progenitor, they must expect to be cast, like the chaff, into the fire, whilst God could raise a posterity to the father of the faithful out of the very stones they were trampling upon. On this year was born to *Herod Agrippa*, the son of *Aristobulus*, a son named also *Agrippa*, who was the last king of the *Jews*, and before whom St. *Paul* was allowed to plead his

[r] Conf. ISAIAH xl. 1, 2, 3. lx. 1, & seq. LUC. iii. 2, & seq. iv. 19. [s] MATTH. iii. 13, & seq. LUC. iii. 21, & seq. [t] Ibid. ibid. Vid. & JOHN i. 29, & seq. † Vid. Vol. I. p. 607, a, & (B).

(F) His dress and manner of living seems to have been the same with the ancient prophets, of whom we have spoken in a former volume *. His food was wild honey and locusts, which a modern traveller tells us are very common in those parts, and good for food; from whence he concludes, that they were the creatures which the *Israelites* fed so plentifully upon in the wilderness, and which all the versions have misrendered quails. We have had occasion heretofore † to confute the latter part of this assertion. As for the locust, which the baptist fed upon, the generality of interpreters understand it of a real insect so called, whence some eastern nations have been called *Acridophagi* or *locust-eaters* (18). Others understand it of a kind of bean or pulse so called; the reader may consult interpreters about it, if he pleases; but the other notion is much more probable, that insect being common, cheap, and particularly permitted in the *Levitical* law to be eaten by the *Israelites* (19).

Archbishop *Usher* supposes, with great probability, that this preacher of repentance began his ministry on the grand fast, or expiation day, of which frequent mention has been made in this history, it being enjoined to every *Israelite* to fast, and afflict their souls on that day, under the penalty of being cut off from his people. This day fell, as we elsewhere observed ‡, on the tenth day of the seventh month, called *Tisri*, answering to about the nineteenth of our *October*; and on that solemnity the jubilee was to be proclaimed through all the land.

(20). Upon both which accounts no time could be more proper to begin the work of proclaiming the more spiritual and universal jubilee, which was now at hand.

(G) So called from the *Hebrew* בית-עברה *beth-habarah, the house of passing over*, or *ferry-house*, supposed by some to have had that name from the passage of the *Israelites* over *Jordan* ‖; but whether so or not, its name shews it to have been probably some great ferry, and so very convenient, not only for baptizing, but on account of the concourse of people at such places.

But the word *beth-habarah* may be also, and perhaps more properly, translated *a custom-house*, as the officers of it, whom we render publicans, were called בעלי העברה, *babale hababarah, masters* or *overseers of the customs*; a great many of whom came accordingly to the baptist, to enquire what kind of repentance was proper for men of their profession; and were answered, that they should exact no more than their due (21); to the soldiers, which are usually set to guard such avenues, he forbid using violence, false accusations, extortion, *&c.* to the rest, who on the same supposition, dealt in the mercantile way, he injoined likewise a practice opposite to their common one; that is, liberality, hospitality, charity, *&c.* instead of covetousness, fraud, *&c.* Thus was he fulfilling what was foretold of old (22), *Every valley shall be filled, every mountain levelled*, &c.

* *Vol. I. p.* 731, c, d. *Conf. with Matth.* iii. 4. 9. *Plin. nat. hist. l.* xiv. *c.* 29. *Mss. Levit. & al.* 615, a, b. 612, (K) † *Ibid.* 509, (Q). (18) *Vid. Eustath. in Od.* (19) *Levit.* xi. 21, *& seq.* ‡ *See Vol. I. p.* (20) *Ibid.* xxxv. 9. *Vid. Usser. sub A. M.* 4030. ‖ *See Vol. I. p.* 553, (Y). (21) *Luke* iii. 13. (22) *Ibid. vers.* 5. *Conf. cum Isai.* xl. 4, *& seq.*

a his cauſe; and on the next year was his ſiſter *Berenice* born, who was alſo preſent at the trial [u], ſhe being ſixteen, and her brother ſeventeen years of age, when their father died [x].

John the Baptiſt having given ſuch an ample teſtimony to the Saviour of the world, the two firſt that became his followers were two of his own diſciples, *viz.* *Andrew* the ſon of *Jonah* and *Simon* his brother, to whom he gave the ſurname of *Cephas*, or *Stone*. On the next day, as he was returning to *Nazareth*, he called *Philip* to follow him; and this went and gave notice of him to an honeſt *Iſraelite*, named *Nathanael*, who is generally believed to be the ſame, who is by the other evangeliſts called *Bartholomew*, aſſuring him that they had found the promiſed Meſſiah, namely *Jeſus*
b of *Nazareth*. *Nathanael*'s mean opinion of that city, and of the whole *Galilean* region, could ſcarcely permit him, at the firſt news, to believe that any thing ſo good as a prophet, much leſs the Meſſiah, could come from ſuch a mean quarter. He was, however, ſoon undeceived, when *Jeſus* told him ſome of the private diſcourſe which *Philip* and he had had together under a fig-tree, far enough out of his hearing. Theſe two therefore, and ſome others, followed him into *Galilee*, where they were all invited to a poor couple's wedding. Here the wine beginning to fail, *Jeſus*'s mother, who was one of the gueſts, acquainted him with it (H), who aroſe ſoon after, and, of his wonted compaſſion, miraculouſly ſupplied them with a freſh and ſufficient quantity. This wonderful change of ſuch a quantity of water into excellent wine *His miracle at* Cana.
c filled the company with admiration, and further confirmed his new diſciples, that he really was what they thought him, the true Meſſiah. From *Cana* he went to *Capernaum*, a ſmall city on the weſt ſhore of the lake *Genezareth*, where we ſhall often find him in the ſequel; and where he made but a ſhort ſtay at this time, by reaſon of the approaching feaſt of the paſſover, to which he repaired with his diſciples, it being the firſt feſtival of that kind he celebrated ſince his entrance into his miniſtry [y].

Upon his coming to the temple, he found it crouded with people that ſold cattle, poultry, and other ſuch things as were uſed in the *Jewiſh* offerings, and had been ſet up there for the convenience of thoſe that came from far to the feaſts, and bought them on the ſpot, rather than bring them from their homes. This had likewiſe in-
d troduced a number of money-changers for the uſe of thoſe who brought foreign coin inſtead of victims, and whoſe tables and trade were equally a profanation of that ſacred place. It is likely, that the prieſts, who might and ought to have made them keep their ſtalls and compters at a greater diſtance, made a perquiſite of their indulgence, and conſequently aggravated the abuſe. Againſt them therefore Chriſt choſe to exert the firſt eſſays of his authority and zeal, by turning them all out of that ſacred *Drives the traders from the temple.* building, after a ſevere reproof for their mercantile profanation of it. But whilſt his diſciples admired his zeal for the houſe of God, ſo worthy of the ſon of *David*, the diſſatisfied *Jews* were queſtioning and demanding the ſigns of his authority; and re-
e ceived this remarkable anſwer from him, they ſhould deſtroy this temple, meaning that of body, and he would raiſe it up in three days. It was upon this occaſion that they, miſtaking his meaning, reminded him of the forty and ſix years it had been in building; of which we took notice a little higher. His diſciples, however, underſtood him much better after he was riſen from the dead [z]. In the mean time, he did not omit giving them many other pregnant proofs of his divine miſſion, in the many miracles which he did before them, and which ſtill increaſed the number of his diſciples;

[u] Acts xxv. 13, & ſeq. [x] Vid. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7. xix. c. ult. Usser ſub. A. M. 4030; & ſeq. See alſo a little higher, p. 152. in fin. not. [y] John ii. 13, & ſeq. [z] Ibid. ver. 18, & ſeq.

(H) The anſwer which ours and moſt other verſions make him, who was to be the pattern of all perfection, give to his mother on this occaſion, has given juſt offence to all ſerious readers; notwithſtanding the ſpecious gloſſes which commentators have put upon it, ſuch, as if he expreſſed himſelf to her in thoſe contemptuous terms, to prevent, if poſſible, that extraordinary worſhip, which he foreſaw his followers would in time pay to her, and the like.

Whereas a learned critic of our own (23) has lately proved beyond all contradiction, that the words, if rightly rendered, are full of the deepeſt filial reſpect; for the word γυνη, *woman*, is ſo far from being a term of contempt, as it ſounds in our language, that he has proved it from the beſt authors to have been given even to queens. We may ſay the ſame thing of the word אישה, *iſhah*, in the *Hebrew* which is uſed in the ſame reſpectful ſenſe by the *Jews*.

As for the phraſe which is there rendered, *What have I to do with thee?* it is well known to be a *Hebrew*, idiom, which implies no more than, *What is it to you or me* (24)?

(23) *Blackw. ſacred claſſ. vindic.* (24) *See a parallel in Sam.* xix. 22. 1 *Kings* xvii. 18, *& alib.*

disciples; but he, who knew their hearts, easily judged, that many of them would soon a turn their backs upon him, especially, when the sanhedrin and the *Pharisaic* sect came to denounce their sentence of excommunication against them (I). However, though that sect was the most inveterate against him, we shall find some of them of a more upright

(I) It is doubtless a matter of great wonder, how the *Jews* could see such a vast number and variety of miracles wrought by Christ on the sick, halt, maimed, deaf, dumb, blind, paralytic, lunatic, demoniac, and other objects of pity, and yet believe him a false prophet, a deceiver, or any thing rather than a person sent from God: how they could see him give sight to those that were born blind, life to one that had lain four days corrupting in the grave, feed so many thousands with a few loaves and fishes, still the winds and seas by his single word; in a word, to display, as it were, his irresistible power over the universal creation; and yet either condemn him as a cheat, or be ever asking for some further and more convincing signs of his being the Messiah (25).

We have already accounted in part for this strange proceeding in the detail we gave of their several sects, whose tenets, being for the most part diametrically opposite to the doctrine and spirit of the gospel, proved so strong an obstacle against it, as few were able to surmount. To this we may add, that Christ, chusing the sabbath day for working the major part of those miracles, gave them still a greater offence; their foolish superstitious prejudices making them look upon even such works of mercy to be a violation of that holy day, notwithstanding all he could urge to the contrary; a flagrant instance of which we have in the cure of the man born blind, in the chapter last quoted out of St. *John*.

But what most helped to confirm them in this absurd judgment of him was, a passage in *Deuteronomy* (26), which, rightly understood, is only a prudent caution against their being drawn aside by false prophets, and pretended wonder-workers; but which they did, and still do, understand to this day, so literally and contrary to the plain design of the law-giver, as to infer a possibility of a man's working many and great miracles, either by the help of the devil, by magic, or other means, and without any other view, but that of withdrawing people from the service of God.

Now, when men are once prepossessed with such an absurd notion, what miracles can any person work that may not be reduced under that class, if they have any dislike either to his person or doctrine, or can find any plausible objection against his manner of working them? All which concurred here against those of our Saviour, and were upon those accounts rejected by the generality of the *Jews*, even to this day, as we hinted above. Accordingly, they are so far from denying him to have done great and signal miracles, that they have invented the most stupid stories to prove, that he did them either by magic, which they say he learned in *Egypt*, or by going privately into the temple, and stealing thence the ineffable name of God, by virtue of which he could perform all those great wonders; and many more such shameful and childish evasions, the bare mentioning of which is a sufficient confutation of them. Those that desire to know more of this *Jewish* trash, may consult, among others, the book intitled *Sepher Tholedoth Jesu*, or *the history* or *book of the generations of Jesus*, and some others which the reader may find in the margin (27).

But to give our *English* readers a short specimen of their opinion concerning him out of those books, some affirm him to have been the son of one *Panther*, and that the soul of *Esau*, whose memory they have in great abhorrence, passed into him, which is, according to their doctrine of the soul's transmigration, mentioned at the close of the last section. That he stole into the temple, and took from thence the name of God; and having made an incision into his thigh, stuck it into it, and let the flesh and skin grow over it. That he became by it a very great conjurer and wonder-worker. That *Judas* was another of the same stamp and his competitor. That they had a great number of contests, which we shall forbear inserting on account of their ridiculousness as well as impiety; and that *Judas* was still conqueror in all, and gave him at last a total defeat.

One would be apt to think these to be idle tales, invented only to amuse their children, and breed them up in a contempt of christianity; and some of them have even affirmed it, to wipe off the just imputation they would otherwise incur; and yet they are chiefly founded on some as ridiculous stories fetched out of their *Talmud*, where mention is made of Christ's miracles, and of the means by which he attained to the power of performing them; and pass as current amongst them, as the book of which they are taken.

But what can they say for one of their greatest rabbies (28), who affirms one *Jesua*, the son of *Berachia*, or *Perachia*, to have been tutor to *Jesus Christ*, and to have taken him into *Egypt*, and to have [illegible] him [illegible] for his [illegible]; though in order to these two having been cotemporaries, the latter must have been born under *Alexander Jannæus*, and have died in the thirty-sixth year of his age, in the reign of *Aristobulus*. This anachronism another learned rabbi (29) has endeavoured to rectify by substituting a second *Jesua*, who lived in the time of *Hillel* and *Shammai*, and was tutor to *Jesus Christ*. But this, like their history of the second temple, which makes *Pompey* to have taken him prisoner, doth but lessen, but not clear, the anachronism (30); and only exposes their ignorance, not to call it worse, in attempting to invalidate his miracles by such poor shifts.

But, lastly, if we consider the vast superstition which then reigned among the *Jews*, how addicted they were to astrology; what strange power they attributed to the heavenly bodies, or rather to the angels which presided in each of them; what prodigies they thought might be done by the right evocation of them; what supernatural efficacy they ascribed to the right pronunciation of the name of God; how extensive they supposed the power of magic to be; and that it was not only lawful, but necessary, to learn it in one's own defence; and lastly, that those were not the notions of a small number, but of the whole nation, except perhaps some few more judicious and unprejudiced; such as was *Nicodemus*, and some others, whom we shall mention in the sequel, and who made a more impartial judgment of Christ's miracles; we need not wonder, that the rest, who neither liked his person, character, nor doctrine, should attribute those stupendous works to any other cause, than to the power and finger of God.

(25) *Vid. int. al. John* vi. 1. *ad* 30. ix. *pass.* (26) *Ch.* xiii. 1. *& seq.* (27) *Rab. Gedaliah Sibbuleth Haccabalah Gantz. Chronol. Nitzachon. Abr. Ben Dior. Tzemach David, & al. mult.* (28) *Abr. B. Dior. ubi supra.* (29) *Gedaliah, ubi supra* (30) *Vid. Basnag. hist. Jud. lib.* iii. *c.* 5. *sect.* 5

a upright temper, who, making a more equitable judgment of his miracles and doctrine, came to be inſtructed by him, and became his diſciples, though privately, and for fear of their unbelieving brethren [a].

Among theſe was one *Nicodemus*, a venerable ruler, who rightly concluding that ſuch ſtupendous works could not be wrought without the divine aſſiſtance, and in confirmation of ſome new ſignal doctrine, ſuch as the thinking part of the *Jews* expected the Meſſiah to bring with him; came privately one night to have a conference with him about it. *Jeſus*, who took a ſingular delight to encourage ſuch ſincere inquirers [b], and knew him to be a doctor of the law, immediately entertained him with the main and grand point of regeneration, without which, he aſſured him, it was impoſſible for b a man to enter into the kingdom of heaven. He expreſſed himſelf moreover in ſuch terms, as he might have juſtly expected to be well underſtood by him, by comparing it to a new birth, ſuch as the *Jews* affirmed to be that of their new proſelytes, concerning which the reader may ſee what we have ſaid in a former volume †. But *Nicodemus*, better verſed perhaps in the reigning diſputes of his and the other ſects, than with ſuch fundamentals of moral divinity, as had been quite ſwallowed up by the preſent polemic contagion, ſeemed wholly at a loſs how to underſtand it. Our Saviour therefore having given him a further explication of that heavenly doctrine, requeſted of him to embrace it upon his own authority for the preſent, aſſuring him, that it was one main purport of his coming down from heaven, to teach it to mankind. He c added, that the miracles which he had ſeen him work ſhould not be the only proof he would give men of his divine miſſion, ſince they ſhould ſee him ſhortly lay down his life in confirmation of it; and, in ſo doing, fulfil all the prophecies and types of the *Old Teſtament*, and the decrees of the divine love and providence, by dying a piacle for the redemption of mankind [c]. And therefore he juſtly concluded, that if men receive not his divine teſtimony, but will ſhut their eyes to that marvellous ſaving light which he has brought into the world, it is becauſe their evil deeds, which are manifeſted and reproved by it, make them prefer their own darkneſs; and this it is which aggravates their guilt, and will hereafter their ſad puniſhment (K) [d]. *Nicodemus*, who felt

Nicodemus *comes to be inſtructed by him.*

[a] Ibid. verſ. 23. ad. fin. [b] Vid. int. al. Mark x. 21. † Vol. I. p. 666, b. [c] John iii. verſ. 11, & ſeq. [d] Ibid. verſ. 19, & ſeq.

(K) We have contented ourſelves to give the bare ſubſtance of this divine colloquy, which contains indeed the quinteſſence of chriſtianity, *viz.* the redemption of the world by the death of Chriſt, and the reformation of mankind by the help of this new light which he brought down to them. This light upon due attention, not only to this diſcourſe to the *Jewiſh* ruler, but on the tenor of the whole goſpel, will appear to conſiſt in theſe three particulars.

1ſt, That he came to teach us a more perfect rule of life, than human reaſon could, by its own unaſſiſted ſtrength, ever diſcover. For whatever ſome ſanguine men may imagine concerning the ſufficiency of that faculty, an impartial review of the world, and of the moſt polite parts of it, before the ſacred writings of *Moſes* and the prophets were publiſhed in other more known languages, will eaſily confute that fond conceit.

2dly, He came to communicate a ſuperior degree of ſtrength to our corrupt nature, without which the leſſons of that divine maſter would have been loſt upon the far greater part of mankind; whilſt, like perſons infected with cuticular diſeaſes, they would ſtill have preferred the pleaſure of ſcratching to the benefit of a cure; and therefore to inforce the obſervation of this new rule of life, without which man could be happy, neither here nor hereafter, and to make him accept of and ſeek for that divine aſſiſtance, which alone could enable him to live up to it.

He was, 3dly, to inforce it by the worthieſt and moſt powerful motives, the rewards and puniſhments of another life; both which he has ſet before us in the ſtrongeſt light, that thoſe who could not be allured to the virtues of his goſpel, by the beauteous proſpect of the one, might at leaſt be frighted into it, by the dreadful apprehenſion of the other. That is, in other words; that ſince our too great attachment to the things of this world was the unhappy ſource of all our diſaſters, this double proſpect of a future one might effectually wean us from them, by the aſſurance he has given us of the fatal conſequences of an inordinate purſuit after them, and of the ample rewards which a generous neglect of them will intitle us to at the end of our race. All which is ſtill more ſtrongly inforced upon us from a due conſideration, that he who beſt knew the value of that immortal life, which he came to reveal, thought not his own life too dear a price to purchaſe it for us.

On this manifeſtation of the love of God to us, is founded our love to him as our ſovereign bliſs and benefactor, and of our neighbour, as partakers with us of the ſame divine favour. Nor is the fear of his puniſhments low and baſe, as it may ſeem at firſt, orleſs conducive to it. For how can a man be rightly frighted out of the paths of ſin and puniſhment into thoſe of virtue and reward, without feeling a ſecret love and gratitude towards his gracious deliverer, inſenſibly kindled in his heart, and riſing by degrees into moſt pungent remorſe for his paſt follies, and into the moſt fervent deſires of pleaſing him for the future?

Now the foundation of all this muſt be laid on ſuch a ſtedfaſt faith as Chriſt ſpeaks of to *Nicodemus* (31), grounded on thoſe irrefragable credentials

(31) *John* iii. 18, 19.

felt the force of all these truths, became his disciple from that very night, but without daring to make open profession of it, for fear of the *Jews*. However, when their sanhedrin was once plotting to put him to death, he had the courage to oppose it [e]; and when they had really crucified him, he and *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, another *Jewish* ruler, were the only two of that high rank who joined to give him an honourable burial [f]. a

Jesus left *Jerusalem* soon after to go into the other parts of *Judæa*, where he set his disciples on baptizing those who received his doctrine. This brought on a dispute between them and those of the baptist, who was not yet cast into prison, but was still baptizing a little higher on the *Jordan*, in the neighbourhood of *Salim* and *Ænon*, more towards *Galilee* (L). The difference between them, being about *Jesus*'s making a greater number of proselytes than *John*, was referred to the latter, who quickly decided it in favour of the former, adding thereto this noble testimony of him, that he was from heaven, and was above all, and testified the truths he had seen and heard; so that those who received his testimony, did set to their seal, that God is true, whereas those who reject it make him a lyar, and are therefore obnoxious to his divine displeasure, whilst they continue in their unbelief [g] (M). Soon after this, *John*, b

Year of the flood 3030. *Of Christ* 31.

[e] Ibid. ch. vii. ver. 50. [f] Ibid. xix. 39. [g] John. iii. 22. ad fin.

tials which he brought with him, such as the many and plain prophecies concerning him, his innumerable miracles, his resurrection, effusion of his holy spirit, and several other concomitant evidences which will further appear in the sequel. This heavenly testimony, he adds, therefore, will be rejected by many, because their deeds are evil; for if his doctrine is confessedly so divine, and so excellently calculated for promoting our happiness here and hereafter, that men of unbiassed reason might embrace it without those heavenly credentials, there must sure be some evil root in the hearts of those that can oppose it, after they have seen it confirmed by so many miracles, prophecies, &c. and illustrated by his godlike example.

'Tis therefore to convince us of this, that he assures us in another place (32), that if any man will, or is sincerely disposed to, do his (God's) will, he shall soon know whether or not his doctrine be of God; if he has a real desire to be virtuous and holy here; in order to be happy hereafter, he shall receive a more feeling testimony of the divinity of my doctrine, than all those outward ones of miracles, &c. for these, through the depravity of man's nature, may in too many of them produce but a kind of historical faith, which, descending no lower than the head, seldom brings forth any other fruit than speculative systems. They were designed to convince the understanding, and silence the gainsayers; but the change of the heart and the conquest of mens inordinate passions, not being to be attained but by the assistance of the divine grace, which is now freely and more plentifully going to be offered to every believer, those only will receive and feel the efficacy of it, who seek and pray for it from a sincere desire to comply with the terms of the gospel, and from a due sense of their wanting that superior assistance to enable them to it. When these therefore come to feel the wonderful changes which this divine grace shall work in them; that it inspires them with new affections, new thoughts and desires; that it rectifies their corrupt nature, subdues their irregular appetites, enables them to live quite other lives, and to foregoe all things, even life itself, rather than lose the favour of God, and the assurance of heaven; it will prove an inexhaustible source of evidence of the truth and divinity of my doctrine, and of joy and comfort to them; because that blessed Spirit, which worketh all these wonders in them, will bear witness with their spirit, that they are now the sons God (33); whilst the careless and self-sufficient will ever fall short of it, for want of this sincere desire after holiness, or of a sense of their standing in need of any other assistance to attain it.

Thus much we thought necessary to premise, in order to the better understanding of the design and œconomy of the gospel; for since the bare belief of it, or a faith in Christ, its divine author, without practice of his precepts, will never intitle a man to the rewards of it; and this practice, whatever may be pretended to the contrary, cannot be attained without the divine assistance; and this last is only to be obtained by prayer grounded upon a right belief in the truth and faithfulness of our heavenly redeemer and law-giver; but all three must co-operate towards that main end; the miracles and other outward testimonies of the christian dispensation were highly necessary to attract a degenerate world to a religion so opposite to theirs, and so contrary to their depraved appetites; but it is this wonderful change, which the divine grace, it communicates, works in us, that gives the finishing stroke and strongest light to its other evidence; and the man, once thus happily transformed into a new, a heavenly, creature, becomes more sure of the truth and certainty of the gospel, than if he had seen its divine author giving sight to the man born blind or raising *Lazarus* from the dead; because he justly thinks them alike the effects of an almighty and miraculous power.

(L) *Ænon* was about eight miles south of *Scythopolis* (34); *Salim* in the neighbourhood of it was the same with the *Salem* of the *Old Testament*, where *Melchisedech* was king, and where some of the ruins of his palace were still to be seen in St. *Jerom's* time (35). The reader may see what we have said of it heretofore †.

(M) Since the bare light of reason assures us, that the nature of God is incomprehensible, it follows, that he cannot make any revelation of himself to us, but what must include mysterious truths vastly above our reach; and that it must consequently be a strange perverseness in man to reject them upon that account, when they come attested to us with the seal of heaven, for that is in fact to give the lye to eternal truth. Whereas the belief of them, being only an open acknowledgment that God is true, cannot but be the most reasonable, as well as acceptable sacrifice we can make to him of that faculty.

(32) *Ibid.* vii. 17. (33) Rom. viii. 16. (34) *Vid. Euseb. sub. voc.* (35) *Loc. Hebr.* † *Vol. I. p.* 44.6, d, c.

a *John*, whose extreme sanctity had raised him to the esteem, not only of all the *Jews*, but even of *Herod Antipas*, the then tetrarch of *Galilee*, this last often took pleasure in hearing and advising with him [h] for a time; till having ventured to take *Herodias*, his brother *Philip*'s wife, into his bed, he received so many severe reproofs from that holy person for his incest, that he at last caused him to be thrown into a prison, where he soon after ordered him to be beheaded, through the hellish intrigues of that incestuous lady, and to all outward appearance much against his own will [i]. The occasion of this unlawful marriage was as follows:

John the Baptist *beheaded by* Herod.

Herod, whose first wife was the daughter of *Aretas*, king of *Arabia*, was since fallen in love with that of his brother *Philip*, whom he had seen at his castle, where b he had stopped some days in his journey to *Rome*. *Herodias* was the daughter of *Aristobulus* and grand-daughter of *Herod the great*, as has been hinted in a former note. *Herod* made no difficulty to discover his passion and to propose marrying her, to which she consented, upon condition that he divorced his first wife. This last, having received some information of her husband's design, wisely concealed her resentment; and having obtained his permission to retire for some time to the castle of *Macheron*, which was then in her father's hands, she, instead of going thither, made all the haste she could to the *Arabian* court, where being at length arrived, she acquainted the king with the whole intrigue. This caused a rupture between *Herod* and *Aretas*, which ended in a war, which lasted till the death of *Tiberius*, four years after c their falling out. *Herod*, thus rid of his wife without a divorce, made no scruple to mary his sister-in-law, though she had had children by his brother *Philip*, which was contrary to the *Mosaic* law. *John the Baptist* was not the only person who condemned that marriage as incestuous; the whole nation ventured to cry out against it; but, as his character gave him a freer access to the court, he had the courage to reprove both the king and his paramour in the severest terms. *Herodias*, being at length stung to the quick with his frequent reproaches of incest, and infidelity to *Philip*, resolved to ruin him, and easily persuaded the easy king to cast him into prison. His pretence for it, according to *Josephus* *, was his drawing such multitude after him to be baptized; but the true reason was that given by the evangelists above-quoted, namely d his and *Herodias*'s resentment.

The occasion of it.

The place where he confined him is not mentioned by the latter, but the former tells us it was the castle of *Macheron*; though he should have told us how it came so soon again into his possession, after he had just hinted before that it belonged to the *Arabian* king. But it is not unlikely, that he regained it from him after their rupture. All this while *Jesus* continued preaching in *Galilee*, and working so many singular miracles, that the fame of it came to the *Baptist* in his confinement. *John* therefore, supposing his own death to be near at hand, as he had formerly foretold it, sent two of his followers to inquire of him, whether he was the expected Messiah, not so much for his own satisfaction, as for that of his disciples. They came oppore tunely to him, whilst he was healing of a number sick, halt, maimed, and blind, so that he only bid them return, and acquaint their master with what they had seen, leaving it to him to explain the matter to them. All this while *Herodias* had not been able to prevail on the king to attempt the life of his prisoner. His fear of the people, who looked upon him as an extraordinary prophet, had hitherto outweighed his base complaisance to her. But she soon after compassed that by her hellish policy, which her persuasions had not been able to do. *Herod*'s birth-day being celebrated with suitable solemnity, before a number of his head officers, and other persons of distinction; she took the opportunity, when they were in the height of their mirth, and the king most probably heated with wine, to send her daughter *Salome* to dance before him; f and she performed her part so well, that he promised with an oath to gratify her in whatever she should ask of him, even to the half of his kingdom. This was what *Herodias* was waiting for, and for which she had given her instructions to her daughter; so that the young princess, taking the king at his word, desired the head of the *Baptist* to be given her instantly in a charger. *Herod*, surprised at her demand, expressed no small concern at it, whether out of respect to that holy person or the fear of a tumult. But, at length, the consideration of his oath and of his guests having turned the scale, he ordered an executioner to go and perform her bloody request; which being done accordingly, his disciples, upon hearing of it, came to take away the rest of his body, and

John *confined in the castle of* Macheron.

Herodias's *shellish policy*.

Salome *danced before* Herod

Her bloody re quest.

[h] Mark vii. 20. [i] Ibid. Vid. & Matt. xiv, 1. & seq. * Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7.

and gave it an honourable burial. Thus fell that great and good man, and more than a prophet, according to his own prediction * ; of whom *Josephus*, in the place above-quoted, gives us the following character : That his whole crime was his exhorting the *Jews* to the love and practice of virtue ; and, first of all, to piety, justice, and regeneration, or newness of life ; not by the bare abstinence of this or that particular sin, but by an habitual purity of mind and body. Now, continues he, so great was the credit and authority of this holy man, as appears by the multitude of his disciples, and the veneration they had for his doctrine, (for he could do what he would with them) that *Herod*, not knowing how far the reputation of a man of his spirit might influence the people toward a revolt, resolved at length to take him off, before it was too late, *&c.* He adds, that *Herod* was very unsuccessful in his war with the *Arabian* king, all which the *Jews* looked upon as a just judgment of God upon him for that impious murder. An antient father tells us † further, that when *Herodias* received the *Baptist*'s head from her daughter, she pierced his tongue with a bodkin, and shewed it some other indignities, such as one may easily suppose from a person of her loose character.

Josephus's *character of the baptist.*

Jesus *goes from* Judæa *into* Galilee.

We return to *Jesus Christ*, who, upon the news of *John*'s imprisonment on account of the great number of disciples that followed him, began, it is likely, to fear, lest *Herod late* should take some umbrage at him upon the same account. For there came, as we observed a little higher, rather a greater resort of people to be baptised by his disciples ; for himself, the evangelist assures, baptized none. This made him therefore leave *Judæa*, after a stay of about eight months [k], and depart for *Galilee* ; when passing through *Samaria*, he converted the woman, and afterwards the inhabitants of *Sichem*, or, as the *Jews* by way of reproach called it, *Sychar* [l], which signifies *drunk*, according to the phrase of the prophet, who calls the rebellious *Jews* the *Shicore Ephraim*, *the drunkards of Ephraim* [m] (N). After a few days stay at that place, he went on into *Galilee*, where he was well received by the *Galileans*, who had seen his late miracles at *Jerusalem* at the late passover, and preached in their synagogues. Whilst he was at *Cana*, the place where he had turned water into wine, a nobleman came about a day's journey to him, beseeching him that he would come down and heal a son of his, who was at the point of death, and expressed himself in such pressing terms, as sufficiently testified the sincerity of his faith. *Jesus* therefore, unto whom it was equally easy to heal at a distance, or at a greater nearness, dismissed him with these words : *Go thy way : thy son liveth.* He obeyed, and, upon his inquiring of his servants at his return, found that he had begun to recover from the very minute in which the promise was come out of *Jesus*'s mouth ; so he and his whole family believed on him [n]. He went from thence into his old city of *Nazareth*, and being entered one sabbath-day into their synagogue, where the lesson out of *Isaiah* [o] was given him to read, in which there is a lively description of the Messiah's preaching the gospel, and of his confirming it with many godlike miracles of mercy ; he expounded it of himself, with such powerful and majestic grace, as raised the admiration of the whole audience. But some of them being offended at his exquisite wisdom, whom they knew to have had so mean an education among them, he reminded them of several other cities in *Judæa*, and of many persons in *Israel*, who had rendered themselves unworthy of the divine favours by the like unseasonable partiality. This reproof was so highly resented by the *Nazarites*, that they rushed upon him with one consent, and hurried him to the brow of the hill on which their city was built, with a design to have cast him headlong down ; but he, slipping through the crowd, escaped their malice, and went to dwell at *Capernaum*, a city situate on the coasts of *Zebulun* and *Nepthalim* ; and preached among them, according to another oracle out of the same prophet [p], importing, that those regions of *Galilee* should in time be called, from their native darkness, unto the marvellous light of the gospel. Being on another day preaching in one of their synagogues, there stood a demoniac before him (O), in whom the unclean spirit

The nobleman's son cured.

Preacheth at Nazareth.

A demoniac cured.

* John. iii. 30. † Cont. Rufin. [k] Vid. Usser. ann. sub A. M. 4035. [l] John iv. pass. See also, Vol. I. p. 447, a. IV. p. 30. b, c. 31. b. & alib. [m] Isaiah xxvii. 1. [n] Ibid. ver. 56. ad fin. [o] Isaiah lxi. 1. Vid. Luke iv. 16. & seq. [p] Isaiah ix. 1. & seq. Matth. iv. 14. & seq.

(N) *Shechem* or *Sychar* stood about forty miles from *Jerusalem*, fifty-two from *Jericho*, and ten from *Shiloh* (36), near unto *Jacob*'s well.

(N) We have already taken notice of the opinion of the *Jews* concerning these demons who possessed mankind, some, with *Josephus*, believing them to be

(36) *Vid. Euseb. & Hieron. loc. Hebr. & Reland. Palæst in Sichem.*

ſpirit cried with a loud voice; and, acknowledging him to be the holy one of God, expoſtulated with him, not to deſtroy him. Him *Jeſus* having put to ſilence by his powerful word, caſt him out, and healed the man, to the admiration of the people, who ſpread his fame throughout all that region; inſomuch, that before he had taken a little refreſhment at *Peter*'s houſe, and healed his mother of a fever, under which ſhe had languiſhed ſome conſiderable time, they had brought from that whole neighbourhood all that were afflicted with diſeaſes, and ſet them before him; and *Jeſus*, according to his wonted compaſſion, laid his hands on every one of them, and ſent them all home healed [q].

Calls Simon Peter.

b Being come to the lake of *Genezareth*, or ſea of *Tiberias*, the crouds followed him ſo thick, that he was forced to get into a boat belonging to *Simon Peter*, whom from a fiſherman he had called to be one of his apoſtles, and bid him launch out a little way, and taught the people from thence. As ſoon as he had done ſpeaking, he bid *Peter* caſt his net for a draught; and was anſwered, that though they had toiled all night in vain, yet at his word they would try afreſh. They did ſo, and caught ſuch a large draught, as was like to have ſunk the boat. *Peter*, ſurpriſed at it, fell at his feet, and beſought him to depart from ſuch a ſinner as he was; but *Jeſus* taking him up, bid him be of good courage, for he would from thenceforth make him a fiſher of men [r]. During his abode in *Galilee*, he continued ſtill confirming his doctrine with ſuch numbers of miracles, that his fame had reached all the neighbouring provinces of c *Syria*, *Phœnice*, &c. inſomuch, that many people came from thence to be healed of their infirmities by him. During his abode at *Capernaum* (P), a paralytic, who had heard

[q] Luke iv. 31. ad fin. [r] Luke v. 4, & ſeq. Mark xvi. 20. & ſeq. & alib.

be the ſouls of the wicked, and others, that they were a kind of imperfect creatures, whom God was forced to leave unfiniſhed on the ſixth day, becauſe the evening of the ſabbath came upon him before he had given them the finiſhing ſtroke (37). Upon either of theſe accounts, they believe them to find ſome pleaſure and refreſhment in poſſeſſing and annoying the bodies of the living. Of this kind they reckon alſo the ſatyrs, incubuſſes, fauns, familiar ſpirits †, &c. The *Chriſtians*, on the other hand, believe them, with greater countenance from holy writ, to be fallen angels, who have borne a conſtant enmity to mankind ever ſince the creation of *Adam*.

But it is here objected againſt either hypotheſis, that if thoſe malicious ſpirits had ſuch an extenſive power, as theſe poſſeſſions ſeem to attribute to them, there would be no end of their miſchiefs, till they had made an end of mankind. Whereas, whatever we may read of them in former days of ignorance and ſuperſtition, we ſee nothing like it now even pretended among the more civilized nations, and only hear ſome imperfect accounts among the more remote and leſs cultivated ones, which yet may be either mere cheats, or at beſt mere deluſions; and this has made a great number of our moderate ſceptics believe them all to have been of this laſt kind (38), as being leſs derogatory to the honour of God, than the ſuppoſition of his giving ſo great a power to evil ſpirits.

But theſe learned critics ſeem not to obſerve, that all theſe plauſible pretences rather confute than countenance their notion; for who can believe, that Chriſt, who was ſo jealous of his Father's honour, would not only have overlooked, but both by his words and actions even countenanced and confirmed a national error ſo oppoſite to it, if he had not known, that God, for ſome ends beſt known to his infinite wiſdom, had ſuffered thoſe evil ſpirits, to afflict and puniſh mankind? If he had known, that all theſe pretended obſeſſions were the mere effects of melancholy, hypochondria, lunacy, and ſuch-like diſorders, incident to our nature, would he not have equally diſplayed his miraculous power in curing of them under this notion? and would not his pretended interrogations of thoſe pretended devils, and their petitioning to him; his (39) diſtinguiſhing between their ſeveral kinds, and the different means of expelling them (40), have been acting a farce unworthy his divine character? how much more his promiſing to his diſciples the ſame power of caſting them out (41)?

That theſe devils are every-where repreſented in ſcripture as enemies to mankind, is beyond all diſpute; and that they are not as yet confined to the place of their puniſhment, appears not only from their frequent expoſtulations with Chriſt, *Art thou come to torment us before the time?* but much more from that dreadful and definitive ſentence to be pronounced againſt the wicked, *Go, ye curſed, into everlaſting fire, prepared for the devil*, &c. which, if only prepared for them, implies, that they are not yet ſent into it. If therefore we ſtick cloſe to the plain and obvious meaning of the inſpired writers, we muſt ſuppoſe thoſe poſſeſſions to have been ſomething very different from ſuch pretended diſorders of the body or mind; and where lies the unreaſonableneſs of the ſuppoſition of a vaſt variety of ſpiritual beings, ſome of a good and benevolent, others of a bad and maleficent, nature, but all under the government of the ſupreme Being?

(P) This city was ſituate on an eminence by the lake of *Genezareth*, though the exact place be not known. Our Saviour exchanged it inſtead of that of *Nazareth*, where the ſtubbornneſs and incredulity of the *Nazarites* had been an obſtruction to his doctrine and miracles. He made it his chief abode during the three laſt years of his preaching, and wrought a great number of miracles there; but as they made him no anſwerable returns for thoſe favours, he forwarns them, that though their city was then exalted up to the clouds, it ſhould ſhortly be thrown down to the loweſt abyſs (42); which came accordingly to paſs in the *Jewiſh* war, ſo that no footſteps remain of it.

(37) *Vid. Bereſhith rabba, cap.* 1. *& lib. Zeror, Hammor, ſive faſciculum myrrhæ.* † *See Vol. I. p.* 82, (N). (38) *Vid. Le Clerc com. in loc. Becker Monde enchant. Bayle, & al.* (39) *Matth.* viii. 28. *Mark* v. 9, *& ſeq. & alib.* (40) *Matth.* xvii. 20, *& ſeq.* (41) *Vid. int. al. Matth.* x. 1. *Mark* xvi. 17. *Luke* x. 17. (42) *Matth.* xi. 23.

heard of his fame, got himſelf tranſported thither, in his couch born on mens ſhoulders, to be preſented to him; but the houſe, in which he was, being ſo thronged within and without, that they could get no acceſs to him, they got him up to the top of the houſe, and having untiled part of it, let him down by ropes, and ſo ſet him before him. *Jeſus* beheld their faith with pleaſure, and addreſſing himſelf to the paralytic, bid him be of good chear, for his ſins were forgiven; which, according to the *Jewiſh* notion, that ſuch infirmities were the effects either of our own or of our parents ſins [s], was no more than telling him that he was healed of his palſy. But the ſcrupulous *Jews*, not underſtanding it in that ſenſe, accuſed him in their hearts of blaſphemy, in aſſuming a power peculiar to God; but *Jeſus*, by the immediate cure of the ſick man, ſoon convinced them of their error, and of his being equally impowered to forgive ſins and to cure any infirmities [t]. It was his cuſtom, by reaſon of the great reſort of people that came to hear him, to go out of the city from time to time, and to teach them by the ſea-ſide; and, upon his often paſſing to and fro, he obſerved a publican ſitting at the receipt of cuſtom, named *Levi*, or *Matthew*, and bid him follow him (Q). *Matthew* did not heſitate one moment, but left his office and followed him; and, to expreſs the ſenſe he had for this gracious call, he made him a ſumptuous feaſt at his own houſe, to which many of the ſame profeſſion were alſo invited. This gave a freſh occaſion of offence to the ſcrupulous *Jews*, who made ſome ſevere complaints of it to his diſciples; but *Jeſus* ſoon ſilenced their clamour, by aſſuring them, that he was come to call, not the righteous, but ſinners to repentance [u].

Cures a paralytic.

Matthew *called.*

After ſeveral other miraculous works done during his ſtay in this place, *Jeſus* departed for *Jeruſalem* to be preſent at the approaching feſtival of the paſſover, where there uſed to be a great concourſe of *Jews*, who came before-hand to purify themſelves againſt that feaſt. In this city there was a fair piſcina or reſervoir, adorned with five porches or piazzas, and called in the *Hebrew Beth-ſhdah* (R), whoſe water, being at ſome

[s] De hoc vid. John ix. 2. [t] Matth. ix. 1, & ſeq. Luke v. 18, & alib. [u] Matt. ix. 10, & ſeq.

(Q) The other evangeliſts give him only the name of *Levi*, which was his *Jewiſh* name; for he was a *Jew*, and the ſon of *Alpheus*, and native of *Galilee*. He is therefore thought to have called himſelf by that of *Matthew*, which is ſuppoſed to have been ſignificant of his profeſſion, to expreſs his grateful ſenſe of his vocation. His chief reſidence and office was at *Capernaum*, and there it was, that he was called, from the profeſſion of a publican, to the dignity of an apoſtle and evangeliſt.

He has been highly reflected upon by *Porphyry* and *Julian*, ſurnamed *the apoſtate* (43), for thus lightly following a man, whom he had ſo little knowledge of; but as it is ſcarce probable, that he ſhould live in the ſame city ſo long, and not have heard of his doctrine and miracles; ſo it is rather a wonder he did not become his diſciple ſooner, conſidering his great readineſs in following him as ſoon as he was called; but it is likely, he thought his profeſſion was as odious to him, as it was to the *Phariſees* and the reſt of the *Jews*, and would prove an obſtacle to his reception. But as ſoon as this gracious invitation had convinced him of the contrary, he ſufficiently ſhewed how ready and glad he was to embrace it, by his forſaking all to follow him.

His being here called the ſon of *Alpheus* has led ſome ancients (44) into a notion, that he was the brother of *James*, who is alſo called the ſon of *Alpheus* (45); and they have, it ſeems, been followed in it by the generality of modern *Greeks*; but there ſeems to be no foundation for it. The goſpel gives us no further particulars concerning him, ſaving that he continued a faithful diſciple of his maſter; and therefore all we ſhall venture to add is, that he is univerſally allowed to have been the firſt that penned any ſuccinct hiſtory of the goſpel. He is ſaid to have wrote it at the deſire of the apoſtles and *Jewiſh* converts of *Paleſtine*, before his departure from it, to go and preach in the provinces allotted to him; which was eight or ten years after Chriſt's reſurrection. The laſt-quoted father tells us, it was written in the *Chaldaic-Syriac* tongue, which was then the common one, and in *Hebrew* characters. We refer our readers for the further particulars of it to the controverſy lately ſtarted about it. As for St. *Matthew*, he is moſt commonly believed, by ancients and moderns, to have preached the goſpel in *Perſia* and *Parthia*, and to have ſuffered martyrdom in *Caramania*, a province then ſubject to the *Parthians*.

(R) Probably, as ſome conjecture from the words בית-חסדה, *beth-cheſdah*, *the houſe of mercy*, alluding to the merciful cures which were wrought there on the ſick, lame, &c. The vulgate, however, read it *beth-zaida*, which ſome render the *Probatic pool*, on a ſuppoſition that the ſheep deſigned for ſacrifice were firſt waſhed in it, which ſheep ſo waſhed, were called *Probatæ*. Others, who read it בית-אשדה *beth-ſhdah*, render it *the houſe of defluxion*, from another ſuppoſition, that the waters, in which the entrails of the victims offered in the temple were waſhed, emptied themſelves by a ſubterranean ſewer into this pool or reſervoir, whence ſome have taken it into their heads, that the blood, dung, and other filth of thoſe creatures running along with them, gave that medicinal virtue to the pool. Perſons of ſuch witty conceits are ſeldom ſolicitous about the character of the ſacred hiſtorians, or elſe the evangeliſts, attributing thoſe cures to a miraculous motion of the water, would make them more cautious, how they ſet up a bare conjecture againſt their teſtimony.

The

(43) *Vid. Hieron. in Matth.* ix. (44) *Chryſoſtom. Homil.* 33. *in Matt. Theodoret. & al.* (47) *Matth.* x. 3, *& alib.* (46) *Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. l.* iii. *c.* 24. *Chryſoſt. in Matth.* i. *Iren. l.* iii. *c.* 1. *Hieron. de vir. illuſtr. & al.*

a ſome particular ſeaſons miraculouſly ſtirred, had the virtue of curing the firſt perſon that jumped into it of whatever diſeaſe he was troubled. Here *Jeſus* beheld, among the crouds of ſick folk that waited for the motion, a man who had laboured under an incurable palſy thirty-eight years, but, for want of ſome charitable hand to throw him into the water, had hitherto been deprived of the benefit of that place. *Jeſus*, moved with compaſſion at his miſery, healed him by his powerful word, and bid him take up his bed and go to his home. This cure, being done on the ſabbath-day, gave freſh offence to the *Phariſees*, who, looking upon him as a ſabbath-breaker, began to think of putting him to death for it. To diſculpate himſelf, and convince them that works of mercy were ſo far from being a violation, that they were the proper b buſineſs of the ſabbath, he expreſſed himſelf to them in words to this effect: *As my Father worketh hitherto, ſo do I work*: intimating thereby, that though God had reſted on the ſeventh day from creating, in memory of which the ſabbath had been inſtituted, yet did he not ceaſe on that day from the work of preſervation, which work himſelf was now imitating, in preſerving a number of wretched periſhing objects, whoſe miſery claimed his pity and aſſiſtance. But the *Jews*, ever watchful for matter of new accuſation againſt him, inſtead of admiring his godlike imitation of that ever-beneficent Being, accuſed him of blaſphemy, for having preſumed to call him his father, making himſelf thereby equal to God. *Jeſus* tried in vain to remonſtrate to them, by many convincing arguments, that he had arrogated nothing c to himſelf, but what his miraculous works did evince his undoubted claim to; and by aſſuring them, that they ſhould ſhortly ſee greater and more ſtupendous ones than thoſe wrought by him, ſuch as had never been done ſince the creation of the world. He tried in vain to convince them from the teſtimony of the prophets and other ſacred writings, from that of *John the Baptiſt*, but eſpecially of his heavenly Father, who had declared him his beloved Son, and had given him moreover ſuch a miraculous power over the whole creation [w]. He was at length obliged to ſilence their falſe accuſation, by reminding them, that even the ſcripture gives the title of gods to mortal men [x]. If then, added he, they be called *gods*, *againſt whom the ſentence of mortality had been pronounced by God* (S) *himſelf*, why ſhould you reckon me guilty of d blaſphemy, whom the Father has thus ſanctified and ſent into the world, becauſe I call myſelf the Son of God?

Cures a paralytic on the ſabbath.

His defence of it cenſured by the Jews.

Jeſus obſerving, however, how ſtrenuous the blinded *Jews* were againſt his doing works of mercy on the ſabbath, reſolved, if poſſible, to convince them of their error, by chuſing that day to diſplay ſome of the moſt ſignal ones, and exploding their cenſures by ſuch cogent arguments as they could not gainſay. Accordingly, after his departure out of *Jeruſalem*, he went into one of their ſynagogues, where there ſtood a man, St. *Jerom* ſays he was a maſon, who had a withered hand. He began with aſking the *Jewiſh* doctors, whether it was lawful on the ſabbath, to do good or evil, to ſave or to deſtroy, intimating, that the omiſſion of the one, when a proper occaſion e offered, was near equivalent to the commiſſion of the other. As they had nothing to anſwer to this reaſoning, they ſtood ſilent to let him do as he thought fit; but when he had reſtored the man's hand, by bidding him to ſtretch it forth, the ruler of the ſynagogue, inſtead of being convinced either by the miracle or argument, in a kind of indignation, fell a cenſuring thoſe objects of pity for offering themſelves to be healed on the ſabbath, and not rather on any other day of the week. This ſtrange behaviour extorted a ſevere rebuke from the meek *Jeſus*; he aſked him, whether they

Works other miracles on that day.

[w] John v. 19, & ſeq. [x] Conf. Pſ. lxxxii. 6, &c. John x. 34, & ſeq.

The five porches mentioned by St. *John*, ſeem to argue this pool to have been built in the form of a pentagon. *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* (47), tell us, that they ſhewed ſtill in their time a kind of double pool or reſervoir, the one of which filled itſelf every year with rain water, and the other, which retained ſtill a kind of redneſs, as if from the blood of thoſe victims above-mentioned, which the temple ſewer carried into it. The reader may ſee what has been ſaid of its remains in a former volume †.

(S) This is certainly the meaning of Chriſt's words here, and not as ours, and other verſions render it, *Thoſe unto whom the word of God came.* For the place referred to in the pſalms is, *I have ſaid ye are gods, but ye ſhall die like men.* So that, according to the moſt literal ſenſe of our Saviour's words, they ſhould run thus: *If they are called gods, againſt* (not unto) *whom the word of God came forth*, meaning this ſentence of death. Thoſe that are acquainted with the *Hebrew* idiom, to which the evangeliſts were uſed, know, that the context muſt decide the meaning of thoſe particles, which are capable of ſeveral even oppoſite ſignifications, which the ſenſe alone can determine (48).

(47) *Loc. Hebr.* † *Vol. I. p.* 593, b, & (Q). (48) *Vid. Nort. Knatchbul. Le Scene, & al. in loc.*

they did not think it lawful to help an ox, an aſs, or a ſheep out of a ditch, or even a
to lead them to the water or paſture on that day? An undeniable argument, that they thought it lawful to do good to brutes on the ſabbath, and how much more was it to do ſo unto men? He urged alſo upon the like occaſion the circumciſion of children on the ſabbath, the prieſts killing and dreſſing their victims, and other ſuch-like works, which were uſually done on the ſabbath, and yet were far from being reckoned a profanation of it [y].

But there had one thing happened to him in the going to that place, in order, as
is ſuppoſed, to preach at that ſynagogue, which had already highly exaſperated them. One of the evangeliſts obſerves [z], that it was the ſecond ſabbath after the firſt *; when
as they were going through ſome corn fields, his hungry diſciples ventured to pluck b
the ears, and rub them between their hands to eat them. The *Phariſaic* croud, who beheld this kind of labour with a malicious eye, began to exclaim againſt their maſter for ſuffering it, it being in their opinion a manifeſt violation of the ſabbath. *Jeſus* was forced to excuſe it by reminding them of the prophet's words, *I will have*, or, more properly, *I delight in mercy rather than in ſacrifice*; intimating thereby, that neceſſity takes away the rigour of the law, and juſtifying it by the example of *David*, who, in the like emergency, ventured upon the ſacred ſhew-bread, which was prohibited to all but the prieſts; and not only eat of it himſelf, but diſtributed it among his retinue. Their ſtubbornneſs was proof againſt all that he could urge in their or his own defence, and his ſilencing of them, by ſuch convincing arguments, made them c
only the more inveterate, till they came at length to a reſolution of putting him to death. *Jeſus*, having timely notice of their wicked deſign, withdrew himſelf towards the ſea-coaſts, whither he was ſoon after followed by multitudes from all the maritime parts, and to whom he ſtill extended his wonted compaſſion, both by his teaching them and healing their ſick.

His diſciples cenſured for plucking the corn.

One night, having withdrawn himſelf both from them and from his diſciples, he went up to a mountain apart, and ſpent the whole night in prayer; and on the morrow calling them together again, he choſe twelve from among the reſt, to be the more immediate witneſſes, preachers, and recorders of his life and doctrine; and to whom he gave the title of *apoſtles*, which word ſignifies *meſſengers* or *embaſſadors*. d
The reader may ſee their names in the margin [b] (T). All that we ſhall ſay at preſent of them is, that he did not give them this preference to all the reſt, either on account of their great ſenſe or learning, for they were ſome of the moſt rude and illiterate; nor for their credit, rank, or high birth; for they were moſtly, if not all, poor fiſhermen,

Chuſes the twelve apoſtles.

[y] Luke vi. 10, & ſeq. Matth. xii. 9. & ſeq. & al. [z] Luke vi. 1. * De hoc Vid. Vol. I. p. 600. in fin. not. (M). [a] Hos. vi. 6. [b] Luke vi. 14, & ſeq. Matth. x. 2, & ſeq. Mark iii. 16, & ſeq.

(T) Theſe were, 1ſt, *Simon*, whom he ſurnamed *Peter*, and whom we have mentioned a little higher; and, 2. *Andrew* his brother; 3. *James*, ſurnamed *The Greater*, an inhabitant of *Bethſaida*, and *John* his brother, who were the ſons of *Zebedee* and *Salome*, often mentioned in the goſpel. Theſe, as well as *Andrew*, had lately been the baptiſt's diſciples, but had left him to follow *Jeſus*, and on the account of their reſolute conſtancy or more likely perhaps from that queſtion they aſked him; Wilt thou that we command fire from heaven, to conſume, &c. (49) were ſurnamed by him *Boanerges*, or *the ſons of thunder* or *tempeſt*; that word being only a corruption of the *Hebrew* בני-רעם *bene-raham*, or rather רעש, *raaſh*; 5. *Philip* mentioned before, and, 6. *Bartholomew*, ſuppoſed the ſame with *Nathanael*; 7. *Levi*, or *Matthew*, the publican and evangeliſt; and, 8. *Thomas*, ſurnamed *Didymus*, which ſignifies *a twin*; 9. *James* diſtinguiſhed by the name of *The Leſs*, and the ſon of *Alpheus*, or *Cleophas*, and of *Mary*, the firſt couſin, if not the ſiſter, of the virgin *Mary*, for which reaſon he is often called *the brother of our Lord*; 10. *Simon*, ſurnamed *The Cananite*, from *Cana* the place of his birth, and *Zelotes*, probably becauſe he had belonged to that ſect; 11. *Judas*, otherwiſe called *Jude*, and brother to *James the Leſs*, ſurnamed alſo *Lebbeus*, and *Thaddeus*; and *Judas the traitor*, and ſurnamed *Iſcariot*.

Concerning the ſurname of this laſt, there have been various conjectures; ſome thinking that he was ſo called from *Keriot*, a city in the tribe of *Judah* (50), from which he is ſuppoſed to have come; *iſh* in the *Hebrew* ſignifying *a man*. St. *Jerom* and *Euſebius* ſpeak of a town in the tribe of *Ephraim*, called *Iſcariot* (1); others, who make him of the tribe of *Iſſachar*, think *Iſcariot* only a corruption or abbreviation of *Iſſachariotes*; others fetch their etymologies of it ſtill further. The reader may ſee them in the vocabularies at the end of the vulgate and other bibles.

Were we to offer our conjecture on ſuch a dark and dry ſubject, we ſhould rather fetch it from the *Hebrew* איש-חרט, *Iſh-chirret*, literally *the man of the bag*, or *the bag-bearer*. We have formerly obſerved †, that the proper ſignification of the word *chirret*, is *a bag*, in ſuch a one *Naaman* is ſaid to have tied his preſent to *Gehaſi* (2); and St. *John* acquaints us, that *Judas* was a thief, and carried the bag: Why might not this nick-name then have been given him on that account by the diſciples, when they knew how fond he was of his office, and how unfaithful he was in the diſcharge of it?

(49) *Luke* ix. 54.
(1) *In Iſaiah* xxviii. 1.
(50) *Vid. Joſh.* xv. 25. *Echard. Eccl. Hiſt. cent.* 1. *c.* 4. *Calmet. ſub voc.* & *al.*
† *Vol. I. p.* 520. (B). (2) 2 *Kings* v. 23.

a fiſhermen, and either natives or inhabitants of *Galilee*, the moſt obſcure and deſpiſed canton of the *Jewiſh* kingdom; much leſs for their courage, who proved all rank cowards in the time of danger. They had no reliſh or propenſity to his pure and exalted doctrine; for they dreamt of nothing, but of an earthly kingdom and temporal happineſs. In a word, they were in all reſpects the moſt unqualified for the great talk to which they were appointed, the converſion of the world. But this was a work, which, as a great prophet had long ago foretold [c], and the apoſtle has ſince obſerved [d], was to confound the counſels of the wiſe, ſwallow up the underſtanding of the prudent, and defeat the power of the mightieſt. We have already ſeen it in a great meaſure fulfilled in the perſon and character of their divine maſter, and in the b circumſtances that accompanied his low and humble birth and education, as well as in that vaſt ſeries of wonders, which he wrought ſince his entrance into his public miniſtry. And we ſhall ſee the ſame infinite wiſdom diſplay itſelf ſtill more ſurprizingly, throughout the whole ſequel of this chapter. *Their character.*

In the mean time, the wondering crouds flocked to him from all parts of *Judæa* and the neighbouring provinces, attracted by that divine and efficacious virtue which flowed from him, inſomuch, that the bare touch of his garments wrought the moſt ſurprizing cures, on the ſick, lunatic, demoniacs, and other afflicted perſons. He led them therefore one day to a convenient ſpot of ground (U), where he preached to them that celebrated ſermon, commonly known by the name of *his ſermon upon the* c *mount*. We ſhall not take upon us to repeat it here. The reader may read it in its native, but powerful, ſimplicity, in the places quoted in the margin [e]. All that we ſhall obſerve of it is, that he began it with a moſt comfortable diſplay of the bleſſed ſtate of thoſe, whom both *Jews* and *Gentiles* accounted moſt miſerable; that, through the whole courſe of it, he not only exploded the wretched gloſſes, by which the *Jewiſh* doctors had almoſt obliterated every moral precept of the *Moſaic* law, but ſubſtituted ſuch new and excellent ones of his own, as exalted them to a pitch, which the world till then had neither heard nor dreamed of. To inſtance in one or two of his precepts, amongſt the many ſublime ones there delivered, how highly had that negative precept been admired by all the wiſeſt heathens, of not doing to others what we ſhould d not deſire to be done to us! and yet how vaſtly ſhort is it of that new and noble one of his, whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do unto you, that do ye unto them [f]. We obſerved a little higher, that the *Phariſees* thought themſelves free from guilt, provided they abſtained from the very act of ſin, though they indulged themſelves in every thought, deſire, and complacency, that came ſhort of it; but here the ax is laid to the very root, and every ſin, even in the leaſt degree of it, condemned, even in the heart. Well might then his raviſhed audience cry out, that he taught with a power and authority, vaſtly above what they had obſerved in the ſcribes and *Jewiſh* doctors [g]. *His excellent ſermon on the mount.*

He concluded this excellent diſcourſe with aſſuring them, that not every one that e ſhould call him Lord ſhould enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that performed the divine will, and complied with the precepts he had been delivering to them. For the latter, added he, like the wiſe man that builds his houſe on a rock, builds his hopes on a ſure foundation; whereas the former, like the fool that builds on the ſand, is liable to have them overthrown by every blaſt, by every wind of doctrine, and by every temptation.

On his deſcent from the mount to return to *Capernaum*, he was addreſſed by ſome of the heads of the city in the behalf of a worthy centurion, from whom their nation had received ſome ſignal favours, and whoſe ſervant was then very ill of a palſy. *Jeſus* offered to go to his houſe and heal him; but when the *Roman* officer heard of it, f he ſent him an humble meſſage, in which he acknowledged himſelf equally unworthy to

[c] Iſaiah xxix. 14. [d] 1 Cor. i. 19. [e] Matth. v, vi, & vii. paſſ. Luke vi. 20, & ſeq. [f] Matth. vii. 12. [g] Ibid. ver. ult.

(U) St. *Matthew* (3) tells us, that he went up into a mountain, and St. *Luke* (4) hints, that he ſtood in a plain, or champain place. The difference may probably be ſmaller than we are aware of. Thoſe mountainous parts have their plains as well as vallies; ſo that he might only ſtand on a higher ground than his audience, for the conveniency of being better heard, whilſt they ſtood or ſat on the plain ground below him. For St. *Luke* doth not expreſsly ſay, that he preached in the plain; but that he came down to it, to heal thoſe that waited for him.

(3) *Ch.* v. 1. (4) *Ch.* vi. 17.

to receive him under his roof, as he had been to come and offer his requeſt in perſon, a but that he wholly depended on his efficacious word for the cure of his ſervant; For, added he, if my authority, ſmall as it is, can yet enforce obedience from thoſe under my command, how much more will your all-powerful one be obeyed, where-ever you are pleaſed to exert it! His ſingular faith and humility did not go long unrewarded; and Jeſus, highly pleaſed with him, healed his ſervant at that inſtant, and greatly commended his faith, as far ſurpaſſing all that he had beheld, even in *Iſrael*; upon which account he took occaſion to aſſure his audience, that many ſtrangers ſhould be admitted from the four corners of the world into his heavenly kingdom, whilſt the children of it ſhould be miſerably caſt out for their diſobedience and unbelief [h]. On the day following he went to *Naim* (W), and, upon his entering the city, b he met a large croud of people accompanying the corpſe of a young man, the only ſon of a poor widow, and, in compaſſion to her, touched the bier, and raiſed her ſon to life, whilſt the aſtoniſhed multitude ſpread forth his fame through all that country, and proclaimed him the prophet ſent by God to redeem his people [i]. It was probably at this time, that the baptiſt ſent his two diſciples to him, of whom we have lately ſpoken, and upon which Jeſus took occaſion to cenſure the unjuſt judgment, which the unbelieving *Jews* paſſed upon that more than prophet and himſelf: *John*, ſaid he, was a very abſtemious and mortified perſon, and you cried him down as a demoniac; me, who came in a more ſociable and affable way to call ſinners to repentance, you repreſent as a drunkard and glutton; but wiſdom will, in ſpite of your c ſlanders, be ſtill juſtified by her children [k]. It was upon this account that he ſo ſeverely upbraided thoſe neighbouring cities, which had been witneſſes of his ſtupendous works, aſſuring them, that their fall would be much more dreadful than that of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, whom ſuch miracles would have wrought into the deepeſt repentance [l]. He concluded his diſcourſe with a ſolemn thankſgiving to his heavenly Father, who, in his infinite wiſdom, had choſen the humble and infant-like to impart the myſteries of his goſpel to, whilſt the proud and conceited worldlings rendered themſelves unworthy of them; and with a gracious invitation to all, that laboured under their ſinful burdens, to come and experience how eaſy the yoke, and how light was the burden, which he laid on his followers (X). d

Heals the centurion's ſervant.

Raiſes a dead man at Naim.

This diſcourſe moved a *Phariſee*, named *Simon*, to invite him to take a meal at his houſe, where he had not been long, before he was accoſted by a woman, formerly of a looſe character, but now a ſincere penitent. This woman came behind him in the humbleſt guiſe, accompanied with a flood of tears, with which ſhe waſhed his feet; and, having wiped them with her hair, began to anoint his head with a coſtly perfume ſhe

[h] Matt. viii. 5, & ſeq. Luke vii. 12, & ſeq. [i] Ibid. ver. 11, & ſeq. [k] Ibid. 20, & ſeq.
[l] Ibid. x. 13, & ſeq. Matth. xi. 20, & ſeq.

(W) This city was ſituate in the plain near mount *Tabor*, and within about two miles of that mountain, and was divided from it by the brook *Kedron* (5). The ſame author places it at a ſmall diſtance from *Endor* and *Scythopolis* (6). There was another city of that name in *Idumæa*, where, *Joſephus* tells us (7), *Simon* the ſon of *Gobrias* made his retreat, after he had ſtrongly fortified it.

(X) This is a truth indeed that is beſt underſtood from one's own experience; yet as there is not one poſitive or negative precept of the goſpel, that is not excellently adapted to our own exigencies, and founded upon the ſolideſt wiſdom, it highly concerns us to liſten to this, rather than to our corrupt appetites, which will always make us look upon God as a ſevere taſk-maſter, rather than a kind and ſkilful phyſician, whoſe ſole aim is to cure us of our diſeaſes, and to reſtore our ſouls to that perfect ſtate of health, which alone can make us happy here or hereafter.

Were we indeed commanded to purchaſe this deſireable ſtate at as dear a rate as the miſer doth his gold, the ambitious his riſe, the ſoldier his fame, or the labourer his poor livelihood; though, even here, it would be our higheſt wiſdom to comply with the conditions, ſince the conſequence is of infinitely greater weight; how much more muſt it be ſo, when every duty is not only eaſier and more worthy of a rational ſoul, but abſolutely neceſſary to fit us for that happineſs for which we were created!

Let thoſe, therefore, whom a wrong biaſs has warped into a prejudice againſt chriſtian duties, but view them with an impartial eye; and the more they conſider them, the more they will be convinced of this truth, that they are ſo far from being the arbitrary impoſitions of a ſupreme Being, that there is not one poſitive one, but is as neceſſary to the ſoul, as food is to the body; nor a negative one, that is not as expedient as abſtinence from groſs food is to a man in a high fever, or from drink to one in a tympany; but with this ſure and comfortable advantage, that the divine grace and aſſiſtance here promiſed will remove all difficulties and diſcouragements, and make every part eaſy and pleaſant; ſo that our own happy experience, which it is our fault if we fall ſhort of, added to God's infallible word, will make religion yield us the trueſt happineſs we can be capable of in this life, as well as the glorious aſſurance of a better in the next.

(5) *Euſeb. ſub voce Naim.* (6) *Ibid. ſub voce Endor.* (7) *Bell. Jud. l. v. c. 7.*

a ſhe had brought with her. A ſight ſo ſhocking to the proud *Phariſee* filled his head with a ſtrange notion, that, if his gueſt were a prophet, he would of courſe have ſpurned ſuch a notorious ſinner from him; but Jeſus, whoſe peculiar character it was not to break a bruiſed reed, or quench the leaſt good ſpark [m], but rather blow it into a flame, viewed her with a more compaſſionate and unerring eye, and diſmiſſed her with an anſwer as full of comfort, as her heart was of the ſincereſt repentance and love. Neither did he let his hoſt go unanſwered or unſatisfied; but, by a fit and pathetic parable, made him pronounce her a more worthy object of his mercy and regard, than all his own pretended ſanctity and hoſpitality could intitle him to (Y) [n]. *His pity to a poor ſhe-penitent.*

Upon his return to *Capernaum*, he was followed with ſuch throngs of people, on
b account of his continual miracles, particularly the cure of a poor demoniac, deaf and blind, which he had juſt then wrought, that his mother and relations fearing, leſt he ſhould be ſtifled (Z) by the croud, came to diſengage him from it. As they could not get into the houſe for the throng, they ſent to deſire him to come to them; but when it was told him, that they ſtood without, deſiring to ſpeak to him, he told the audience, that none were more nearly related to him, than thoſe who came to him to hear the word of God and practiſe it. In the mean time, whilſt his miracle on the demoniac had extorted an open confeſſion from the better part of the by-ſtanders, the *Phariſees*, moved with their uſual indignation, cried out, *that he caſt out devils by Beelzebub the prince of devils* †. Jeſus eaſily confuted that ſlander, by ſhewing the folly
c of ſuppoſing *Satan* ſo far divided againſt his own intereſt; and that nothing, but a ſuperior power to his, could force him to it; but, to aſſure them farther of the fatal danger of ſuch malicious and impious ſuggeſtions, he added, that tho' every ſin or blaſphemy againſt the Son of man would, upon due repentance, be forgiven, yet that thoſe againſt the Holy Ghoſt ſhould find no forgiveneſs, either in this or the next world [o] (A); and therefore he concluded with this warning, that men would give a ſevere *Cures a demoniac.* *The ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt:*

[m] Iſaiah xlii. 3. Matt. xii. 20, & al. [n] Luke vii. 36, & ſeq. Mark xiv. 3. John xii. 1, & ſeq.
† De hoc vide ſupra, Vol. I. p. 51, a. [o] Matth, xii. 31, & ſeq. Mark iii. 28, &c.

(Y) None of the evangeliſts has told us where this laſt ſcene happened. Our *Lightfoot* and ſome others think it was in *Bethany*, a city of *Judæa*; and that the *Simon* here mentioned, is the ſame with *Simon* the leper mentioned by the two other evangeliſts above-quoted, to which our bibles refer as a parallel; but it doth not appear, that this woman was the *Mary* mentioned by St. *John*; and we find our Saviour immediately after in *Galilee* working miracles, followed by a great multitude, particuly by ſome pious women, who attended on him, and aſſiſted him with their purſes, whilſt he was taken up with his miniſtry.

Theſe were *Mary Magdalen*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel; *Johanna*, the wife of *Chuſa, Herod*'s ſteward; *Suſanna*, and ſome others, who became part of his holy college.

(Z) So the word ought to be properly rendered, and not, as ours and moſt verſions do, that he was beſide himſelf (8).

(A) It is neither our deſign nor province to repeat here, either the various opinions of divines concerning the nature of this ſin, or the dreadful effects which a wrong notion of it has cauſed among weak and melancholy chriſtians, eſpecially among ſome ſectaries in the predeſtinarian ſyſtem. It might indeed be of greater comfort to inſert ſome of thoſe elaborate expoſitions, which confine that ſin to thoſe *Jews* only, who made ſo perverſe a judgment of Chriſt's miracles, againſt the light of reaſon and conſcience; but as we cannot come into that notion, ſo neither would we lead our readers into it.

A late critic (9) has endeavoured to take away all the difficulty, by affirming, that what we render blaſphemy, or ſin againſt the Son of man, means no more than the offences which one man commits againſt another. But if none but ſuch are to be forgiven, and thoſe againſt the Holy Ghoſt, or, as he underſtands it, againſt God, are either wholly excluded, or, at beſt, will, with great difficulty, be pardoned, it is to be feared we are left in a more woeful caſe, than that out of which he endeavoured to extricate us; but who doth not ſee, that whenever Chriſt ſpeaks of the Son of man, he always means himſelf, and not man in general?

Might we preſume ſo far as to give our opinion of this ſin, it would be this, that every ſlander or blaſphemy committed againſt Chriſt whilſt upon earth, and his divine miſſion as yet wanting ſome of its moſt authentic evidence, ſhould be capable of pardon; but after theſe laſt ſeals of his miſſion were ſuperadded, *viz.* his reſurrection from the dead, aſcenſion, and effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt, attended, as it was, with ſuch miraculous gifts, ſuch as prophecy, gift of tongues, miracles, and the like; there remained no excuſe for unbelief, and conſequently no forgiveneſs either to the preſent or future generation of the *Jews*, who ſhould obſtinately perſiſt in it, nor indeed to any other perſons or nations, who ſhould reject the glorious light and evidence of his goſpel when offered unto them.

This may be thought to lean a little hard againſt our modern unbelievers; but let them conſider, whether the pretended grounds on which they reject the goſpel, bear any proportion in point of evidence with thoſe upon which we believe and embrace it; and if they do not, as all their united force never could, nor, we may ſafely add, never will be able to prove they do, let them lay the blame at the right door. Now, the goſpel plainly tells us, that nothing but faith in Chriſt, accompanied with a ſincere repentance, can obtain us the pardon of our ſins; how ſhould they then hope for it, who have neither the one nor the other to intitle them to it? Hence, we think, it plainly follows, that this is that only unpardonable ſin pointed out by our Saviour. *See the next note but one.*

(8) *Vide Le Scen. eſſ. on a new verſ. Echard, & al.*

(9) *Le Scen. ubi ſupra, part 2. c. 4. ſect. 10.*

ſevere account for every pernicious or hurtful (B) word at the day of judgment. Here a the *Phariſees*, being ſtung to the heart, began, according to their uſual cuſtom, to aſk him for a more convincing ſign of his divine miſſion; but he left them with this remarkable anſwer, that ſince thoſe he had already ſhewed them were not able to convince them, there ſhould be no other or greater given them than that of *Jonah*; for as that prophet was three days and nights in the fiſh's belly, ſo ſhould the Son of man be as many in the bowels of the earth, or grave, and riſe again on the third (C) [p].

Teaches in parables.

From thence he went to the ſea-ſhore, ſtill followed with great multitudes, and being got into a boat, he began to teach them again, not indeed in the manner he had lately upon the mount, but by a more familiar way, and more ſuitable to their groſs underſtanding; namely, by parables, ſuch as were very well known and underſtood b by all the eaſtern nations, and not (as ours and other verſions ſadly intimate) that they might be loſt upon his ignorant audience; but as we have ſpoke fully on this important point in a former volume, we ſhall deſire our readers to turn to the place [*]. When he had finiſhed his diſcourſe, he ordered his diſciples to get him a ſhip to croſs the ſea of *Galilee*, into the territories of *Philip* the tetrarch, *Herod*'s brother. Before he entered into the ſhip, there came ſome men who expreſſed a deſire to become his diſciples and follow him. One of them in particular juſt begged, that he might go and bury his dead father; and another to go bid farewel to his relations and friends. To the firſt of theſe he anſwered, Let the dead, ſuch namely as are ſo to the hopes of a future life, perform that office [q], and come thou and preach that eternal life c which I am come to bring to light; but to the ſecond he gave this ſevere rebuke, that ſuch a retroſpection, as he expreſſed after thoſe worldly conſiderations, was wholly inconſiſtent with the character of one of his diſciples, whoſe mind and heart ſhould be ſo fixed on the concern of another life, as to be wholly indifferent to all beſides; and ſo bid him follow without delay [r].

Stills the winds and ſea.

Being entered into the ſhip, whether to refreſh himſelf from the fatigues of the day, or to try his diſciples faith and manifeſt his own power, he withdrew himſelf into the ſtern, and there fell aſleep. There aroſe ſoon after ſuch a furious ſtorm of wind as was like to have overſet them, and made them run to him, and awake him, cry- d ing, *Maſter, ſave us, elſe we periſh.* Jeſus, ſeeing them in ſuch conſternation, blamed their puſillanimity and want of faith; then, with his powerful word, rebuked the wind and ſea, which immediately obeyed. When his diſciples and the reſt of the company had beheld their danger and deliverance, they came and threw themſelves, trembling, at his feet, wondering, as well they might, what kind of man he was, who could command thoſe unruly elements to be ſo quickly calmed; ſoon after which they landed on the other ſide, in the country of the *Gergaſenes* (D) [s].

Here

[p] Matth. xii. 38. Luke xi. 29. [*] Vol. I. p. 748, (L). [q] Matth. viii. 18, & ſeq. See alſo p. 177, a. [r] Luke ix. 61. [s] Matth, viii. 23, & ſeq. Mark iv. 36, & ſeq. Luke viii. 22, & ſeq.

(B) That this is certainly the plain import of the phraſe ῥῆμα ἀργὸν, which ours and other verſions render *idle* or *unprofitable word*, appears from what goes before, *that they proceed from an evil heart*, which is therefore no more capable of producing better, than a corrupt tree can bear other than bad fruit (10).

(C) This ſaying confirms what we lately, and elſewhere before obſerved, that the reſurrection of Chriſt was to give the finiſhing ſtroke to the evidence of his miſſion. Before that, if his other miracles had convinced them that he was the Meſſiah, they would not have put him to that ſhameful death, which yet it was decreed and foretold he ſhould undergo; and it is upon this account that St. *Peter* excuſes this atrocious deed, as being done through ignorance. But after his reſurrection was proved by ſo many irrefragable tokens, thoſe who rejected him became inexcuſable, and made way for the *Gentiles* who embraced chriſtianity. All which the reader may be fully ſatisfied of, by comparing, among a great number of others, the places quoted in the margin (11).

There are two difficulties ſtarted againſt what Chriſt here ſays of himſelf and *Jonah*, the one, that whatever the latter might be, Chriſt was far enough from being three days and three nights in the grave; and this has made ſome affirm, that he muſt have been crucified on the *Thurſday*, and not on the *Friday*. But the objection will eaſily vaniſh, when we obſerve, that, according to the *Hebrew* idiom, the particle ו ve, *and*, is often uſed for *or*, and that it may, and ought properly, be rendered three days *or* nights.

The other is from the impoſſibility of a whale's ſwallowing up a man whole, ſeeing the diameter of its ſwallow, when ſtretched at fartheſt, is little above three inches. To which it is rightly anſwered, that the word here uſed ſignifies no more a whale than any other large fiſh that has fins; and that there is one commonly known in the *Mediterranean* by the name of *charachias* and *lamia*, of the bigneſs of a whale, but with ſuch a large throat and belly, as is able to ſwallow the largeſt man whole. There was one of this kind caught within theſe twenty or more years, on the coaſts of *Portugal*, in whoſe throat, when ſtretched out, a man could ſtand upright. We may add, that the word uſed in *Jonah* is דג-גדול dag gadol, *a great fiſh*.

(D) So the *Greek* manuſcripts of St. *Matthew* have it. Thoſe of the other evangeliſts call them *Gadarenes*. Some read *Geraſenes*, which makes it very difficult

(10) *Vide Le Scen ubi ſupra*, c. 6. *ſect.* 2. (11) *Conf. Acts* ii. 31, & *ſeq* iii. 17, & *ſeq.* & *alib.* & xiii. 46. xviii. 6.

a HERE he was met by two demoniacs, ſo very fierce, one eſpecially more than the other, that no chains could confine them; but they choſe their habitation among the tombs, and made it unſafe to paſs by that way, till the ſight of Jeſus brought them trembling at his feet, where the devils began to acknowledge him to be the ſon of God, and beſought him not to torment them before their time. Our Saviour beheld the poor poſſeſſed with his wonted pity, and aſked the moſt furious of them, What was his name? and was anſwered, *Legion*, becauſe a multitude of thoſe evil ſpirits had taken poſſeſſion of him. Theſe therefore beſought him, that, if he caſt them out, he would permit them to migrate into the neighbouring herd of ſwine; which being permited, the whole herd was immediately ſeen to tumble headlong down into b the ſea, to the number of two thouſand, whilſt the two poor objects were reſtored to their health and ſenſes (E), The news of this ſingular miracle were preſently ſpread through that whole region, and brought vaſt multitudes to the place; where they beheld with wonder the two men cloathed and in their right minds; but whether through fear, leſt any ill conſequence ſhould attend the loſs of the ſwine, or, which is as likely, leſt they ſhould receive ſome further and more grievous puniſhment from him, they meekly beſought him to depart their coaſts which he readily complied with [t]. *Cures two demoniacs.*

UPON his return to *Capernaum*, he was addreſſed by the ſorrowful ruler of the ſynagogue, whoſe daughter, about twelve years of age, was then expiring, and followed c him to the houſe, attended, as uſual, with numerous crouds, among which was a poor woman, who had laboured a long time under an unnatural hemorrhagy, and conſumed her ſubſtance in ſeeking for the vain help of the phyſicians. She had ſuch a ſtrong faith in the world's Saviour, that ſhe thought the bare touch of his ſkirt would give her an immediate cure; and ſo it really did, but not without being perceived by him; for notwithſtanding his being ſo thronged by the multitude, he knew, by the virtue that was gone out of him, that ſome-body had touched him, and inquired of his wondering diſciples, who it was? The woman, finding, by this queſtion, that ſhe could not go undiſcovered, fell trembling at his feet, and owned herſelf the bleſſed object of his miraculous power, and had this gracious anſwer ſuperadded to her cure, d *Daughter, be of good comfort, thy faith hath made thee whole* (F). By this time they were come ſo near the ruler's houſe, that they could hear the mournful tunes and cries that were made over the dead damſel, who had expired in the interim; and Jeſus, *Raiſes the ruler's daughter.*

[t] MATTH. viii. 23, & ſeq. MARK. iv. 35, & ſeq. viii. 22, & ſeq.

difficult to know the ſituation of this canton, or of the city from which it took its name. *Origen* (12) thinks the name of the city to be neither *Gedara* nor *Geraſa*, ſince none of thoſe two cities were near any ſea or lake, but *Gergeſa*, ſituate on that of *Genezareth* or *Tiberias*, where they ſhewed ſtill in his time the rocky declivities, from which the ſwine were hurried down into the water. If ſo, that place might ſtill retain its name from the *Girgaſhites*, antient inhabitants of *Canaan*, of whom we have ſpoken in a former volume *.

This canton, where-ever it was, muſt have been inhabited partly by heathens, which is the reaſon of the herd of ſwine being ſuffered to feed in that neighbourhood, which was not permitted in any place where they were all *Jews*, becauſe that creature is forbid by the *Moſaic* law (13).

(E) Thoſe who pretend to cenſure this miracle, as a wrong done to the owners, would do well to conſider how they queſtion the juſtice and authority of a perſon, who had given ſuch irrefragable proofs of both. Had the evangeliſts ſuppoſed any men capable of ſuch a preſumption, it is likely they might have given us ſuch reaſons for this action, as would have ſtopped their mouths.

If the owners of the ſwine were of that kind of apoſtate *Jews*, of whom we had frequent occaſion to ſpeak in ſome former ſections, the puniſhment muſt be allowed to have been rather too mild than too ſevere. If they were *Romans*, *Syrians*, or of any other nation, they were ſtill guilty of a breach of faith to the *Jews*, who, though under a foreign yoke, were to be governed by their own laws; ſo that they might as well have introduced ſome of their idols into that country, as herds of a creature forbid by their law, and abhorred by the whole nation.

However, if the ſingularity of the miracle proved a means to convert them to chriſtianity, that was abundantly ſufficient to repay their loſs; and it is perhaps for this reaſon that Jeſus would not ſuffer the cured perſons to follow him to the other ſide, but bid them ſtay in their own country, to be ſtanding monuments of his miraculous power and goodneſs; and that the change he had wrought in them was not a tranſient action, done by ſome deluſion or faſcination, but a permanent and real, and conſequently miraculous, cure.

(F) *Euſebius* tells us, that the woman, out of gratitude, erected a braſs ſtatue to her miraculous phyſician, in which ſhe was carved kneeling behind him, and laying her hand on the ſkirt of his coat. The ſtory is much queſtioned, as if ever there was any ſuch monument of this miracle; ſhe can hardly be ſuppoſed to have been in a capacity of rearing it, becauſe St. *Mark* and St. *Luke* tell us, that ſhe had ſpent all her ſubſtance on phyſicians; ſo that it muſt have been done by ſome of the inhabitants of *Cæſarea Philippi*, of which city *Euſebius* ſays ſhe was.

(12) *In Johann. Vide Calm. ſub Geraſa.* * *Vol. I. p.* 335, a, & (D). (13) *Vide* Levit. xi. 7, & *alib.*

Jesus, who beheld with pity his paternal grief, bid him not fear but firmly believe; a
and entering the house with him, and with two or three only of his disciples, ordered
the mourners to cease their doleful music, since the child was only asleep; but, whilst
these derided him, he took *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, with the girl's father, into the
upper room, and taking her by the hand, bid her rise; which she immediately did [u].
This miracle did still the more increase his fame, notwithstanding all his prudent
cautions to prevent it (G).

Comes to Nazareth.

He soon left *Capernaum*, to go and revisit his ungrateful city *Nazareth*, and, in
his way thither, cured two poor blind men. He went, as usual, into their syna-
gogue, and preached to them with such powerful eloquence, as astonished the whole b
audience; but they, remembring the meanness of his education and parentage, were
offended at him, instead of admiring him the more for it. This stubbornness of theirs
prevented his working any signal miracles there; so that he contented himself with
healing such sick persons as offered themselves in his way, and departed, never to
visit them again. By this time *Sejanus* having been put to death at *Rome*, and *Tibe-*
rius been undeceived with regard to the false accusations of that hellish minister against
the *Jews*, sent orders to all his governors to have them treated with greater mildness,
as we observed a little higher out of *Philo*; and *Tacitus* [w] observes thereupon, that
they enjoyed a long peace under that emperor; which could mean no more, than that
they neither disturbed his government, nor he their tranquillity; but they were at
this time in too great a ferment among themselves to be properly said to have been c
at peace. But these intestine feuds of theirs were beneath the notice of a *Roman* histo-
rian, if he knew any thing of them; for these troubled themselves no farther about
what was done in foreign provinces, than the interest or fame of their commonwealth
was concerned in it; and this, as a judicious historian of our own observes [x], is pro-
bably the reason, why they are so silent about the glorious transactions of these three last
years of our Saviour's life.

Sends his apostles to preach.

We are now come to the third year of his public ministry, which he began with
making a thorough progress through all the cities of *Galilee*; where beholding, with
his wonted compassion, the multitudes that followed him every-where, and how few the
labourers were in comparison of the plentiful harvest in view, he sent his twelve apo- d
stles, two and two, to preach also through all that country. To qualify them for this
high office, he endowed them with his own miraculous gifts, commanding them to
dispense them with the same gratuitous liberality as they had received them, and at
the same time forbidding them to incumber themselves with any wordly conven-
cies, but depend upon providence for a supply and reward worthy their charitable
labour. He reminded them, however, that they must not expect it so much in this
life as in the next; for, added he, I send you as lambs among wolves; and since you have
been witnesses of the ill returns which I have met with from this blind and ungrateful
generation, you must not expect to fare better than your master; but rather rejoice
to be, like him, despised, rejected, and persecuted; for they will hurry you many a e
time to the judgment-seat, and inflict many a grievous punishment on you; but be
not terrified at it, nor solicitous what answer you shall make to their puzzling and
ill-natured questions; for ye shall be endued with such wisdom at those times, as all
your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay [y]. In other cases, remember always to
join

[u] Matth. ix. 18, &c. Mark v. 22, &c. Luke viii. 41, & seq. [w] Annal. l. vi. c. 25 [x] Echard. cent. 1. ch. 4. [y] Vide Luke xxi. 15.

(G) Christ, often enjoining secrecy to the persons whom he cured, has been censured by some of our unbelievers, as unseasonable, and contrary to the design for which they were wrought, the proving of his divine mission. But he had several cogent reasons for preventing his miracles being too much blazed abroad, at least till after his resurrection; one of which was most probably, that he might not hasten the effects, as well as aggravate the guilt, of the *Pharisaic* malice, which, he knew, was to fall on him, before he had gone through every part of his work.

But there was a much greater motive to have these miracles concealed for the present; for the multitudes, who had already beheld so great a number of them, had conceived such notions of his being the Messiah, that, upon his feeding five thousand persons with a few loaves, they made a bold push to take him by force to make him a king (14); so that he was obliged to withdraw himself from them into some private mountain. Such attempts might therefore have proved of dangerous consequence, either by causing an insurrection, and bringing the civil power upon him; all which, and many others of the like nature, were opposite to his design, and the scheme of providence concerning the time, nature, and manner of his death.

(14) *John* vi. 17.

join the innocence of the dove to the cautiouſneſs of the ſerpent (H). Bleſſed indeed will be the caſe of thoſe who receive you and your doctrine; but miſerable and dreadful, beyond that of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, ſhall be the fate of thoſe who reject you. And as for yourſelves, depend upon it, that he, without whoſe permiſſion not a ſparrow falls to the ground, will be ſtill your ſure guide and protector [z]. With theſe excellent gifts and inſtructions they departed, whilſt Jeſus tarried ſtill at or in the neighbourhood of *Capernaum*, where he heard, about this time, the news of the baptiſt's death, mentioned a little higher, and whither his diſciples ſoon after returned, and with no ſmall joy acquainted him with the ſucceſs of their late miſſion [a].

Herod all this while had only laid his conſcious fears aſleep by the death of his
b troubleſome monitor, which were ſoon awaked again at the name of Jeſus, whom he ſuppoſed to be that prophet riſen from the dead, whilſt others took him for *Elias*, or ſome other of the antient prophets. This obliged him to withdraw himſelf, with his diſciples, into a deſart place, where he was, however, followed by a great multitude, and taught them there. The day being far ſpent, and victuals ſcarce in ſuch a place, Jeſus, unwilling to ſend them away faſting and faint, made the troops ſit down in a convenient place, and having bleſſed his mean and ſcanty proviſion, which conſiſted in all of five barl y loaves and a few ſmall fiſhes, multiplied, and diſtributed it amongſt them; and, after they had all eaten to ſatiety, his diſciples were ordered to gather the remaining fragments, and they filled twelve baſkets with
c them, over and above what had been eaten by the multitude, which amounted to five thouſand men, beſides women and children. This ſtupendous miracle made them look upon him as the promiſed Meſſiah. They therefore were conſulting to have made him king by main force; but, as ſoon as he perceived it, he reſolved to convey himſelf far enough out of their reach [b]. He bid therefore his diſciples to croſs over the lake towards *Bethſaida*, whilſt he ſtayed to diſmiſs the people, after which he was to follow them. Whilſt they were on the water, he withdrew into a retired part of the mountain, to ſpend ſome part of the night in prayer. The wind, being then contrary and very fierce, hindered them from reaching the ſhore; but whilſt they were rowing and toiling in vain, Jeſus came towards them, about the fourth or laſt watch of the
d night, walking on the boiſterous waves, and made as if he would paſs by them; at which they gave a hideous cry, ſuppoſing that they had ſeen what the *Jews* call a *mazik*, or ſpectre of the worſt kind, concerning whoſe power of doing miſchief their rabbies tell us wonders too abſurd to deſerve a place here [c]. Jeſus ſoon recovered them of their fright, by aſſuring them that it was he; but *Peter*, between doubt and ſurprize, anſwered him, *Lord, if it be thou, bid me come to thee on the water*; and being permitted, ventured to walk towards him. A ſudden guſt of wind having ſwelled the ſurges, and his faith beginning to fail, he found himſelf ſinking, and cried out to his maſter for help. Jeſus ſtretched forth his hand to ſave him, upbraided his want of faith, and led him into the boat, where himſelf being alſo entered, there
e followed a calm, and they were agreeably ſurprized ſoon after with the ſight of the wiſhed-for ſhore [d]. Here he was again met by innumerable multitudes, who brought him their diſeaſed from all parts to be cured. Among them were a great number of thoſe whom he had lately ſo miraculouſly fed, who had miſſed him, and came ſeeking after him, and expreſſed a more than ordinary joy when they had found him. Jeſus, however, blamed their untimely diligence, becauſe it did not ſo much proceed from a love to his doctrine, or from an earneſt deſire after that eternal happineſs which he preached to them, as from the temporal advantages which they expected from his carnal reign, as they believed him to be the Meſſiah. He therefore exhorted them to ſeek after thoſe more ſpiritual ones, which he was come to tender

Feeds five thouſand with five loaves.

Walks on the ſea.

Reproaches the carnal zeal of the multitudes.

[z] Matth. ix. 36, & ſeq. x. 1. & ſeq. Mark vi. 7, & ſeq. Luke ix. 1. &. ſeq. [a] Matt. ibid. & ſeq. Mark vi. 29. [b] Matth. xiv. 14. & ſeq. John vi. 5. & ſeq. ad 17. [c] Vide auct. Tzeror, Hammor, & Hebr. comment. in Pſal. xci. [d] Matth. ubi ſupra, ver. 24, & ſeq. Mark vi. 46, & ſeq. John vi. 16, &c.

(H) That ſeems the moſt obvious ſenſe of the two Greek φρονιμοι, and not *wiſe*, as moſt verſions render it. We have elſewhere ſhewed upon what account that creature is ironically called cunning and crafty in ſeveral parts of the ſcripture, and refer our readers to what has been ſaid there †. But here our Saviour only bids his diſciples to intimate their cautiouſneſs or preſence of mind, they being known to guard with their heads the reſt of their bodies, and to dart it with ſurpriſing quickneſs where-ever the other parts are in danger.

† Append. to Vol. I p. 854, d, e.

der to them. This unexpected turn had a strange effect upon them, insomuch, that a
they, who, at the first sight of his late miracle, had cried him up for the great deli-
verer promised by *Moses* [e], began now to question him, and to ask for some fresh
and surer tokens of his being so. *Moses*, they said, had proved his mission, by
giving their forefathers manna from heaven; but as for him, he had done nothing
like it for them, but only talked of his coming down from heaven, tho' they knew
him to be the son of *Joseph* and *Mary*, and promised them no other food and drink
than that of his body and blood, which was still a stranger and more offensive doc-
trine. Jesus tried in vain to persuade them, that these were not so imaginary or un-
natural food as they apprehended, but such a real and efficacious one, as could alone
fit them for, and raise them to, a happy immortality. All these, and several other, spi- b
ritual topics, served only to convince them, that he was not the Messiah they wanted,
and were taught to expect; so that the greatest part of them forsook him from that
very hour. Jesus was nothing less surprised at this defection, which, he observed
to his disciples, was owing to a want of such a true disposition of mind, as nothing
could work in them, but the miraculous grace of his heavenly father, since nothing
less than that could rectify the carnal warp, which their prejudices had given to their
minds. He addressed himself next to his disciples, to know of them, whether they
felt any inclination to leave him, as the rest had done? To whom *Peter* gave this glo-
Simon's *noble confession.* rious answer in the name of the twelve, *Lord, whither*, or *to whom should we go?*
Thou hast the words of eternal life, and we are now fully assured, that thou art the c
Christ, the son of the living God. Jesus took occasion here to hint to them, that he
had indeed chosen them twelve, but that one of them was a devil, meaning *Judas*
Iscariot, who was to betray him [f], though he continued to follow him with the rest (I).

These things happened a little before the third passover after his entrance into his
ministry; for the evangelist [g] hints, that that festival was at hand; but whether Jesus
went up to it, or stayed in *Galilee*, is no-where expressly said. Only the former is
most probable, not only from his constant and zealous attendance on all other festi-
vals, but because his absence at this time, on any pretence, might have shewn an ill
precedent to his disciples, and given the *Pharisees* an occasion of scandal and accusa- d
tion. But, if he went up to *Jerusalem*, he did it so privately, and stayed so short a
time there, by reason of the plots which the heads of the *Jews* had laid against his life,
that

[e] Conf. Deut. xviii. 15. John vi. 14, & 30, & seq. [f] John vi. 30, ad fin. [g] Ibid. ver. 4.

(I) The choice of this traitor into the apostolic college was not without a manifest providence, not only as he was thereby to fulfil that prophecy, that Christ should be betrayed by one of that number (15), but as his character and actions justified the admission of him into it. It is plain from what Christ says here of him, and the apostles elsewhere, that his offering himself a candidate for the apostleship was wholly from sinister motives, and this made him put in presently after for the office of treasurer.

On the other hand, he saw enough to have made him a true convert to Christ and his heavenly doctrine, for he not only was a witness to all his stupendous works and excellent sermons, but was, like the rest, endued with the same miraculous power and christian knowledge; so that if he continued in the same hellish disposition of mind, it was not out of any doubt concerning either the miracles or doctrine, much less from any knowledge, or even suspicion he could possibly harbour, that his master was acting some grand imposture; for had either of these been the case, he would have been so far from hanging himself out of remorse for his treachery, that he would have gloried in the action, and justly too. The great horror therefore which he expressed for his guilt, and his desperate end, when he saw him unjustly condemned by the sanhedrim, could proceed from nothing else but a full conviction, that the person whom he had thus betrayed was the true Messiah, that his miracles were real, and his doctrine altogether divine.

If it be asked, how a man, under such conviction, could act such a perfidious deed? it may be answered, that he did it in a fit of anger and resentment, when he disdainfully beheld the profusion of a precious ointment bestowed on his master, which, he thought, might have been better sold for three hundred pence, and put into his bag (16). He might perhaps not foresee all the ill consequences of his treachery, but might suppose, either that the sanhedrin would acquit him, or that he would work some signal miracle to extricate himself out of their hands; so that when he found it quite otherwise, it threw him into that horrid despair and madness in which he died.

We shall have occasion in the sequel to speak more fully of the nature of his death. In the mean time, we beg leave to observe, after an eminent critic, an error which has crept into most translations concerning him, which seems to intimate as if there had been some worse place than ordinary appointed for him in the other world on account of his crime. The words run thus in the version (17). *Lord,—shew whether of these two thou hast chosen, that he may take part in this ministry and apostleship, from which* Judas *by transgression fell, that he might go into his own place.* Whereas these last words ought more properly to be rendered, that he, *viz.* the person now to be chosen, may go into his (that is, *Judas's*) place, that is, may fill his vacant office (18).

(15) *Conf.* Psal. xli 9. & John xiii. 18. (16) John xii. 3, *& seq.* (17) Acts i. 24, 25.
(18) *Lee Scene. essay ubi supra.*

a that it was not known to them till he was gone back into *Galilee*, where we find him presently after [h]. It is at this paſſover, that *Pilate* is ſuppoſed to have made ſuch a ſevere example of the rebellious *Galileans* or *Gaulonites*, whoſe blood he mingled with their ſacrifices, as they were performing their devotions in the temple [i]; the news of which being afterwards brought to *Jeſus*, as well as the misfortune of thoſe eighteen men, whom a tower in that metropolis, named *Siloam*, cruſhed to death, he aſſured them, that neither of them came to ſuch a dreadful end, becauſe they were greater ſinners than the reſt; but that, without a ſpeedy repentance, they ſhould all ſhare in ſome ſuch-like dreadful fate.

The feaſt being over, the ſcribes and *Phariſees*, who miſſed him there, ſent ſome
b of their ſpies after him to watch his words and actions, and to catch ſome matter of accuſation againſt him. The firſt thing theſe laid hold on was, his and his diſciples eating with unwaſhed hands, contrary to the traditions of the ancients, and the conſtant cuſtom of the *Phariſaic* ſect. *Jeſus* eaſily exploded this accuſation, by ſhewing them the hypocriſy of cleanſing the hands, diſhes, and other veſſels, whilſt their hearts, which did moſt want it, were careleſsly left in all their filth of rapine, deceit, and other real defilements. But he went further to ſhow the miſchiefs ariſing from too cloſe an adherence to thoſe traditions, a great part of which, though plainly oppoſite to the divine law, were yet preferred to it in point of authority and obſervance. He in-
c ſtanced in ſeveral particulars, eſpecially that abominable one, by which they had made void the only command with a promiſe, that of children honouring and ſuccouring their parents [k]. He not only ſhowed them the impiety of ſome, but the unreaſonableneſs and ſtupidity of others, of thoſe traditions; ſuch as thoſe that abſolved a man that ſwore by the temple, but not him that ſwore by the gold of the temple, or him that ſwore by the altar, though not him that ſwore by the gift that was on it; though, as he juſtly obſerved to them, it was the temple that ſanctified the gold, and the altar that ſanctified the gift. Theſe ſevere reflections did ſo much the more gravel theſe *Phariſaic* ſpies, as they ſeemed to come down to the capacity of the meaneſt of his audience, and could not but inſpire the people with a ſingular con-
d tempt for thoſe expounders of the law, as well as with a great veneration for himſelf.

To avoid therefore the perſecutions which were likely to be raiſed againſt him from that quarter, he withdrew himſelf towards the coaſts of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and entered into a houſe privately, being unwilling to be known there; but it was ſoon beſet by a great number of ſick folk, who flocked to him to be cured. Among theſe was a *Pagan* woman (K), who yet addreſſed him with the title of *Lord*, and *Son of* David, and earneſtly intreated him in behalf of her daughter, who was tormented with a devil. *Jeſus* at firſt ſeemed ſo far to overlook her, that his diſciples begged of him either to grant her ſuit, or diſmiſs her with a denial. The woman, becoming there-
e upon more importunate, received this unexpected repulſe from him, that it was not fit to deprive the children of their bread, to caſt it unto dogs; but ſhe, nothing diſcouraged at ſo mortifying an anſwer, threw herſelf at his feet, and owned herſelf indeed unworthy of a child's portion; but at the ſame time humbly expoſtulated with him, that the whelps were permitted to feed on the crumbs that fell from their maſters table. *Jeſus* highly commended her ſingular faith, and pronounced her daughter healed; and the woman highly ſatisfied with his promiſe, returned home, where ſhe found her daughter ſitting on the bed and perfectly cured [l]. *Heals the Syro-Phœnician's daughter.*

Shortly after this, *Jeſus* went more eaſtwards towards the head of *Jordan*, and took a progreſs through *Decapolis* (L), where, among other miraculous cures, he gave ſpeech and hearing to a man born deaf and dumb, inſomuch, that the aſtoniſhed
f multitude cried out, *That he had done all things well, and made the deaf to hear, and the dumb*

[h] John vii. 1, & ſeq. [i] Luke xiii. 1, & ſeq. [k] Matth. xv. 1, & ſeq. Mark vii. 1, & ſeq. & alib. [l] Matth. ibid. v. 21, & ſeq. Mark vii. 24, & ſeq.

(K) St. *Mark* calls her a *Syro-Phœnician*, becauſe ſhe was an inhabitant of *Phœnice*, of which *Sidon* was the metropolis, that province having been joined by conqueſt to that of *Syria* *. St. *Matthew*, who wrote in *Hebrew* or *Syriac*, calls her a *Canaanite*, becauſe *Phœnice* was the ancient ſeat of the *Canaanites*, *Sidon* being the eldeſt ſon of *Canaan* (19).

(L) A canton in *Paleſtine*, ſo called from its ten cities, ſituate ſome on this, and ſome on the other, ſide of *Jordan*, the capital of which was *Scythopolis*; it was moſtly inhabited by *Gentiles*.

* *See before*, *Vol. I. p.* 392, b, c. *III.* 543, d, e. (19) *Vid.* Geneſ. x 15. *& Vol. I. p.* 396, c.

dumb to speak [m]. He was followed by the multitude from thence into some desart a mountain, where he tarried three days with them, teaching them, and healing all their sicknesses of whatever kind. But as they had brought no sufficient quantity of provisions, *Jesus* pitying their case, and being unwilling to send them away empty, signified his design to his disciples; and finding they had still seven loaves and a few fishes, he multiplied both, as he had done before, into a sufficient quantity, to satiate four thousand men, besides women and children; and seven baskets full, which the disciples gathered of the remaining fragments [n]; after which he dismissed the multitude, and crossed the lake of *Tiberias* towards the south-east parts of *Magdala* or *Dalmanutha* (M). Here he was accosted again by some of the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*, who came to ask of him a sign; to whom having answered as formerly, that they b should have no other but that of the prophet *Jonah*, he sailed back, and left them to make the application. In their passage, he bid his disciples beware of the leaven of the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*, which caution gave them a strange kind of an alarm, because they had forgot to take some provision with them; but after he had put them in mind of his two late miracles on the loaves, they came at length to understand, that the leaven, he forewarned them against, was the pernicious doctrines of those two sects [o]. Upon his landing at *Bethsaida*, the native place of some of his disciples, a blind man was brought to him to be restored to his sight. *Jesus* could not refuse his help to such objects; but, as he had received such ungrateful returns from the people of that city, for the many miracles he had wrought among them [p], he was unwilling c to aggravate their guilt by fresh ones. Taking therefore the blind man with him out of the town, he restored him to his sight, and bid him go directly to his home, without entering into the city again [q].

Multiplies seven loaves among four thousand.

Cures a blind man.

Being come to the borders of *Syria*, in the neighbourhood of *Cæsarea Philippi*, a city built by *Philip* the tetrarch of that canton, the son of *Herod the Great*, as was hinted a little higher; he began to question his disciples, who had by this time been about a year chosen into the apostleship, what the *Jews* commonly thought of him? Being answered, that he was supposed by some to be *John the Baptist*, by others *Elias*, or some other prophet, he asked them, what their own opinion was of him? To this *Peter* answered for himself, as well as for the rest, whose judgment concerning d him he could not but know, and affirmed him positively to be *the Messiah*, *the Son of God*. It was upon this noble confession that Christ surnamed him *Peter*, or *Rock*, and promised him upon that rock to build his church, to give him the keys of his heavenly kingdom, and the power of binding and loosing; so that which of the two sentences he pronounced upon earth, should be ratified in heaven. But he charged him and the rest of his collegues not to let it be so much as whispered abroad, that he was the Messiah or Christ, till he was risen from the dead [r].

The Jews *opinion of Christ.*

Peter's *noble confession of him.*

From

[m] Matth. ibid. 31, & seq. Mark viii. 1, & seq. Mark viii. 10, & seq. Luke ix. 18, & seq. & alib.

[n] Id. ibid. & seq.

[o] Id. xvi. 1, & seq.

[p] Vid. Matth. xi. 21.

[q] Id. ibid. & seq.

[r] Matth. xvi. 12, & seq.

(M) It is not easy to know, whether these be two names of the same place, or two different ones, nor to guess where their situation was, only some where upon the coasts of the sea of *Tiberias*. For so much St. *Mark* intimates, when he says, that *Jesus*, crossing that sea, came to *Dalmanutha* (20); and St. *Matthew*, speaking of the same thing, says, he came to the coasts of *Magdala* (21). Some manuscripts of this last have *Magedan* and *Magdan* instead of *Magdala*. This makes it next to impossible to guess with any probability at their situation; for which reason we shall refer those who have a mind to know the conjectures of the learned, to the authors quoted in the margin (22).

The last quoted author supposes *Dalmanutha* to be the same with *Medan*, a pleasant place near the *Phiala*, or spring of the *Jordan*, where a kind of fair is kept, and much resorted to all the summer. *Hegesippus*, it seems, calls that place *Melda* and *Meldan*, from which he thinks *Dalman* to be a corruption, by degrees stretched out into *Dalmanutha*. This is going very far for an etymology, and yet it is by far the best we have met with, and perhaps nearer than that of our learned *Hammond*, who takes it to be the *Meggiddo* mentioned by the prophet (23), and famous for the death of two *Jewish* kings, *Ahaziah* and *Josiah* (24).

Magdala is a corruption of the *Hebrew* [illegible] signifying *a high tower*. There might be many places of that name in *Judæa*, as well as in the neighbouring provinces; and if this *Medan* or *Magdan* was the same with *Dalmanutha*, that [illegible] may have been some famous tower or landmark leading to it, or some strong castle or fortress belonging to it. All which is at best but conjecture.

(20) c. viii. 10. (21) xv. *ult.* (22) *Euseb. Hieron. in loc. Hebr. Reland. Lightfoot. Hammond. Calmet, & al.* (23) Zechar. xii. 11. (24) Kings xix. 27. xxiii. 29.

Christ foretels his sufferings and death.

a FROM this time finding their faith so well founded, he began to open a mystery to them, which they little dreamed of, but which it was high time for them to be acquainted with; namely, that of his sufferings and death at *Jerusalem*. *Peter*, thunder-struck, as it were, at such an unexpected discovery, could not forbear crying out, *Lord, far be it from thee, that ever any such thing should befal thee*; but he presently received such a severe rebuke from him, as gave him to understand, that he was but a novice in the doctrines of man's redemption and self-denial. He took therefore that fair opportunity to rid them of all their prejudices concerning a temporal kingdom, and to assure them, that there was no way for them, or any other of his disciples, to enter into his heavenly one, but by treading in his steps, and going from
b the cross to that glorious crown, which waited for them at the end of their race. He concluded this sorrowful discourse with assuring them, that some of those that were there present should not see death, till they had seen the beginnings of this his kingdom powerfully displayed before them [s] (N). But as he had given such a kind of foretaste of his sufferings and death, as could not but make a deep effect upon them, considering that they had always looked on him as the restorer of the kingdom of *Israel*, and continued to do so even after his resurrection [t]; he thought fit to give some of the most intimate of them a specimen of his future glory.

Transfigured upon the mount.

THESE were *Peter*, and *James*, and *John*, whom he took up with him to an exceeding high mountain, generally believed to have been mount *Tabor* or *Thabor*, described
c in a former volume [†], and was there transfigured before them. This happened whilst he was at prayer [u], when they suddenly beheld a lustre darting from his face, outshining even that of the sun. His garments contracted a splendid whiteness, exceeding that of snow. *Moses* and *Elias* appeared immediately after, in all the brightness of their glorified state, and conferred with him about the sufferings and death which he was shortly to undergo at *Jerusalem*, and for which he was to be exalted above every name in heaven or earth [w]. During this extraordinary intercourse, the three apostles, whether overpowered with the heavenly vision and fallen into a kind of trance; or whether it happened at night, when their eyes were used to be closed with sleep; they found themselves in a kind of slumber for some time, from which being at length
d recovered, they beheld the glory, wherewith their master and his two heavenly visitors were surrounded; and *Peter*, in a kind of ecstatic surprize, cried out, *Lord, how good is it for us to be here! Let us make three tabernacles, one for you, one for* Moses, *and the third for* Elias (O), being scarcely sensible of what he said. Their surprize increased, when they found themselves surrounded by a bright luminous cloud; soon after which they heard a voice from heaven, saying, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: hear ye him.* At these words they remained prostrate on the ground, struck with wonder and amazement, till their master came and raised them up; when, upon their looking about, they were surprised to find him alone, and in his usual dress and appearance [x].

Comes down from the mount.

e THEY came down soon after to rejoin the rest of their company, and in the way, *Jesus* gave *Peter* and his two associates a strict charge to conceal the vision, till he was risen from the dead. These last words caused a fresh question among them, what the expression of his rising from the dead should mean; for, it seems, they could not yet persuade themselves of what he had so lately told them concerning his death at *Jerusalem*. However, they took care not to speak of his transfiguration till after his resurrection. St. *Peter*, by his second epistle, which he wrote a little before his own death [y], appears

[s] Matth. ibid. vers. 22, & seq. Luke ubi supra. vers. 22, & seq. Mark viii. 31, & seq. [t] Vid. Acts i. 6. [†] See Vol. I. p. 571, a, b, &c. & (A). 572, a. [u] See Luke ix. 28, & seq. and the parallels. [w] Conf. Ps. cxxxviii. 2, & Philip. iii. 9. and before, page 19, note. [x] Matth. xvii. 1, & seq. Mark vi. 2, & seq. [y] Chap. i. v. 13, 14.

(N) Accordingly, he gave them soon after several sure indices of it: First, in his glorious transfiguration, then in his resurrection, ascension, in the wonderful change that was wrought on them by the descent of the Holy Ghost, when they came to see and taste of that spiritual kingdom, which they had before but the most imperfect notion of; in the success of the gospel, through the greatest part of the world, in spight of all the opposition of the *Jews* and *Gentiles*; and lastly, in the dreadful vengeance he took against the former, by the arms and power of the latter, according to this formal prediction of that last catastrophe. All which will be best seen in the sequel.

(O) *Bede* informs us (25), that, in consideration of this request of the apostle, the christians in after-times built three sumptuous churches on the top of that mount, which were had in great reverence, and very much resorted to by the devout pilgrims.

(25) *Homil. in* Matth. xvi.

appears to have retained ſtill the moſt lively impreſſion of it, by that ſhort, but elegant, a
deſcription he gives of it there [z], though he owns at the ſame time the evidence which
is drawn from the teſtimony of the prophets to be ſuperior to it. By that time they
were got to the foot of the mountain, where a great multitude, and among them ſome
Phariſees, waited for them, and had had no ſmall ſtrife with thoſe diſciples of his,
whom *Jeſus* had left behind him; before he could well inquire into the occaſion of
their diſpute, a man preſſed through the croud, and fell proſtrate at his feet, and im-
plored his aſſiſtance in the behalf of his ſon, who was miſerably tormented with a
dumb demon, by whom he was ſometimes hurried into the fire, and at other times
into the water, and was become ſuch a diſmal object of pity, that he had brought him
to his diſciples, but that they had not been able to give him any relief. *Jeſus*, moved b
with the deepeſt compaſſion at this doleful ſtory, could not forbear upbraiding both
his diſciples and the whole *Jewiſh* generation with their want of faith; and, to con-
vince them the more powerfully of it, ordered the child to be brought before him;
and whilſt he was in the ſtrongeſt convulſions and agonies, and his ſorrowful father
beſeeching him in moſt moving terms, only returned him this anſwer, that, if he could
believe, the cure of his ſon would be eaſily performed. At theſe words the father
immediately cried out, *Lord, I believe; ſupply my unbelief*; and *Jeſus* rebuking
the evil ſpirit, forced him to go out, not without hideous cries, and leaving the boy
breathleſs on the ground, inſomuch, that the by-ſtanders believed him dead. But
Jeſus ſoon undeceived them, and taking him by the hand, raiſed him up, and deli- c
Heals a demoniac. vered him to his father perfectly cured. As ſoon as they had withdrawn themſelves
from the aſtoniſhed multitude, his diſciples begged of him to know the reaſon, why
they had in vain attempted to caſt this devil out? to whom he anſwered, that all their
diſappointments in general were owing to their want of faith; but that this particular
one was owing to their neglect of faſting and prayer, which alone could obtain a ſuf-
ficient power from heaven to expel that kind of evil ſpirits [a].

Foretels his crucifixion and reſurrection. *Jeſus* having obſerved the three, at their coming down from the mount, queſtion-
ing about his reſurrection, took this opportunity, as they were moving towards *Ca-*
pernaum and freed from the crouds, to ſpeak to the twelve afreſh concerning his ap-
proaching death; and to aſſure them, that he ſhould be betrayed into wicked hands, d
to be crucified, but that he ſhould riſe again on the third day. But their heads
ſeem to have been ſo filled with a notion of an earthly kingdom, that, inſtead of
deſiring him to explain further to them the grating myſtery of his croſs, they were
rather debating how he was likely to diſpoſe of his new dignities, which they had more
immediately in view. This diſpute laſted till they were got to the city, where the col-
Pays the tribute. lectors aſked them, whether their maſter did not pay the uſual tribute (P)? and *Peter*,
who knew his diſpoſition to give God and *Cæſar* their due, anſwered them in the af-
firmative. *Jeſus*, however, expreſſed himſelf to him in ſuch manner, as plainly hinted
that tribute to be due only from ſtrangers, and not from the children, or thoſe who are
free-born. Nevertheleſs, added he to *Peter*, to prevent giving any offence on that e
account, go and caſt thy hook into the lake, and in the mouth of the firſt fiſh thou
takeſt, thou will find a piece of money (Q); pay that for thee and me [b].

As

[z] Ibid. v. 20, 16, & ſeq. [a] Matth xvii. 14, & ſeq. Mark ix. 14, & ſeq. Luke ix. 37, & ſeq
[b] Matth. ibid. 22, & ſeq. Mark & Luke ubi ſupra, ad fin.

(P) Several interpreters have thought the tribute-money here exacted to have been that which every one was to pay yearly to the temple; and that *Jeſus* pronounced himſelf exempt from it on account of his being the Son of God. But we rather think with *Beza*, that it was the capitation money, which had been made in the time of *Cyrenius*, after *Archelaus*'s baniſhment; of which we have lately ſpoke. For as our Saviour ſeems to obſerve to St. *Peter* here, it was a tax impoſed upon the *Jews* by the arbitrary will of *Cæſar* againſt juſtice and equity, becauſe, by their former alliances with *Rome*, they were to be free from all ſuch impoſts. However, to avoid giving offence, or too great a countenance to the pernicious *Gaulonitiſh* faction, *Jeſus* rather choſe to work a miracle, than refuſe to conform to the law of the conqueror, and bringing thereby a greater miſchief upon himſelf and nation.

It ſeems, as if by this law or tax every man had been obliged to inrol himſelf in ſome city, whether of his nativity or abode. *Jeſus* had made his chief reſidence at *Capernaum*, after he had forſook *Nazareth*. *Peter* had done the ſame in all likelihood, and that is the reaſon why he bids him give the piece of money for them both, without mentioning any thing of the other apoſtles, who might be inrolled at *Bethſaida*, or ſome other town near the lake.

(Q) This piece the *Greek* calls *Stater*, and the *Hebrew* or *Syriac* אסתירא, *eſtira*; it was equal to the double ſhekel, and was worth about half a crown of our money (26)

(26) *De hoc vid. int. al. Brerewood de Ponder. Bernard. De mensur & Talentis in præf. ad Cant. Beza, & al. in* Matth. *ubi ſupra.*

Reproves the ambition of his disciples.

a As soon as *Peter* was returned, *Jesus* asked them, what they had been disputing about in their way thither, whilst they, conscious of their ill-timed ambition, held their peace. But *Jesus*, who knew it perfectly well, taking a child in his arms, expressly told them, that the only way of becoming great in his heavenly kingdom was, to become like that little child in innocence and humility; and that the more nearly they resembled him in those two excellent virtues, the peculiar foundation of his religion and of all the christian virtues, the greater and higher would their rank be there; whereas pride and ambition, the bane of his new and divine institution, were the ready means to exclude them from having any share or title to that glorious kingdom. Here one of the apostles interrupted him, to acquaint him, that they had ob-
b served a man take upon him to cast out devils in his name, and had forbidden him, because he thought himself above following them. But *Jesus* blamed his untimely zeal, since no man could work miracles in his name, but out of some due regard to his person and character [c]; then, resuming his figurative discourse, he told his audience, that whosoever should receive one of these little children, or meek and humble disciples, the least favour bestowed on them, though but a cup of water, in his name, should not fail of a reward. On the other hand, added he, whosoever shall presume to despise or give them just cause of offence (as it is indeed scarcely possible for men of that low and humble character to escape such a contemptuous treatment from a haughty and degenerate world), such indignities will meet with the same severe punishment, as
c if offered to my own person, or even to God himself, whose greatest favourites they are. But whilst mankind entertain a spirit so contrary to that of my gospel, they will hardly ever be free from such pernicious offences; and this is the reason why I, who am come to save that which is in danger of being lost, am so earnest in warning you against them. If a good sheperd find, that one in a hundred of his sheep is gone astray, how readily doth he leave the rest, to go and fetch back the straggling one! and how much greater pleasure would it be to me to recall every poor straggling mortal, who know how desirous my heavenly father is that none of them should perish, but that they may be all saved!

Recommends humility.

But I tell you moreover, that you should be so far from offending these meek disciples of mine, who are incapable of giving you the least just provocation to it, that
d you ought to avoid even retaliating the wrongs and offences that are done to you. You all stand in great need of forgiveness from your heavenly father; but how can you ever expect it from him, if you refuse it to your fellow-creatures? In offences of a different nature, and of ill tendency to religion, your duty is to admonish the offender, first in the privatest manner; if this fails, repeat it before one or two witnesses; if this doth not reclaim him, declare his offence to the church; and if he rejects their admonition and censure, let him be rescinded from it; and, till he return and submit, look upon him as an infidel; pity and pray for him, but avoid all familiar intercourse with him. For here I repeat it again, whatever sentence is thus regularly passed upon such an obstinate offender by you here on earth, shall be ratified in heaven. For
e whatever any number of you, though ever so small, thus gathered in my name and spirit, shall agree to ask from above, I will surely be in the midst of them, to direct and help their prayers, and send them home with the desired blessing.

Charity.

Forgiveness.

Here *Peter*, finding that an offender was to be forgiven, if private admonition reclaimed him, asked his master, how often he must repeat that forgiveness? whether so far as seven times? and was answered, not only as far as seven, but as seventy times seven, times. But to prevent their being scared at such an unlimited number, he explained to them the unreasonableness, as well as danger, of an unforgiving temper, by the significant parable of a wicked servant, who, having had the vast debt of ten
f thousand talents mercifully forgiven by his lord, went and arrested a fellow-servant for a poor hundred pence, and, without any regard to his intreaties and tears, threw him into a goal; for which merciless cruelty his lord condemned him to a condign punishment. The application was easy, and the force of the parallel easily felt: but *Jesus* was pleased to corroborate it, by assuring them on his infallible word, that they must expect no forgiveness from his heavenly Father, unless they were willing and ready to forgive each other their trespasses.

After a short stay at *Capernaum*, the feast of tabernacles drawing near, some of his near relations, who were, it seems, the backwardest to believe in him, observing

[c] Mark. ibid. ver. 38, 39. Luke ix. 49. [d] Matth. xviii. 15. ad fin. & alib. ubi supra.

ing what a long ſtay he had made in *Galilee*, and how the fear of the *Jews* had made him avoid going into *Judæa* [e], took upon them to reprove him for it, telling him, that, if his deſign was to make himſelf known to the world, he ought to go and ſhew himſelf at *Jeruſalem* to the great concourſe of people that were juſt ready to flock to that feaſt, inſtead of hiding himſelf in thoſe obſcure corners of *Galilee*. *Jeſus*, inſtead of reproving their temerity, only took occaſion to remind them, that they indeed had nothing to fear there from the *Jews*; but that it was otherwiſe with him, againſt whoſe life the heads of that nation were more buſily plotting at this time than ever. He therefore told them, that they might go thither as ſoon as they pleaſed; but as to himſelf, he would take his own time. He ſtaid not long, however, after them, but went thither in the privateſt manner he could, for fear of awaking the jealouſy of his enemies [f]. He choſe to go through ſome parts of *Samaria*, and ſent one or two of his diſciples to prepare a lodging for him at one of their towns on the road, but theſe, according to their uſual rancour, underſtanding that he was going to *Jeruſalem* to the approaching feaſt, refuſed to give him any entertainment; which ſo exaſperated his company, that the two *Boanerges*, whom we mentioned in a late note, were for bringing down fire from heaven to conſume that ungodly place. But *Jeſus* gave them ſo ſevere a rebuke, as made them ſenſible how diametrically oppoſite ſuch a revengeful and murdering ſpirit was to that meek and charitable one, which brought him from heaven to ſave mankind [g].

Jeſus goes to the feaſt of tabernacles.

Appoints ſeventy diſciples.

Before he reached *Jeruſalem*, he was pleaſed to appoint another college of diſciples, to the number or ſeventy, anſwering to the number of the elders choſen by *Moſes* to be his aſſiſtants [h], as that of the twelve apoſtles did to the twelve tribes of *Iſrael* (R). Theſe he ſent alſo by two and two, and with the ſame inſtructions and miraculous power which he had given to the twelve apoſtles; with this difference only, that the former were permitted to go to any city of *Iſrael*, but theſe only to thoſe particular cities where himſelf deſigned to come after and preach [i]. By this time the feaſt of tabernacles was come, when there was no ſmall ſearch after, nor ſmall ſtrife about, him; ſome doubting whether he would venture himſelf, ſome affirming him to be a prophet, others an impoſtor. He appeared at length publickly in the temple about the latter end of the feaſt, and, to their great ſurprize, taught boldly and openly there; and diſplayed ſuch a ſuperior knowledge of the ſacred books, that they could not forbear aſking one another in a kind of amazement, whence a man of ſo mean an education could ever attain to it? When *Jeſus* heard this reaſoning, he aſſured them, that his doctrine was not from men, but from heaven; and that if any of them were but ſincerely diſpoſed to do the will of God, they would ſoon be convinced of the truth of what he ſaid. Whilſt therefore ſome admired his courage, in ſpeaking ſuch bold truths at the hazard of his life, and affirmed his miracles to demonſtrate him to be the true Meſſiah, others, more obſtinate, objected the meanneſs of his birth and parentage. To theſe he anſwered, that whatever they might know of his earthly deſcent, they were wholly ignorant of his heavenly one; all which he inforced by ſuch irrefragable proofs, that a great number of them began to believe openly in him, which when the *Jewiſh* magiſtrates knew, they ſent ſome of their officers to apprehend him. But as his time was not yet come, inſtead of following their inſtructions, they came back filled with admiration, and told thoſe chiefs, that they never heard a man ſpeak like him [k].

Teaches in the temple.

On the laſt day of the feaſt, in which the uſed they ceremony of drawing water, and bringing of wood in the temple, concerning which the reader may ſee what we have

[e] John. vii. 1, & ſeq. [f] Ibid. ver. 4. & ſeq. [g] Luke ix. 51, & ſeq. [h] Vid. Exod. xviii paſſ. Deut. i. 9. See alſo before, p. 512, d. 525, (H). [i] Luke x. 1. & ſeq. [k] John. vii. 11. & ſeq.

(R) The names of theſe ſeventy or ſeventy-two (for they are indifferently called by either number, the firſt becauſe expreſly mentioned by St. *Luke*, and the latter from a ſuppoſition that he uſes the round number inſtead of that of ſeventy-two, anſwering to ſeven out of each of the twelve tribes) are moſtly unknown to us. We find only twenty-eight of them in *Euſebius* (27), *Epiphanius* (28), and *Papias* (29), chiefly mentioned in the acts, they are as follows: *Matthias*, *Mark*, *Luke*, *Barnabas*, *Stephen*, *Philip*, *Prochorus*, *Nicanor*, *Timon*, *Parmenas*, *Nicolas*, *Juſtus*, *Apelles*, *Soſthenes*, *Rufus*, *Niger*, *Cephas*, *Thadaeus*, *Ariſtion*, *John*, *Barnabas*, *Andronicus*, *Junius*, *Silas*, *Lucius*, *Menahem*, *Manaſſon*, and *Ananias*, the ſame who baptiſed St. *Paul* (30).

(27) Eccl. *hiſt. l.* i. *c.* 12. *Vid. & Mills in* Luke x. 1. (28) *De Chriſt. c.* 4 (29) *Ap. Euſeb. ubi ſupra, l.* iii. *c.* 39. (30) Acts ix. 10. *& ſeq.*

have ſaid in a former volume*, *Jeſus* took occaſion to entertain his audience with a diſcourſe on thoſe living waters, which were to be imparted to thoſe who believed in him, alluding, as the evangeliſt obſerves, to thoſe gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit, which were ſhortly after to be poured on his church. This laſt ſpeech cauſed a freſh diviſion among them, ſome believing that none but the Meſſiah could expreſs himſelf in that exalted manner; others objecting his being an obſcure *Galilean*, whereas the Meſſiah was, they rightly ſaid, to be born in *Bethlehem*; for ſo he was, though they knew it not. But the *Phariſees*, more exaſperated than the reſt, to hear ſuch numbers of the multitude, and particularly the officers ſent to ſeize on him, declare themſelves ſo openly for him, were the loudeſt in their invectives againſt him and them, alledging, that none of their learned rabbies or rulers, or indeed any but an accurſed ignorant mob, had believed on him. Here *Nicodemus*, who was his diſciple, though ſecretly, undertook to moderate the difference, by reminding thoſe hot-headed zealots, that the law did not permit them to condemn a man in that raſh and mercileſs manner, and without hearing what he had to ſay in his own defence. This ſpeech galled them ſo much the more, becauſe, though they were conſcious of the charge; they dared not bring it to ſo fair an iſſue. They therefore aſked him in a tumultuous manner, whether he was a *Galilean?* and bid him go and ſearch the ſcriptures, and he would find that that province never yet produced a prophet (S); after which the aſſembly was broke up for that time [l].

The Phariſees *inveighs againſt him.*

Jeſus went that night out of the city, and retired towards the mount of olives, and returned again early in the morning, and taught in the treaſury of the temple, where the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* brought an adultereſs before him, ſaid to be taken in the very act (T). We have ſeen in a former volume, that the *Moſaic* law condemned ſuch offenders to death †, and they failed not to remind him of it; but pretended to have a deſire to know what he thought was to be done in this caſe, that they might find ſome accuſation againſt him, ſuch as his too great ſeverity, if he condemned; or if he did not, his too great indulgence and diſregard to the law; or, in either caſe, his aſſuming a judicial power. *Jeſus*, who eaſily perceived their malicious deſign, ſtooped down, and made as if he did not hear them, but was writing ſomething with his finger on the ground. This made them more earneſt to make him declare his mind, upon which he roſe up, and told them, that he, who was free from ſin, ſhould caſt the firſt ſtone, and then returned to his former attitude. This unlooked-for anſwer filled thoſe hypocrites, not only with wonder, but with ſuch ſhame and remorſe, that they withdrew themſelves one after another, and left the woman alone with him. When *Jeſus* ſtood up and found all her accuſers gone, he diſmiſſed her with this mild reproof, *Go thy way, and ſin no more*, and then reſumed his diſcourſe to his audience [m].

An adultereſs brought before him.

He began with telling them, that he was the true light of the world, and that thoſe who followed him were free from darkneſs. This expreſſion exaſperated the *Phariſees* afreſh, who thought that title to belong to them alone. They therefore deſpiſed him, as bearing teſtimony of himſelf, but were anſwered, that they indeed were peculiarly famed for bearing a pompous teſtimony and complimenting one another; but as for him, he had the teſtimony of *Moſes* and the prophets, of *John the Baptiſt*, and above all, that of his heavenly father, of which the ſtupendous works, which he wrought before them, were an undeniable proof. But, added he, this will more evidently appear after ye have lifted me up on the croſs; for then ſhall my diſciples find themſelves truly freed from that yoke and thraldom, under which the reſt of the world doth groan. Here the *Phariſees*, not perceiving that he ſpoke of the freedom from ſin and guilt, told him with their wonted aſſurance, that they being *Abraham*'s children,

* Vol. I. p. 608, a, & 650, d. [l] John ibid. verſ. 37. ad fin. † See Vol. I. p 676, a.
[m] John viii. 1, & ſeq.

(S) And yet we have formerly ſhewn, that *Jonah*, who is univerſally acknowledged by them to have been a prophet, was a native of *Gathepher*, a town in the tribe of *Zebulun* in *Galilee* †, ſo that theſe men muſt have been either very ignorant or perverſe to have affirmed ſuch a palpable falſhood.

(T) This whole ſtory of the woman is omitted in the *Syriac* and ſome other ancient verſions. Thoſe who conclude from our Saviour's abſolving, or rather refuſing to condemn, her according to the *Moſaic* law (31), that adultery ought not therefore to be looked upon as a capital crime under the goſpel, may as well argue againſt the lawfulneſs of dividing inheritances, becauſe he refuſed in the like manner to intermeddle with ſuch an affair, when deſired by one of the parties (32).

† *Vid. ſup. Vol. I. p.* 827, (A). (31) Deut. xvii. 7. (32) Luke xii. 13.

children, it was out of his power to make them freer than they were, ſince they had never been in bondage to any; but *Jeſus*, inſtead of exploding the falſhood, told them, that if their actions were to determine whoſe children they were, their pride, avarice, perſecuting and murdering ſpirit, and their perverſe oppoſing of all ſaving truths, rather proved them the children of the devil and the ſlaves of ſin, than the free-born offspring of a righteous *Abraham*. The *Jews*, unable to refel ſo juſt a cenſure, contented themſelves with calling him a *Samaritan* and a *demoniac*, but were anſwered, that the zeal which he had conſtantly expreſſed for his father's honour, and the malice with which they had as conſtantly oppoſed him in it, could eaſily determine which of the two did moſt deſerve the appellative of *demoniac*. However, he added, turning to his audience, this I aſſure you of, that he who obeys that divine law which I am preaching unto you, ſhall never die. This equivocal expreſſion raiſed new arguments, as well as new invectives, from the carnal *Jews*, which, in this and ſome other occaſions, we ſhall for brevity omit; tho' they roſe to ſuch height, that they attempted ſeveral times to ſtone him, but he as often miraculouſly conveyed himſelf away from them [n].

The ſeventy return with joy.

Upon his departure from the city, the ſeventy diſciples rejoined him, and with no ſmall joy acquainted him with their ſucceſs, and that the very devils became ſubject unto them. *Jeſus*, though pleaſed with the approaching downfal of ſatan's power, yet obſerving that his diſciples ſeemed to expreſs too great a ſatisfaction at their miraculous power, bid them rather rejoice at their having their names written in heaven. Whilſt he was giving them ſome further directions for their rightly diſpenſing of theſe new gifts, a certain doctor of the law aſked him, what he muſt do to be ſaved? *Jeſus* referred him to the *Moſaic* law, the ſum and ſubſtance of which conſiſted in loving God above all things, and our neighbour as one's ſelf. But as the ſtrait-laced *Jews* ſcarcely accounted any but thoſe of their nation and ſect for their neighbour, the lawyer aſked him further, whom he ought to look upon as ſuch? Upon which *Jeſus* put forth that moſt excellent parable of the *Jew* that fell among thieves; and, after having been overlooked and neglected by prieſt and levites, was at length happily relieved by the charitable *Samaritan*. From which he concluded, that our duty to our neighbour was not confined to ſect, nation, or any other circumſtance, but extended to all mankind.

Parable of the good Samaritan.

In his way to *Galilee*, he ſtopped at a ſmall village called *Bethany*, ſituate on the furtheſt part of the mount of olives, where he was entertained by *Lazarus* and his two ſiſters. Theſe upon his arrival were very differently employed, *Martha* in preparing an elegant ſupper, and *Mary* in liſtening at *Jeſus*'s feet to his heavenly diſcourſe. *Martha*, vexed to ſee her ſiſter *Mary* (U) leave the whole care of the feaſt to her, went and complained of it before him; but, inſtead of her help, ſhe received this ſevere rebuke from *Jeſus*'s mouth, that ſhe incumbered herſelf too much about the trifling affairs of a ſupper, whilſt her wiſer ſiſter was minding the one thing neceſſary, the concerns of another and a better life [o].

Teaches in Galilee.

From *Bethany* he proceeded to *Galilee*, where he went about teaching in every ſynagogue and other convenient places, inſtructing his followers with many excellent parables, and confirming all ſtill with ſome new miracles [q]. Among the laſt, he wrought one on the ſabbath day, in ſome *Jewiſh* ſynagogue, on a poor decrepid woman, whom old age and ſickneſs had ſo bowed down, that ſhe had not been able to raiſe herſelf up during the ſpace of eighteen years. *Jeſus*, moved with her miſery, called her to him, and having laid his hands on her, pronounced her free from her infirmity, not without moving the *Phariſaic* indignation and reſentment; but *Jeſus* retorted their reproofs with ſuch powerful arguments and familiar parables, as did at leaſt ſilence them, though all too little to convince them, that doing ſuch good deeds was the proper work of that day. The following is a very pregnant inſtance of it.

Jeſus, after frequent peragrations through *Galilee* and *Judæa*, was come to the feaſt of the dedication of the temple, inſtituted by *Judas Maccabæus*, and mentioned in a former ſection *. He chanced one day, which was the ſabbath, to meet in the ſtreet a man

[n] Ibid. verſ. 12, & ſeq. [o] Luke x. 17. ad fin. [p] Luke cap. xi. & xii. paſſ. * See page 61, & 62, & note (W).

(U) This *Mary* has been wrongfully confounded with that ſinful woman, mentioned a little higher, out of the ſame evangeliſt, who doth not tell us her name, but only that ſhe came to be abſolved by *Jeſus*. It doth in no caſe appear, that *Mary*, *Lazarus*'s ſiſter, was ever a woman of that looſe character; on the contrary, *Jeſus*, who often lodged at their houſe, is expreſsly ſaid to have had a particular affection for the whole family; we ſhall ſee a pregnant inſtance of it in the ſequel

a a man that was born blind, concerning whom his disciples asked him, whether the sins of his parents, or his own, had brought that calamity upon him (W)? *Jesus* answered, that neither his own nor his forefathers sins were the cause of his blindness; but that God suffered such things to happen for the greater manifestation of his unlimited power, adding, that he was chiefly come to make a fuller display of it. Having thus said, he spit upon the ground, and anointed the blind-man's eyes with the moistened earth, and bid him go and wash himself in *Siloam*'s pool. He did so, and obtained his sight to the no small admiration of all that saw him, who could hardly persuade themselves that he was the same person, till he had assured them of it. The news of this wonderful cure was soon brought to the sanhedrin, whither the man was b also brought, and carefully examined; but, upon his acquainting them with the circumstance of *Jesus*'s anointing his eyes with the clay made with his spittle, a great dissension arose among them, one side affirming this action to be a breach of the sabbath, and the other asking them, how they could suppose it possible for a sinner and sabbath-breaker to work such an extraordinary miracle? To be therefore satisfied of the truth of the fact, they ordered his parents to be brought before them, who, upon examination, owned the man to be their son and to have been born blind; but pretended to be ignorant how he had recovered his sight. Upon their receiving this further evidence, they called the young man in again, and bid him ascribe the glory of his cure to God alone; for as to the man, who had wrought it, they knew him to c be a sinner and a cheat. After several other inquiries, in which they betrayed the most unaccountable partiality and inveterate rancour against his divine physician, the young man at length took the liberty to plead in his defence; and to remind them, that since the creation of the world, no such cure had ever been wrought on a man born blind, and that it was consequently not only above the power of such a hateful sinner as they represented him, (since all such are in the highest detestation with God) but even above the power of any but a true prophet sent from above.

Cures a man that was born blind.

The sanhedrin condemn him.

Such strong reasoning, accompanied with so much candor and honest boldness, might have wrought on any hearts, but those of the *Pharisaic* mould; but these, exasperated to hear themselves so justly reproved by a man whom they accounted altod gether born in sin, after a severe and contemptuous rebuke, ordered him to be turned out of the assembly (X) [q]. But *Jesus*, who found him soon after in the temple, gave him a more gracious reception, and then turning to the audience, took occasion, from the late partial behaviour of the sanhedrin, to exclaim against those false and pernicious teachers, under the similitude of shepherds and their flocks, and to shew them, that many of those climbed up into the sheep-fold by private and unlawful ways, like thieves and robbers, only to kill and destroy the sheep. That others, who were only hirelings, and had neither property in, nor true concern for, their flocks, minded nothing but their fleece and their milk; so that when they saw them in danger from ravenous beasts, they left them to become a prey, instead of protecting e and defending them. Hence he proved himself to be the true shepherd, because he came to give his life for his sheep, and to procure them wholesome and lasting pasture. He concluded with telling them, that he had other sheep, than those of the *Jewish* kind, to bring into his fold, which would prove more tractable and obedient to his voice, intimating thereby the conversion of the heathen world.

This discourse had likewise a different effect on his audience, some calling him a demoniac and blaming the rest for listening to him; others asking, when they had ever known a demoniac utter such excellent truths, or open the eyes of a man born blind [r]?

We

[q] John ix. per tot. [r] John x. pass.

(W) This question plainly proves, that the *Jews* believed the doctrine of the soul's sinning in a pre-existent state, and being punished for it in another. Else a man born blind could not be supposed to have been born so on account of his own sins.

(X) The text doth barely say, that they ordered him to be turned out; but some understand it of his being cast out of the synagogue, or, in other words, that they excommunicated him. It is true, they had passed that sentence on every one that should acknowledge *Jesus* to be the Christ (33), and his actually doing so before them all had laid him liable to it; but it doth not appear from the evangelist, that they pronounced excommunication against him: if they did, he seems to have been the first confessor, as *John the Baptist* had been the first martyr, for the testimony of Christ.

(33) *John* ix. 22.

Year of the flood 4035. *Of Christ* 36. *The last year of Christ's ministry.*

WE pass now to the fourth and last year of his public ministry, an epoch full of the most surprising and signal events that ever the world beheld; the redemption of mankind by the blood of the Son of God; his resurrection, ascension, mission of the Holy Spirit; miraculous change wrought on the apostles and first preachers of christianity; the church of Christ planted by the powerful preaching of a few plain and illiterate fishermen, confirmed by great and glorious miracles wrought by them, by many supernatural gifts bestowed on them, and by them on the first believers and preachers, and in a little time cemented by the blood of innumerable martyrs, and founded on so firm and immoveable rock, that neither the powers of earth or hell have since been able to destroy it. We shall omit a great number of his excellent sermons, parables, strenuous struggles with the incredulous *Jews*, and frequent persecutions from the *Pharisees* and *Sadduces*; but especially a much greater number and variety of miracles which he wrought within this short interval, to come to that celebrated one, which determined the sanhedrin at length at any rate to put him to death. We mean the raising of his friend *Lazarus* from death to life, after he had been four days buried and corrupting in his grave, and in the presence of a great multitude of considerable *Jews*, who, by reason of the nearness of *Bethany* to *Jerusalem*, were come thither from that metropolis to the burial, and were eye-witnesses of this stupendous fact.

He raises Lazarus *from the dead.*

Jesus had designedly conveyed himself away at some distance from him, during the time of his sickness, and had at last acquainted his disciples with his death adding to it, that he would now go and raise him up to life. Upon his approaching to *Bethany*, *Martha*, who was informed of his coming, went to meet him at some distance from the place, and complained to him with tears, that if he had been there, her brother would not have died. *Jesus* comforted her with the promise of his rising again, but she understanding it of the last resurrection, earnestly intreated him, that he would now use his never-failing intercession with his heavenly Father to have him restored to life. Having obtained a gracious promise from him, she went in haste to call her sister, who came accordingly, accompanied with a great number of *Jews*, who were come to comfort her, and by her hasty departure supposed, that she was going to vent her tears at her brother's grave. As soon as she came in sight of *Jesus*, she fell on her knees, and expressed her grief in such a pathetic manner, as drew some sighs and tears from him, as well as from the rest of the by-standers. At length, seeing fresh multitudes coming towards him, he desired the two sisters to conduct him to the grave, the sight of which drew a fresh shower of tears from him; insomuch, that the *Jews* wondered, that he, who could give sight to a man born blind, should not interpose the same miraculous power to have saved so dear a friend from death. Whilst they held this discourse, *Jesus* ordered the grave-stone to be removed, at which *Martha* cried out, *Lord, by this time he stinketh*! But he, after a gentle reproof for suffering her faith to fail so soon, addressing himself to heaven in a pathetic prayer, called out aloud, Lazarus, *come forth*. Upon which he that was dead came out, bound as he was, in his funeral dress (Y); from which he was at *Jesus*'s desire immediately loosed[a].

IT

[a] JOHN xi. 1, & seq.

(Y) This circumstance, expresly mentioned by the evangelist, renders the miracle still more authentic and unquestionable. We are told by him in another place (34), that the custom of the *Jews* (those at least that could afford it) was to embalm the dead with an aromatic mixture of myrrh, aloes, and other gums, mixed with spices, with which they rubbed their bodies all over, more or less profusely, according to their circumstances, or regard to the dead person; after which they wrapped their heads all over with a napkin, and their whole body with a shroud or winding-sheet, both which they afterwards sweathed as tightly as they could with proper bandages (35).

We formerly observed also, that they buried their dead very soon †, seldom or never keeping them twenty-four hours above-ground. *Lazarus* therefore, having been dead four days, must have lain at least three of them in his grave, which was a cave cut into the rock and covered with a large stone; so that it was impossible for any cheat or imposture to be transacted with all those circumstances, since if it could be even supposed, that a person could live so many days in such a damp and airless cave, yet the linen sweathed on his face and body, and over such a gummy composition, must have smothered him in less than so many hours.

This was so plain and unquestionable, that neither any *Jews* there present, nor even any of the sanhedrin, pretended to deny or doubt of the fact, but rather condemned him upon the notoriety of it, and as tending to give rise to a new sect, which would indanger their church and state. Of the same nature afterwards was the apostle's cure of an old cripple

(34) xix. 39. (35) *De his vid. Jo. Nicolas sepult. Hebræor. Calmet. dissert. in cod. Leo de Modon. cerem. Jud. part.* 5. *c.* 8. *Lamy apparat. & al.* † *Vid. sup. Vol. I. p.* 696.

a IT is eaſy to imagine either the joy of the two ſiſters, or the ſurpriſe of the reſt of the *Jews*, at the ſight of ſo ſtupendous a miracle; and indeed it wrought ſuch a conviction in the greateſt part of them, that they began now to confeſs him in good earneſt to be the Meſſiah. And not only thoſe who had been witneſſes of it, but vaſt multitudes of others, who, hearing of it from them, came flocking to *Bethany* to be further ſatisfied of it, believed alſo in him. The ſanhedrin was ſoon acquainted with this tranſaction, and were in no ſmall concern how to put an effectual ſtop to this dangerous increaſe both of his fame, and of the number of his diſciples. For, as they rightly argued, if we let him alone and ſuffer him to work ſuch ſignal miracles, all men will believe on him; the conſequence of which will be that the *jealous* b Romans *will come and deſtroy both our place and nation.* At length *Caiaphas*, the then high-prieſt ſtood up and ſpeak to this effect: You ſeem to know nothing at all, nor to conſider that it is expedient that one man ſhould die to prevent the ruin of a nation [t]. Little did he or they think he was then inſpired from above, and that he was delivering the will and decrees of heaven, that *Jeſus* ſhould ſuffer death, not for the *Jewiſh* nation only, but for the faithful, which were to be gathered together in him, from the four corners of the earth. For being high prieſt that year, it pleaſed God to give him the ſpirit of prophecy, to utter this great and comfortable truth, and thereby further manifeſt the accompliſhment of the divine oracles, concerning the Meſſiah's dying for the ſins of the world. His advice was readily embraced, and c after they had once reſolved on his death, they were eaſily determined to cut off *Lazarus* alſo, the ſight of whom daily increaſed the number of believers.

The Jews *conſult to put him to death.*

Caiaphas *propheſies.*

BUT *Jeſus*, who knew his own appointed time, as well as the reſult of their laſt conſultation, withdrew himſelf into a ſmall city, called *Ephraim*, in the neighbourhood of the wood or wilderneſs of that name [u], and there continued with his diſciples till the approaching feaſt of the paſſover. He left the place ſix days before that feaſt to go to *Jeruſalem*, and took *Bethany* in his way, where *Lazarus* and his ſiſters entertained him and his diſciples at a ſumptuous ſupper; it being a ſabbath night, at which times they kept a more plenteous table. Whilſt they were eating, *Mary*, to ſhew her extreme regard to their gueſt, came and anointed his feet with a precious ointment of d ſpikenard, whoſe fragrancy filled the whole houſe, whilſt the diſciples were wondering at her profuſeneſs, *Judas*, whom we obſerved to have been their knaviſh treaſurer, could not conceal his indignation at it, and aſking, why the ointment was not rather ſold and the money given to the poor? the reſt of the twelve ſeemed alſo in ſome meaſure to join with him in it [x], till *Jeſus* had ſeverely rebuked him, and excuſed her generous action, as an anticipation of his burial rite; adding moreover, that the memorial of it ſhould be preſerved to her honour, as far, and as long as, the preaching of his goſpel ſhould reach, or endure [y].

ON the very next day (Z), *Jeſus*, knowing his time to be juſt at hand, marched now boldly towards *Jeruſalem*, whilſt his diſciples, to whom he had more than once e or twice foretold all the circumſtances of his future ſufferings and death [z], accompanied him with heavy and trembling hearts. As for the traytor *Judas*, he conceived ſuch a grudge againſt him at the laſt night's action, that he reſolved to betray him into the hands of his enemies upon the very firſt opportunity. When they were come to *Bethphage* upon mount *Olivet*, within a ſmall mile of *Jeruſalem*, *Jeſus* directed two of his diſciples to a place where two roads met, and bid them bring from thence a ſhe aſs, with a young colt by her, that had never been backed; and if the owners aſked them any queſtions, they ſhould only anſwer, that the Lord had occaſion for them, and they would readily permit them to be brought to him. They brought the aſs and colt accordingly, and having ſpread a garment upon the latter, ſet *Jeſus* on it, and f accompanied him to *Jeruſalem*, in a kind of triumph, attended by great multitudes; ſome

[t] Ibid. verſ. 47, & ſeq. [u] Vid. 2 SAM. xviii. 6, & ſeq. [x] Conf. MATH. xxvi. 8. MARK xiv. 4 & JOHN xii. 4. [y] JOHN ibid. vii. & ſeq. [z] Vid. MATH. xx. 17, & ſeq. MARK x. 31, & ſeq. LUKE xviii. 31.

cripple; which though the whole ſanhedrin owned and acknowledged to be a miracle (36), yet they endeavoured by the like unjuſtifiable means to ſuppreſs, and upon the ſame account.

(Z) This happened in this year on the tenth day of the month *Niſan*, anſwering to the twenty-ninth of our *March*, and was the day on which the paſſover lamb was taken up and preſented at *Jeruſalem* (37).

(36) *Vid.* Acts iv. 14, & *ſeq Conf. cum cap.* iii. 1, & *ſeq.* (37) *Vid. uſſer, & Echard, & ſup. Vol. I. p.* 602, & *ſeq.*

some of whom going before, strewed the way with their garments and green boughs, crying out *Hozanna* (A); *blessed is the son of* David, *and blessed is the king of* Israel, *who cometh in the name of the Lord.* Thus was that famous prophecy of *Zachary* fulfilled; *Fear not, O daughter of* Sion, *behold thy king cometh to thee, just, humble, and meek, and riding on the foal of an ass*[a]. The multitudes still increasing as they went on, the *Pharisees*, which beheld the sight and heard those acclamations with no small indignation, drew nearer to him, and earnestly desired him that he would command at least his disciples, if not the whole croud, to be silent. But *Jesus* rather chose to silence their own envy, by assuring them, that if those should hold their peace, the very stones would cry out, and proclaim the divine author of so many glorious miracles. But he took a much more effectual method to suppress the pomp and noise of that mock triumph, as well as the *Hozannas* of the multitude, which, he but too well knew, would in a few days be changed into the blasphemous cry of, *away with him, crucify him.* For as he drew nearer to *Jerusalem*, the sight of that rebellious and unhappy metropolis having revived in his mind the more dreadful prospect of that approaching ruin, which was now hastening on upon it, and which he himself had more than once foretold to his disciples (B), it was then a proper time to damp their untimely joys, by reminding them of it; and here it was, that the dismal scene, having quite disarmed him of his anger and resentment, made him break out into the following compassionate expostulation, mixed with a flood of tears: *Oh that thou hadst but known, at least in these thy latter days, the things that would have conduced to thy peace! but now are they hidden from thee; and now the sad appointed time draws near, when the enemy shall surround thee with trenches, and inclose thee on every side, butcher thy children within thy bosom, and level thee with*

Jesus *Weeps over* Jerusalem

[a] Conf. Zach ix. 9. Isaiah lxii. 1. Math. xxi. 1, seq. Mark xi. 1, & seq. & alib.

(A) Or rather, according the *Hebrew*, *Hoshah na*, *Save, we pray*; so that this was a kind of prayer or blessing used by the *Jews*, and taken from the hundred and eighteenth psalm (38), and signified *Save, preserve*, and *prosper, Lord, this Son of* David.

(B) Particularly in that full elegant, and pathetic description he gave to them of it, when being near the same place, the twelve desired him to look back, and behold the beauty and magnificence of the temple, the strength and prodigious size of its stones, and the like (39); and where he foretold them, that before the present generation was dead and past, not only that stately and stupendous fabric, but the whole city, would be reduced into a heap of rubbish (40).

And on this occasion it was, that from the likeness of the destruction of the *Jewish* polity, and that of the world, or, (as others perhaps more rightly understand it) the final end of idolatry, irreligion, and every wicked work, ushering in the millennium, in which Christ and his doctrine shall be universally acknowledged and professed throughout the world, during a thousand years from the near resemblance, I say, of those two dreadful catastrophes, of which the former seems to have been a lively type of the latter, whether as to its prognostics, such an universal degeneracy and apostacy, a general deception by false prophets, lying wonders, abominable wickedness, cruelty, oppression, wars, tumults on the earth, dreadful signs in the heavens, and the like; or, as to its dismal consequences, the horrid destruction of the *Jews* by war, pestilence, and famine, in the former, or of the sinful race of men in the latter, typified by that of *Gog* and *Magog*, and other figurative expressions preceding the millennium; Christ takes occasion to make such a natural, but almost unperceptible, transition, that the primitive christians could not easily distinguish them, but were led into a notion, that he spoke of one and the same catastrophe, which was consequently to happen before the extinction of the then living race.

For it was in this sense that they took the word *generation*, according to which it was also meant, and really fulfilled with respect to the *Jews*; but the word דור, *dor*, was no less capable of a larger sense; the *Hebrew*, *Syriac*, &c. having none other or better to express a much longer series of time. Thus they indifferently speak of the generation of the antediluvians, of that under the judges, kings, priests &c. and we have elsewhere more than once observed that they divided the world into three epochas, or, in their style, into three generations, consisting each of two thousand years. The first before, the second under, the law, and the third under the messiah. It was therefore to the exit of this last, that the second part of his prophecy had an eye, when that thorough change was to be wrought in the world, elegantly expressed in the prophetic writings by a new heaven, and a new earth, a new *Jerusalem*, &c.

As long therefore as the mistake of the primitive christians in cutting the epocha so very short, had no other tendency than to make them more fervent, zealous, and heavenly-minded, more patient and heroic under sufferings and persecutions, and more fervent and diligent in preaching the gospel; the inspired writers might have thought it a sufficient warrant for their overlooking it. But St. *Peter*, among others, seems to have taken particular care to rectify it, and to obviate the objection which might be raised from their non-completion at the expected time, by reminding them that what they mistook for a delay, was not really such, since with God a thousand years are but as one day (41). A phrase well understood then by the *Jews*, to whom he wrote, and which alluded most probably to the notion of the six day of the creation, presignifying the six thousand years duration of the world, before the great and glorious change, which it was to receive at Christ's second coming.

(38) *vers.* 25 (39) *Vid Matth.* xxiv, 1, & *seq.* (40) *Ibid. vers.* 34. (41) 2 *Peter* iii, 8. *Conf. cum Revel.* xx, 6.

a *with the ground, so that not a stone shall be left standing upon another, because thou shalt not know the time of thy visitation* (C)[b]. The people, however, more full of the present triumph, than mindful of his distant threatnings, went and entered the city with their usual acclamations, and drew such a vast concourse after them, to know who this prophet was for whom they made all this bustle, that the whole city was in an uproar; and well it might, when they heard them say, that it was *Jesus* of *Nazareth*, the promised Messiah, and remembered at the same time what a severe sentence the sanhedrin had passed against not only him, but every one who should acknowledge him to be the Christ.

Jesus repaired immediately to the temple, and, as he had formerly done, expelled Monday *before his passion.*
b all the mercantile brood from that sacred place, and convinced them of his authority in so doing, by working several cures there on the sick, lame, and blind, whilst the wondering multitude continued their loud acclamations of *Hosannah to the son of* David[c]; to the great scandal of the *Pharisees*, who did all they could to silence them. But *Jesus*, who knew the main spring of all their pretended zeal, not only stopped their invectives, by reminding them of that prophecy out of the psalmist; *Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise*; but exposed their malice and obstinacy by such strong arguments and pungent parables, that they would doubtless have laid hold on him, had not the sight of so great a multitude overawed them. There were at this time a number of *Greeks* (D), who were come to the feast, and
c expressed a desire to see him. *Jesus* readily caused them to be called in; and to take off the scandal of the cross, by which he was going to procure the salvation of both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, he entertained them with a discourse on his sufferings, and closed it with assuring his audience, that those only, who, after his example, were ready to lay down their lives for the sake of heaven, would be intitled to it. Reflecting next on the glory which God would receive from his death, he broke out into this ejaculation, *Father, glorify thy name*; and was answered by a voice from heaven, *I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again*. This was probably meant of the plentiful effusion of the Holy Ghost, and that conversion of the *Gentile* world, which was shortly to follow his death; but the people, not rightly attending to it, mistook the voice,
d some for that of an angel speaking to him, some for what they called the *bath-col* (E), and others for a clap of thunder; till he assured them, that it was a real voice sent from

[b] Conf. Luke xix. 37, & seq. & John xii. 12, & seq. [c] Conf. Ps. viii. 2, & Matth. xxi. 16.
[d] Matth. ibid. 24. ad fin.

(C) Those who maintain the doctrine of predestination, though even in the more moderate sense of it, called by them the *Sublapsarian system*, would do well to consider, what a horrid scene of mockery and injustice they make the son of God, and Redeemer of the world, to act here upon this melancholy occasion. For if the *Jews* blindness and infidelity, their persecuting and murdering of him, their obstinacy in rejecting him and his doctrine, and those dreadful punishments which were shortly to be the consequence of it, were not only absolutely unavoidable by them, but were owing to the want of that supernatural grace and power, which he only came to impart to some few elect, whilst he wholly excluded the rest of mankind from it; with what sincerity could he say to them, even with tears, *Oh that thou hadst known at least*, &c. or with what justice cry out against them, *Oh* Jerusalem, *that murderest the prophets*, &c. *how often would I have gathered thee and thy children, with the same care and tenderness, that a hen doth her chickens! and ye would not, therefore*, &c. (42); but there is something so monstrously shocking and impious both in that supposition, and in the doctrine from which it flows of course, that we may justly wonder, that neither this, nor all the learned treatises which have been written against it (43), have hitherto been able to explode it; but as the argument belongs no farther to our province, than as we are bound to vindicate the divine justice and mercy displayed in the gospel, we shall gladly dismiss it.

(D) These were properly neither *Jews* nor *Gentiles*, but what the former called *proselytes of the gate*, of whom we have spoken more fully in a former volume †.

(E) This word which literally signifies *the daughter voice*, or *daughter of the voice*, is what the *Jews* have substituted to the gift of prophecy; after this last had been extinct in *Zechary* and *Malachi*, the last of the prophets. For though they allow, that several eminent men among them have been since endowed with it, such as we have seen some of the *Essenians*; yet they looked upon them in an inferior view to the former, who received theirs by immediate inspiration, whilst these had it chiefly by the help of the *bath-col*.

They are, however, divided in their notions concerning this last, having no other guide to go by than their pretended tradition, which they make no difficulty to understand, every one in his own way, and as it best serves their turn. Whilst therefore some pretended, that it was a plain, loud, and articulate voice, such as was heard by young *Samuel* (44); others looked upon it either a kind of a soft whisper, and others again as a kind of internal voice speaking to the heart of the person.

Whether there is any foundation for the two former, is hard to affirm upon so tottering a testimony of

(42) *Matth.* xxiii. 34, *& seq.* (43) *Vid. int. al. Le Clerc, Pelling, Whitby.* † *See Vol. I. p.* 664. c, d. (44) 1 *Sam.* iii. 4, *& seq.*

from heaven, not for his but their ſakes; and to warn them to make a right uſe of that light, or irrefragable evidence, which he had afforded them, leſt they ſhould bring upon themſelves a judicial blindneſs. For, added he, when I am once lifted up, alluding to his death upon the croſs, I ſhall draw all men unto me [c], intimating thereby doubtleſs, that his laying down his life in confirmation of his doctrine, joined to all the other evidences, that had preceded and were to follow it, and to the excellency of his precepts and rewards, would be ſufficient to draw all ſincere and well-diſpoſed perſons to his goſpel and religion. a

THIS heavenly diſcourſe made a deep impreſſion on many of his audience, and amongſt them upon ſome of their chief rulers, who yet did not dare own themſelves his converts, for fear of being thruſt out of the ſynagogue. When the evening came, *Jeſus*, to avoid the croud, withdrew himſelf and his diſciples for that night to *Bethany*; and on the next morning they returned to *Jeruſalem*. In his way he obſerved a fig-tree afar off, full of leaves indeed; but upon his approaching nearer it, as expecting to have found ſome fruit upon it, according to the ſeaſon of the year (F), and finding himſelf diſappointed, he curſed the tree, upon which it preſently withered down to the very root. On the next morning, which was the *Tueſday*, *Peter* caſting his eye upon it as they went to *Jeruſalem*, could not forbear wondering at the ſuddeneſs of the change; upon which Chriſt took occaſion to aſſure them, that if they had but a ſtedfaſt b

Tueſday.

[c] JOHN xii. 20, & ſeq.

of the rabbies, who all own to have lived long after they had in ſome meaſure ceaſed to be ſo common. Of this nature was that which is affirmed to have been heard to pronounce rabbi *Akiba* happy in the next world, after he had been ſent out of this by order of the emperor *Hadrian*; and another, which declared two famous doctors, *Hillel* and *Samuel*, to be worthy to receive the Holy Ghoſt; and ſome others (45), which if really heard, might be yet owing to ſome juggle of thoſe who were concerned in it. As for the laſt, or inward one, though it were hard to diſprove good men having ſuch ſecret motions or impulſes, yet they may be of two uncertain a nature to be always depended upon.

But if we examine the practice of the compilers of the talmud, or even of thoſe that lived before them, we ſhall find them conſulting this *bath-col* in a much different way, and not unlike that of the *Romans* in their *ſortes Virgilianæ*, and other heatheniſh ſuperſtitious methods; of which the two or three following, taken out of the talmud (46), will be a ſufficient proof. "*Rabbi Jochanan* and *Rabbi Simeon*, deſirous " of ſeeing the face of *Rabbi Samuel*, a prince among " the *Babyloniſh* doctors, ſaid, Let us follow the di- " rections of the *bath col*. As they were paſſing by " a ſchool in their travel thither, they heard one of " the boys reading theſe words out of the book of " *Samuel*; *And* Samuel *died*; from which they " inferred, that the perſon they were in ſearch after " was dead, and ſo it actually proved."

Two other doctors going to ſee a friend of theirs, and hearing a woman ſpeak the words, *The lamp is going out*, and her next neighbour anſwers, *May the lamp of* Iſrael *never go out*, took this alſo for a warning from the *bath col* (47). But the moſt ſurpriſing was, that of one rabbi *Aſher*, who had been guilty of ſo many notorious crimes, that upon his being led through thirteen different ſynagogues, in each of which they examined the verſe which the readers were then upon, they were every one found to be reading a grievous ſentence againſt him, ſuch as in one, the words, *There is no peace to the wicked*; in another, thoſe of the pſalmiſt, *Unto the wicked God ſays, What has thou to do to preach my laws?* &c. and ſo of the reſt (48).

The whimſical way likewiſe of prying into futurity by the caſual opening of a book, was not confined to *Jews* and *Gentiles*, but was even practiſed by the chriſtians in the times of ignorance and ſuperſtition, of which the reader may ſee ſome inſtances in dean *Prideaux* in the place laſt-quoted out of his connection.

(F) It is ſtrange, that all verſions, except the antient *Saxon* one, have made St. *Mark* there ſay, that the time of the figs was not yet come, when the very time of the year, the warmneſs of the climate there, as well as the tenor of the ſtory, the deſign and juſtice of the curſe (for who can think the Judge of all the earth could pronounce an unjuſt one?) all ſhew, that the time of the figs was come (49).

The deſign of this ſentence on a fruitleſs tree, like that other, *Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground*, was, to ſhew the *Jews* what they muſt expect to be their lot, if, after having received ſo many incentives to repentance, eſpecially of late from the preaching of the baptiſt, of Chriſt's apoſtles and his own, they continued ſtill, like this fig-tree, barren and fruitleſs. This ſhould therefore have made the interpreters ſee, that there was either ſome error crept into the text, or a manifeſt one in the verſion; and, upon due conſideration, they would have found, that, without any violence in the former, the latter ſhould have been rendered, *For where he was, the time of the figs was come*, or *it was the time of the figs there*.

This verſion will likewiſe juſtify the act, ſince it could be no injuſtice to the owner to rid his ground of a plant which ſucked its nouriſhment from it, without making any return to him; and here we beg leave to obſerve, that except this withering of the fig-tree, and that of ſending the ſwine into the lake, of which we have ſpoken in another note, all the other miracles were of the beneficent and merciful kind; ſo that to complain of two miracles of ſevere juſtice, if they were really ſuch, againſt him, who, ſetting aſide his abſolute power, has given us ſo many thouſands of goodneſs and mercy, argues a mind ſo extremely perverſe and ungrateful, as ought to make them fear leſt ſomething worſe ſhould befal them.

(45) *Vid. de his Baſnag. hiſt. des Juifs, tom.* 3. *ch.* 5. *ſect.* 8. *& ſeq.* (46) *Tractat. Shabbath. fol.* 8. *col.* 3. *Vid. Prid. connect. ſub an. c.* 29. (47) *Otho, hiſt. doct. Miſhm. ap. Baſnag. ubi ſupra, ſect.* 9. (48) *Vid. Hotting. excerpt. gemar. & Baſnag. ubi ſupra.* (49) *Vid. Heinſ. in loc. Le Scene Eſſay, part* 2. *c.* 6.

a ſtedfaſt faith in God, they might work much greater wonders than this; which they did accordingly, when their faith was ſoon after miraculouſly ſtrengthened by the ſupernatural effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt upon them. Being arrived at the temple, the *Phariſees* began to aſk him again for ſome ſurer tokens of his authority, than thoſe miracles he wrought before them. *Jeſus*, who knew that nothing could convince them, if theſe did not, appealed immediately to the teſtimony of the baptiſt, aſking them at the ſame time, whether or no they acknowledged it from heaven? Here they found themſelves ſadly entangled; if they anſwered in the affirmative, they condemned themſelves; and if negatively, they were in danger of being condemned by the audience; ſo that they were forced, after ſome deliberation, to have recourſe to that pitiful ſhift b of owning that they knew not whence it was, for which *Jeſus* juſtly pronounced them unworthy of any further evidence from him[f]. *Conesſut the* Phariſees.

It was upon this occaſion, that he tried to awaken them to a ſenſe of their obſtinacy and dangers, by ſeveral familiar, but pungent, parables, ſuch as that of the unjuſt and murdering huſbandmen; of the wedding ſupper; and of the ingratitude and inhumanity of thoſe that were invited to it; and ſome others of the ſame nature. But theſe, though feelingly enough underſtood by that hypocritical tribe, wrought no other effect upon them, than to ſet them upon ſeeking for ſome more effectual means to cut him off; and ſince they found it dangerous, by reaſon of the admiring multitude, to make any attempt upon him, to expoſe him at leaſt to the reſentment of the c civil power. It was with this view that they ſent their diſciples, with ſome of the *Herodians*, to intangle him with the grand queſtion about the lawfulneſs of paying tribute to *Ceſar*, of which we took notice in the laſt ſection; and which being eaſily perceived, *Jeſus* as eaſily defeated their malicious intent, by calling for a piece of *Ceſar*'s coin, and expoſing their hypocriſy, in making uſe of his money and protection, and yet refuſing to pay tribute to him, as affirming it inconſiſtent with their duty to God[g]. Next to theſe came the *Sadducees*, armed, as they thought, with ſuch a puzzling queſtion againſt the reſurrection, as all his learning could not elude the force of. It was of a woman, who, having been married, according to the *Moſaic* law[h], to ſeven brethren, had died at length, without having any children by any of d them. They aſked him therefore, if there was any reſurrection, whoſe wife ſhe muſt be, ſince they all had her to wife?

Jeſus prefaced his anſwer to their ſtupid queſtion with this excellent one; *Do ye not therefore err, becauſe ye know not the ſcriptures, nor the power of God?* implying thereby, that their denial of the reſurrection proceeded from their either not acknowledging (G), or, if they did, from their not rightly conſidering the ſenſe of the ſcriptures and the extent of the divine power. For, ſaid he to them, the ſtate of the bleſſed after the reſurrection

[f] Matth. xxi. 23, & ſeq. Mark xi. 27, & ſeq. Luke xx. 1, & ſeq. [g] Matth. xxii. 15, & ſeq. Luke & Mark. [h] Deuter. xxv. 5. [i] Mark xii. 24.

(G) We think the words, *not knowing*, might be more properly rendered, according to the *Hebrew* idiom in other parallel places, *not acknowledging the ſcriptures and the power of God*. Thus St. *Paul*, is introduced, as not knowing the high-prieſt, (50), who preſided at the judgment ſeat, before which he was brought to be tried; when it is plain every child could not but have known him, both by his garb and the place where he ſat. Thoſe who underſtand it, that the apoſtle, in the height of his reſentment, had forgot, or did not conſider, that he was the high-prieſt, make him ſay ſomething unworthy of his great character and uſual behaviour on ſuch occaſions; beſides, that it puts ſome ſtrain upon the plain meaning of the word *know*, which cannot be properly uſed to imply to *conſider, call to mind*.

But the ſenſe which with ſome critics we give here to that word, is both more agreeable to the *Hebrew* idiom, and to the known zeal of the apoſtle; and he may juſtly ſay, *I do not acknowledge him to be high-prieſt*; ſince we have ſeen throughout the two laſt ſections, that that dignity was become ſo venable, that the vileſt wretches might obtain it, provided they proved but the higeſt bidders. All which was contrary to the *Jewiſh* law. In this ſenſe then, the *Sadducean* error will be founded on their unbelief of, and not on their not underſtanding the ſcriptures, or the power of God; and, indeed, conſidering their denial of the immortality of the ſoul and the rewards and puniſhments of another life, they can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to have believed either ſcriptures or the divine power.

But if we take the word in the other ſenſe, and admit, that their error proceeded from the want of a right and due underſtanding of both, and not through a queſtioning or diſputing of either; yet as long as they took upon them to limit the ſenſe of the one and the extent of the other, by the ſhallow ſcan of their reaſon, they did but pretend to believe, or at leaſt fancied they did ſo, though in fact they denied them. If we were to examine the ſource of that ſcepticiſm and infidelity which reigns now ſo much among us, and oppoſes all goſpel truths with ſuch ſeeming aſſurance, we ſhould find it flowing from this *Sadducean* leaven, which is ever ready to limit the divine power and will, as ſoon as their reaſon cannot keep pace with it.

(50) *Acts* xxiii. 5.

resurrection is not to be measured by the exigencies of this life. Here marriage is a necessary to keep up the race of mankind; there they will like the angels in heaven, be free from such carnal and superfluous appetites, where their life will be wholly spiritual. He concluded with proving the truth of the resurrection from those of the sacred books, which they professed to acknowledge; which not only put a final end to that dispute, but forced even an approbation from the contrary sect of the *Pharisees* [k]. He next received a singular applause from one of the scribes for his excellent answer concerning the grand and chief command in the law [l]; after which he ventured to propose a question to them concerning the Messiah, namely, Whose son they thought he was to be? To which they answered with one accord, the son of *David*; if so, said he to them, how came *David* to call him Lord by the Spirit, *Saying, the Lord* b *said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand?* How then think ye he could be at once his Lord and his son (H)? This last question quite nonplused his whole audience, insomuch, that they never ventured to put any more puzzling questions to him from that time [m]. It was probably on this night, that being retired with his small attendance to *Bethany*, he was there invited by *Simon*, surnamed *The Leper*, and where *Mary* came and anointed his head and feet with a fresh quantity of the same precious ointment, which she had lately bestowed on him on the like occasion (I); and gave a new subject of murmuring, not to *Judas* only, but to the rest of the twelve. *Jesus* excused her a second time as he had done before, and perhaps to the satisfaction of the rest; but *Judas*, who thought it an unreasonable profusion, resolved that night to go and betray c him to the sanhedrin [n].

Silences the Sadducees.

His question about the Christ.

In the mean time, *Jesus* knowing his time to be just at hand, and recollecting how often the twelve had quarrelled among themselves about precedency, and perhaps they had started the same dispute on this very night [o]; to give therefore an effectual check to their unreasonable ambition, so contrary to the spirit of his gospel, and to leave them a lasting memorial of the contrary virtue, instead of rebuking them as he had done heretofore, he rose up from the table, and having laid aside his upper garment, and girded himself with a napkin in the guise of a waiting servant, came with a bason of water, and began to wash their feet, and wipe them with a towel which girded him. *Peter*, however, was so offended at this condescension, that he could not d at first be prevailed upon to suffer it; whereupon *Jesus* told him, that though he could not see the reason of it now, he should be made sensible of it in time. But *Peter*, still stiffly persisting in his refusal, was commanded immediately to submit, under the penalty of forfeiting all his right and title in him [p]; which terrible threatening frighted him at length into a ready compliance (K). After *Jesus* had gone round with his humble

Washes his disciples feet.

[k] Matth. xxii. 23, & seq. Vid. & parallel. [l] Ibid. vers. 32, & seq. [m] Ibid. vers. 42, & seq. Mark. x. 35. Luke, &c. [n] Matth. xxvi. 6, & seq. Mark xiv. Luke, &c. [o] Vid. Luke xxii. 24. [p] John xiii. 8.

(H) It doth not indeed appear that they had any notion of his divine nature, and therefore might be easily puzzled to answer this question; though it seems from some expressions in the gospel, that they had had some higher idea of him, than that of his being the bare son of *David*, or deliverer of *Israel*. Thus *Nathanael*, being convinced of his being the Messiah, addresses him with these words, *Rabbi, Thou art the son of* God, *thou art the king of* Israel (1). Thus *Peter*, and *Martha* also, to name no more, affirmed him to be the Christ the son of God, that was come into the world (2).

However, the *Jews* have since found out a more effectual way of evading the force of this question, by affirming, that *David* did not there speak of the Messiah, it never being the custom any where for the ancestors to give any of their successors the pompous title of their lord; but the meaning of *David*, according to them is, *the Lord* (God) *said unto my Lord* Abraham, *Sit thou on my right hand*, &c. (3), for *Abraham* being superior to *David* in point of geniture, might be properly called lord by him.

(I) The circumstances of these two actions are so alike in all parts, except the first being said to have happened at the house of *Lazarus*, and this last at that of *Simon*, the leper (so called perhaps, because he had been lately cured of that distemper, either by *Jesus*, or by some other means) that it is not easy to know whether they were really two, or one and the same. We should be apter to suppose the last, were not the generality of commentators for the first. The house might belong to *Simon*, and go by his name, and *Lazarus* might be a tenant and the master of the feast, and so both evangelists be reconciled.

(K) If ever a non-compliance to a command was justifiable, or even, we had almost said, commendable, it was certainly on this occasion, where it apparently flowed from the deepest regard which that apostle had of his master, as well as from the humblest sense of his own unworthiness. Since therefore *Jesus* was so far from admitting it as an excuse, that, without giving him any further satisfaction, he bids him to obey under the most severe penalty; this whole circumstance seems to be transmitted to us as a warning, how we make our short-sighted reason the standard of our faith or obedience, in things plainly revealed or expressly commanded. Since God is not obliged to give us, nor we indeed capable of comprehending his all-wise ends and purposes, whose ways and reasons must be allowed to be infinitely above our comprehensions.

(1) *John* i. 49. (2) *Ibid.* xi. 27. *Matth.* xvi. 16. (3) *Vid. Munst. vers. Hebr. Matth. not. ult. in cap.* 22.

humble task, he took up his upper garment, and addressed himself to the twelve in words to this effect: Ye rightly call me lord and master, for such I really am; if then you have seen me, for your example and encouragement, condescend so low as to wash your feet (which among the *Jews* was reckoned the lowest office a man could do to another), know and remember, that those who pretend to be my disciples, must never think themselves above performing the lowest office of charity to one another. It is by such acts of mutual and sincere love, that men will know, and I acknowledge, you for mine. A new command I leave with you, that as I have loved you, and did not think my life too dear a price to save you, so ye also love one another, and stop at no difficulty or discouragement, where the good of your fellow creatures, especially fellow christians, calls for your charitable assistance. Upon these conditions I leave you my peace, such a peace as neither the world can bestow on you, nor any thing make you capable of tasting the sweet influence of, but the divine virtue I am recommending to you[r]. *Recommends charity to them.*

After these and some other heavenly discourses, with which he chose to entertain them, during the short time he had to stay, that they might make the stronger impression on them, he concluded the whole with an elegant and pathetic description of the last day, when every man should receive the rewards of his deeds done in this life, according as they were either good or evil. And because he knew how apt men were to be more apprehensive of the divine anger for the commission of wilful crimes, than for the omission of such necessary duties, as he had been inforcing, and to find out a salvo to excuse their neglect of them; he chose to awaken them from that fatal mistake, by describing the general inquiry of that solemn day, as running chiefly on these last; that is, whether they had, or had not, fed the hungry, cloathed the naked, visited the sick, and the like; and the retribution of his rewards or punishments, as chiefly dispensed according to their performance or neglect of those essential duties[s]. *Describes the day of judgment.*

Whilst he was instructing his disciples in these and many other excellent truths[t], the sanhedrin were holding their consultations how to lay hands upon him, at some proper season, when the multitude were out of the way. As they therefore feared doing it during the approaching festival, lest they should cause some insurrection among the people, *Judas* came to their relief, and offered to betray him unto them for a certain reward, which they gladly agreed to, and paid him out of hand. The sum covenanted had been long ago foretold by one of the prophets, and we shall have occasion to speak more of it in the sequel. The feast of unleavened bread or passover being then just at hand, the *Jews* set about removing all the leaven from their houses, according to the *Mosaic* law, and preparing themselves for the celebration of that grand festival. Wednesday. Judas *betrays him.*

Thursday being come, in which *Jesus* was to celebrate his last, and most solemn, passover, he directed two of his disciples by a special token to a house in *Jerusalem*, where they should prepare all things for it; and he followed them thither with the rest of the twelve towards the evening. When they were set down on their couches, according to the custom of those countries, he drank a glass of wine, with which the master of the family always began the solemnity of the paschal lamb; after which, whilst they were eating, he told them with some concern, that one of them should betray him, pointing to *Judas*; that *Peter*, who had always appeared the most zealous, should thrice deny him; and that the rest should all forsake him on that very night; and reminded them of some prophecies, in which these things were written concerning him. At the conclusion of the supper, *Jesus* took the bread, and, having broke and blessed it, distributed it among them, saying, *Take, eat, this is my body, which is given for you: do this in remembrance of me.* Then taking and blessing the cup of wine also, he said, *Drink ye all of this, for this is my blood of the* New Testament, *which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sin* (L). He ended this Thursday. *Christ's last supper.*

solemn

[q] De hoc vid. 1 Sam. xxv. 41. [r] John, ibid. & seq. [s] Matth. xxvi. 31. ad fin. [t] John xiv, xv, xvi, xvii. pass.

(L) We have contented ourselves with repeating the bare words of this divine institution, without venturing to give them any gloss that should seem to lean towards any of those various systems, which every church and sect has severally formed from them; and which, being not only endless, but out of our province, we gladly forbear entering further into, to avoid giving any offence.

The opposition which a considerable writer has of late met with from several quarters, upon his venturing

ſolemn rite, with aſſuring them, that this was the laſt wine he ſhould drink; for the traytor's hand, which was ſhortly to betray him, was juſt ready to deliver him up to death; when all things, that were written of his being numbered with the tranſgreſſors, would have their full accompliſhment [u]. The whole ceremony was cloſed as uſual with a proper hymn (M); after which, *Jeſus* having again exhorted his diſciples to continue ſtedfaſt in their faith and reliance on him, and recommended them to the protection and care of his heavenly Father, by a moſt fervent and pathetic prayer, he ordered them to follow him over the brook *Kedron* [w].

Enters the doleful garden.

WHILST they were going to the mount of olives, to a place called *Gethſemane* (N), *Judas* ſlipped from them, and went to the high-prieſt's palace to get a ſufficient number of hands to come and ſurpriſe *Jeſus* in his retirement. *Jeſus*, on the other hand, being entered into the garden, where he uſually reſorted, bid ſome of his diſciples to ſtay and watch near the entrance of it, whilſt he took *Peter*, *James*, and *John* further into the garden; that as they had been the witneſſes of his glorious tranſfiguration, they might now be ſo of his preſent ſorrows and dreadful agonies. Having therefore earneſtly injoined them to be watchful, he parted from them about a ſtone's caſt; where his human nature feeling the moſt violent ſtruggles between fleſh and ſpirit, at the apprehenſion of his future ſufferings, he threw himſelf proſtrate on his face, and with utmoſt fervency, mixed with the moſt ſubmiſſive reſignation to the heavenly will, he prayed, that, if it were poſſible, the dreadful cup might paſs from him. He repeated the ſame prayer twice more, but with ſuch fervency and reſignation, that the vehemency of the ſtruggle between thoſe two paſſions, joined to the proſpect of what he was to undergo from the malice of men and devils, threw him into an agony and bloody ſweat, inſomuch, that there was an angel ſent on purpoſe to comfort and ſtrengthen him under it (O) [x]. By this time the traytor *Judas*, at the head of his armed gang, was far advanced into the garden, whilſt the diſciples were fallen into a ſound ſleep. *Jeſus* therefore, having awakened them with the news of his enemies being at hand, went forward to meet them, whilſt *Judas*, who led the van, came to offer him the treacherous kiſs, which was to be the ſignal to the reſt; who thereupon ſur-

His agony and prayer.

rounded

[u] MATTH. xxvi. 20, & ſeq. MARK. xiv. 18, & ſeq. LUKE xxii. 1, & ſeq. &c. [w] JOHN xvi, & xvii. paſſ. [x] LUKE xxii. 40, & ſeq.

turing to give the world his own particular one on that ſacred ſubject, ſhews, how dangerous it is to revive a controverſy of this high nature, in which every ſide is ſo jealous of any word that glances even the leaſt contradiction to their received doctrine.

And yet we cannot but own, that too tenacious a zeal ſeems in this laſt inſtance to have carried his opponents cenſures farther than is, perhaps, conſiſtent with chriſtian candor and charity. The ſmall regard that is paid to that ſacred inſtitute by very great numbers, or on the one hand, and the viſible neglect of it in others, from ſome miſtaken dreadful apprehenſions about it, might incline that writer to think his book and ſyſtem excellently well calculated to obviate thoſe two grand obſtacles to a more frequent uſe of it.

As for thoſe men, who from a firm and ſincere perſuaſion, that God diſplays ſome further miracles of grace and mercy in that ſacrament, find themſelves inſpired with greater love to God, and charity to men; with a greater propenſity to virtue, and abhorrence to vice; and, in a word, feel their minds and hearts more effectually attracted from earth to heaven; that author muſt be ſuppoſed too ſagacious to have wrote his book for ſuch men, ſince they could not come down to his notions of it, without being conſiderable loſers by the change.

(M) Or rather what the *Jews* call the *Hallal*, conſiſting of ſix euchariſtical pſalms, beginning at the hundred and thirteenth, and ending with the hundred and eighteenth, and with which they uſed to cloſe all thoſe ſolemnities (4).

(N) So called probably from the *Hebrew* גת-השמן, *gath-haſhemen, the oyl preſs*. For as the mount had its name from the quantity of olive-trees that grew upon it, it is probable, that this garden, which was at the foot of it, had a preſs in it; and this reconciles the evangeliſts, two of whom mention only the mount (5), another the garden (6), and the fourth *the gethſemane* or *oyl-preſs* (7).

(O) This dreadful ſcene muſt be confeſſed to contain ſome myſteries far enough above our utmoſt capacities, but which, we think, may be much more reaſonably and ſafely believed on the authority of the ſacred writers, than the latter diſputed on the account of the former. The whole œconomy of man's redemption is every-where repreſented to us as an unſearchable myſtery of divine wiſdom and goodneſs, and as the object of our belief, and not of our comprehenſion.

For this reaſon therefore it is, that God has taken ſuch care to confirm it to us by the moſt irrefragable evidence, by types and prophecies from the beginning, and by innumerable miracles and ſupernatural gifts accompanying the preaching of theſe ſaving truths. It was on that divine authority, that the primitive chriſtians received them, and ſealed their faith in them with their lives; and it is on the ſame grounds, that they have been conveyed to us through a ſucceſſion of near ſeventeen centuries; and it will be time enough for us to give up the one, when infidelity has overthrown the other. 'Till when the imperfect notion we have of the mutual action of our ſouls and bodies will be an effectual check, how we preſume to call in queſtion, or to reconcile, thoſe oppoſite paſſions in the human to the divine nature of Chriſt.

(4) *Vid.* חגגה-של-פסח & *al. ritual. Jud.* xviii. 1. (5) *Matth.* xxvi. 30. *Luke* xxii. 39. (6) *Joh.* (7) *Mark* xiv. 32.

a rounded and made ſure of him. In the interim, *Peter* drew his ſword, and ſtruck off the ear of one of the high-prieſt's ſervants, but was ſeverely rebuked for it by his maſter, who, by a miraculous touch, healed the wounded perſon, and then ſuffered himſelf to be bound and led away as a malefactor, without any other mark of reſentment, than his obſerving to them, that it was now their hour, in which the power of darkneſs was let looſe againſt him. When the eleven heard this ſaying, they immediately forſook him and fled, according to his prediction (P), and the ſoldiers conveyed their priſoner firſt to *Annas*, the late high-prieſt and father-in-law to *Caiaphas*, who was now in poſſeſſion of that dignity, as we hinted a little higher out of the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian [y]. *Is betrayed and apprehended.*

b HERE they found the ſanhedrin ſitting, though at that late time of night, and waiting for *Jeſus* to be brought before them, as he was accordingly; upon which the high-prieſt began to aſk him ſeveral queſtions concerning his doctrine and diſciples, in hopes to find either ſome hereſy in the one, or rebellion in the other. *Jeſus* contented himſelf with referring him to theſe laſt, whom he told them he had always taught in the moſt public manner, and who were therefore fitteſt to bear witneſs againſt him, if he had taught them any thing amiſs. For this anſwer, juſt and modeſt as it was, an officer ſtruck him a violent blow on the face; and *Jeſus*, having given him a gentle reproof for his raſhneſs, ſtood before them, with aſtoniſhing patience and humble ſilence, whilſt the inſtruments of the ſanhedrin were buſy in ſeeking out freſh evidence to put him to death. After much ado, they brought a couple of fellows, who c depoſed, that they had heard him brag, that he would deſtroy the temple and rebuild it in three days; but even their evidence jarring in ſome particulars, as to the expreſſion of *Jeſus* was figurative, they dared not condemn him upon it; but were forced to have recourſe to another expedient, which was to make him turn his own accuſer. *Caiaphas* therefore riſing up, adjured him by the living God, to anſwer directly to the ſupreme court, whether he was Chriſt the ſon of God or not (Q); and, upon his readily anſwering in the affirmative, and adding, that they ſhould hereafter be convinced of it, when they beheld him ſitting at the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven; fell a rending his cloaths, which was not lawful for an high-prieſt to do [z], and pronounced him guilty of blaſphemy. The reſt of the d court did readily join with him, and having pronounced him guilty of death, and ordered him to be brought early on the next morning to receive his ſentence, they left him to the mercy of the guard, who made it the cruel diverſion of that night to uſe him with the vileſt indignities and blaſphemies [a]. *Tried before the ſanhedrin.* *Condemned.*

WHILST this melancholy ſcene was acting, *Peter* and *John*, the latter of whom was known to ſome of the family, having recovered themſelves from their laſt fright, had got admittance into the hall, willing to know what was likely to be determined concerning their maſter. Their courage, however, was ſoon cooled again, when they ſaw what treatment he underwent from an inraged and inſulting rabble; ſo that *Peter*, being thrice challenged for one of his diſciples, as often ſtifly denied it, and, rather e than not be believed, bound it the laſt time with an oath. The cock crowing now the third time, put him in mind of *Jeſus*'s prediction; but that which gave him a more lively ſenſe of his cowardice and perfidy was, a pitying look which he received at that inſtant from that gracious and forgiving Saviour; upon which the tears guſhing plentifully out of his eyes, he was forced to leave the hall to go and hide his grief and ſhame [b]. *Denied by Peter.*

f EARLY on the next morning, the chief-prieſts and ſanhedrin, being convened at their uſual place, ſent for *Jeſus* to have him further examined, and to pronounce their final ſentence upon him, in order to have it ratified by the *Roman* governor (R). In the mean *Friday.*

[y] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 3. Vid & LUKE ubi ſupra, v. 54. MATTH. xxvi. 57. JOHN xviii. 12, & ſeq.
[z] Vid. LEVIT. xxi. 10, & alib. [a] MATTH. xxvi. 57 ad fin. MARK xiv. 53 ad fin. LUKE & JOHN. Vid. & ISAI. l. 6. [b] JOHN xvi. i. 15, & ſeq. MATTH. LUKE, &c.

(P) Which he quoted to them out of the prophet (8); *I will ſmite the ſhepherd, and the ſheep ſhall be ſcattered.* In the like manner the whole ſcene of his ſufferings is moſt lively deſcribed by another prophet (9), who is therefore called evangelical, becauſe his prophecy ſeems rather a rehearſal of things paſt, than a prophecy of what was to happen ſo many centuries off; as the ſequel will preſently ſhew.

(Q) Nothing could be more cunningly excogitated than this queſtion, to which if he anſwered in the affirmative, they were ready to condemn him as a blaſphemer, and if in the negative, as an impoſtor and deceiver of the people.

(R) Not, as ſome have imagined, becauſe the *Romans* had ſome years ago deprived that court of the power of life and death; for we ſhall meet with ſeveral

(8) *Zechariah* xiii. 7. (9) *Iſai.* liii. *paſſ. & alib.*

Judah's remorse.

mean time, *Judas*, being surprised at what had passed within the sanhedrin, was stung with such lively remorse, that he came and threw the reward of his treachery down before them, owning himself the vilest of wretches, for having betrayed an innocent person to them; but they, regardless of his sorrow and despair, bid him look to it; upon which he went, and, as most versions render it, hanged himself (S) [c]. But those hypocritical judges were soon after taken with a quite different qualm of conscience, thinking it now unlawful to refund those thirty pieces of silver into the treasury, because it was the price of blood, though they had made no scruple to take them out of it, to purchase that very blood. After some deliberation therefore, they agreed to buy a potter's field with them, for a burying-place for strangers; and in so doing fulfilled an old prophecy, in which the number of pieces, the design for which they were given, the purchase made with them, and the potter, to whose share they came at last, were expressly foretold [d]. The field was accordingly bought soon after the feast was over, and from thence was called in their tongue, *Haceldama*, or *the field of blood* [e]. It stood on the south side of mount *Sion*, within a stone-cast of the pool of *Siloam*.

Jesus *brought before* Pilate.

As soon as the sanhedrin had ended their process against *Jesus*, he was hurried before the *Roman* tribunal, and there accused of perverting the people, raising seditions, setting up for a king, and forbidding tribute to be paid to *Cæsar*. They would not, however, venture into the prætorium, or judgment-hall, for fear of polluting themselves,

[c] Matth. xxvii. 5. [d] Conf. Zechar. xi. 12, 13. [e] Vid. Matth. ubi supra, vers. 7, & seq. Acts i. 18.

veral instances of the contrary in the sequel; in particular that of the protomartyr *Stephen*, who was regularly tried, condemned, and stoned, by their single authority (10), about a year after. But they seem to have had a double end in it; the one to throw the odium of his death, as much as possible, upon *Pilate* and the *Romans*, as if he had condemned him for raising some rebellion against them; and the other, to make him undergo a more severe and ignominious punishment, and such a one as they could not inflict upon him by their own power, because it was not one of those that were prescribed by their law; concerning which the reader may, if he pleases, turn to our first volume †. So that their pretence of its not being lawful for them to put any man to death was no farther true, than in cases where the crime was against the state; of which the governor was the proper judge. But as to blasphemy, or any other crime against the *Jewish* religion, the instance above related of St. *Stephen* plainly shews, that they made no scruple to put the guilty person to death without the governor's consent.

Yet nothing of this was done without the direction of providence, since crucifixion was the death which it had been foretold by *David* he should undergo (11), and which he himself had likewise often hinted, both to the apostles and to the rest of the *Jews* (12). Accordingly therefore, the accusation, which they intended against him before *Pilate*, was of a civil nature: We have found, said they, this turbulent fellow raising up seditions, and forbidding to pay tribute to *Cæsar* (13).

It is true, indeed, when they found that this accusation could not determine that governor, who saw through their malice and injustice, to condemn him; they tacked the other of blasphemy to it, and insisted, that their law made it capital; but this was only added to give more weight to their other accusation; upon which they wanted him to be condemned, as the sequel will shew.

However, it was necessary to observe these circumstances thus far here, against those, who, from the notion of the whole power of life and death being taken away before this time, have inferred, that the sceptre spoken of by *Jacob* (14) was also departed from *Judah*. The contrary of which will be seen in its due place.

(S) The difficulty which interpreters have found to reconcile what is said of his hanging himself here with what St. *Peter* says in another place (15), *That he fell headlong, and burst asunder, and his bowels gushed out*, has made them fall into several conjectures, such as the breaking of the rope before he was quite dead, and his throwing himself down some precipice, which brought on the last dismal circumstances of his death, and the like *; all which is said without foundation.

What the same apostle says a little lower, and which the versions have, as we observed in a former note, misrendered, *that he might go into his own place* (16), had led others to look upon his fall, bursting, &c. as a further judgment on that unhappy wretch (17), who did yet shew the most lively tokens of a sincere repentance, *viz.* the most public acknowledgment of his crime, restitution of the ill-gotten money, reparation to the best of his power to the injured person, and an open condemnation of their unjust proceedings against him. Now all these difficulties might be easily removed, if they had rendered the words of St. *Matthew*, according to *Le Scene*, *that he was suffocated*, namely with grief, shame, and remorse, or, which is the same thing, *died of a squinancy* occasioned by it (18).

His falling on his face, which, as the same critic observes, is all that is implied by what we render, *he fell*, and others, *he thrust himself headlong, and burst asunder*, is, it seems, no more than what is common to people in that distemper; who fall down on their faces for want of breath, and commonly burst after it (19). This sense therefore will easily reconcile the two sacred historians, without either doing violence to the text, having recourse to improbable conjectures, or introducing the divine vengeance pursuing even his breathless carcase.

(10) *Acts* vi. 8, & *seq.* vii. *per tot.* † *Page* 672, & *seq.* (11) *Ps.* xxii. 16. (12) *Vid. Joh.* iii. 14. xii. 32, 33. (13) *Luke* xxiii. 2. (14) *Gen.* xlix. 10. *Vid. & Vol. I. p.* 452, (G). (15) *Acts* i. 18. * *Vid. Theophylact. Maldonat. & al. in loc.* (16) *Act. Ibid. vers.* 25. (17) *Vid. int. al. Taylor's life of Christ, in loc. Eckard eccles. hist. Tremell. Beza, & al.* (18) *Le Scene's Expos. part* 2. c. 7. *sect.* 3. (19) *Vid. cund. & auct. ab eo citat.*

a lives, and becoming unfit for the approaching ſolemnity; but deſired the governor to come out to them, whilſt they ſtood in the open place before his palace-gate. When *Pilate* heard the accuſation, and found that it was cognizable by himſelf alone, he cauſed *Jeſus* to be brought before his tribunal, where he aſked him, whether he was really a king? *Jeſus* readily anſwered him in the affirmative (T); but added at the ſame time, that his kingdom was not of this world; for if it had, his ſervants would have fought in his defence, and ſaved him from falling into the hands of his perſecutors. This was enough to convince the governor of the injuſtice of his accuſation, which he already knew was the effect of ſome private malice they had againſt him. However, that he might know ſomething more concerning his imaginary kingdom,
b for ſuch and no other he ſeems to have ſuppoſed it, he aſked him again, Art thou really a king? To which he replied, I am indeed. For this cauſe was I born, that I might bear witneſs to the truth; and none are my ſubjects, but ſuch as obey the voice of truth. *Pilate*, being ſtill more out of conceit with this new kind of kingdom, contented himſelf with aſking, what he meant by truth? and, without ſtaying for an anſwer, went out to the people, and told them, that he could find no fault in their pretended criminal. When the *Jewiſh* rulers heard this, they were ſtill more vehement in their accuſations. *Pilate* therefore urged him to give ſome kind of anſwer to them; but he, who knew how vain it was to attempt it, made them no other defence, than that of a ſurpriſing and invincible ſilence.

c The *Jews* took this opportunity to be more vehement in their invectives, in order to exaſperate the fluctuating governor againſt him, by aſſuring him, that he had filled not only *Jeruſalem* and all *Judæa*, but even all his own country of *Galilee*, with his ſeditious doctrine. As ſoon therefore as *Pilate* heard that he was of that country, and belonged to *Herod*'s juriſdiction, he ordered him to be immediately ſent to *Sent to* Herod. him, in hopes at once to lay an obligation on that tetrarch, with whom he had been at ſome variance, and to throw the whole burden of this intricate and dangerous trial upon him; he being then come to *Jeruſalem* to the feaſt. *Herod* was no leſs glad to ſee a perſon, of whom he had heard ſuch wonders, and from whom he expected to have ſeen ſome ſignal miracles; but *Jeſus*, ready and liberal as he was of them to the
d poor and afflicted, diſdained to work them, either to gratify the curioſity of ſuch a tyrant, or to ſilence the malice of his enemies; ſo that, in ſpight of all their vehement accuſations and of *Herod*'s ſcornful treatment of him, he would not ſo much as vouchſafe him an anſwer to any of his queſtions. *Herod*, affronted at his obſtinate ſilence and his own diſappointment, began to treat him as a deſpicable perſon, and turned him over to his guards, with orders to ſend him back to *Pilate*; and theſe, after ſeveral rude indignities, arrayed him in a gorgeous robe of mockery, and brought him back to the hall of judgment. From this time, however, *Pilate* and *Herod* laid aſide all their reſentment, and were perfectly reconciled to each other.

Whilst this was doing, *Pilate*'s wife had ſent to warn him againſt having any
c hand in condemning that juſt perſon, on whoſe account ſhe had been terrified with ſome dreadful dreams that night. The *Romans* were very obſerving of theſe kinds of ſuperſtitions; ſo that this meſſage made him ſtill more afraid to yield to the preſſing inſtances of the tumultuous *Jews*. As ſoon therefore as *Jeſus* was brought back to him, *Brought back* he came out to them, and plainly told them, that he could not condemn a perſon, in *to* Pilate. whom, after the ſtricteſt examination, he had not been able to find the leaſt capital crime; nor even *Herod* himſelf, who, though much better acquainted with their laws, had ſent him back to him abſolved. I will therefore, added he, inflict ſome lighter puniſhment on him, and let him go. This propoſal, inſtead of mollifying them, made them more inſtant to have him crucified. He bethought himſelf at length
f of another expedient, which he expected would have both ſaved him, and aſſuaged their fury. You know, ſaid he to them, that it is a cuſtom for your governors to releaſe to you ſome one criminal on theſe feſtivals, whom you ſhall name. Tell me therefore, ſhall I deliver you this man, or *Barabbas*, who lies in priſon for an inſur- Barabbas *pre-* rection and murder? He judged indeed, and reaſonably too, that they would not *ferred to him.* carry their reſentment or boldneſs ſo far, as to prefer a rebel and a murderer before an innocent perſon; and therefore it was, that he gave them only the choice of theſe two. But, to his great ſurprize, the people, inſtigated by the prieſts and rulers, demanded *Barabbas*

(T) Ours and ſome verſions make his anſwer ſomewhat ambiguous, as if he dared not to ſpeak out, *Thou ſayeſt it*, or, *thou ſayeſt that I am a king*; whereas, according to the *Hebrew* idiom, it ſhould properly be rendered, *It is as thou ſayeſt, I am indeed a king.*

Barabbas to be releaſed, and *Jeſus* to be crucified, in ſpight of all he could ſay in a his behalf.

SINCE therefore he could not work on their reaſon and conſcience, he reſolved to try what he could do on their pity, and ordered *Jeſus* to be ſent to the pillar, and to be ſeverely ſcourged (U); which was accordingly done, and (as we may ſuppoſe, from the natural barbarity of the *Roman* ſoldiers, as well as from the additional indignities which they offered to him preſently after) was executed with utmoſt ſeverity. After they had untied him, the whole cohort gathered about him, threw a ragged purple robe about his mangled body, ſet a crown of thorns upon his head, and put a reed in his hand; and whilſt ſome bowed the knee to him in mockery, and ſaluted him king of the *Jews*, others did buffet him, ſpit upon him, and uſe him with utmoſt inſolence b and inhumanity. *Pilate* thought this a proper time to bring him forth to them in this ſad and deplorable guiſe, not doubting, but the ſight of ſo diſmal an object would have melted them into pity and remorſe. But he little knew the temper of the *Jews*, and that the more abject and miſerable the perſon appeared, on whom they had fixed ſuch great hopes and expectation, the more they would deteſt and abhor him. And ſo he found it happened on this occaſion, though to his greateſt ſurprize; and the very people, who, but ſix days before, followed him with their loud *Hoſannahs*, could not now behold him in that abject ſtate, without crying out with greater vehemence, *away with him, crucify him*. *Pilate*, ſurprized at this horrid cruelty, refuſed again to comply, alledging, that he found no fault in him; upon which the prieſts and elders, c finding it impoſſible to get him condemned for ſedition, began to accuſe him of blaſphemy: We have a law, ſaid they to him, which condemns him to death for calling himſelf the Son of God. At theſe laſt words, *Pilate*, ſtill more terrified, took him again to his tribunal, and aſked him ſeveral queſtions, to which *Jeſus* diſdaining to anſwer, he tried again to provoke him to it, by reminding him, that it was in his power to condemn or releaſe him. *Jeſus* gave no other anſwer to it, than by reminding him in his turn, that all his boaſted power came to him from above, and that he ſhould therefore be accountable for his abuſe of it, though the greater guilt did fall on thoſe who had delivered him up unto him. Theſe laſt words made ſuch an impreſſion on the governor, that he went out to the people, fully determined, as he thought, at d any rate to releaſe him. But during this interval the prieſts and rulers, who knew but too well the temper of the *Roman* prætor, bethought themſelves of an expedient which would quickly bring him into a compliance; ſo that, before he could well diſcover his reſolution to them, they began to cry out, with one accord and in a threatening tone, Thou art not *Cæſar*'s friend, if thou letteſt a man go, who, by aſſuming the royal title and forbidding to pay the uſual tribute, has declared himſelf his open enemy. This argument proved more powerful than all the reſt, and *Pilate* now no longer daring to refuſe their unjuſt demands, for fear of bringing his loyalty to *Cæſar* into queſtion, having firſt waſhed his hands (W) before them all, and declared himſelf e innocent of the blood of that innocent perſon, delivered him up to be crucified, and releaſed the ſeditious murderer, according to their deſire [f].

Jeſus *ſcourged and mocked.*

Accuſed of blaſphemy.

Condemned to the croſs.

As ſoon as *Pilate* had pronounced that moſt unjuſt ſentence againſt the moſt innocent of men, the *Roman* ſoldiers led him back to the hall, where they ſtripped him

[f] Vid. Matth. xxvii. per tot. Mark xv. paſſ. Luke xxiii. per tot. John xviii. & xix. paſſ.

(V) This puniſhment was not like that uſed among the *Jews*, of which we have given an account in a former volume †, and did neither exceed forty ſtripes, nor was reckoned diſhonourable, ſince even their monarchs were ſubjected to it. But among the *Romans*, it was very ſevere and ſhameful, The perſon being ſtripped naked, at leaſt down to the girdle, and his hands tied to a ring faſtened to a ſtone pillar, not above a foot and half high, if ſo much, ſo that his body was bent forward almoſt double, which gave ſuch an advantage to the executioners, that the blows came down, as it were, with double force.

This particular part of our Saviour's ſuffering is rightly ſuppoſed to be foretold by the pſalmiſt (20), in theſe words; *The plowers plowed upon my back, and made long furrows.* As likewiſe that of his being buffeted, and ſcornfully ſpit upon in the halls of the high-prieſt, and of the governor, by the prophet *Iſaiah* (21) in theſe terms; *I gave my back to the ſmiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair; neither did I hide*, or *defend, my face from being ſhamefully ſpit upon.*

(W) This mock ceremony ſeems to have been a kind of form uſed by judges in caſes of this unjuſtifiable nature. Elſe *Pilate* could not but be conſcious, that all the water of the ſea could not waſh away the guilt of his unrighteous ſentence; no! not, though the impious *Jews* did then pray, that the ſin and puniſhment of it might fall on them and their unhappy poſterity (22).

† *Vol. I. p.* 672, & (A).

(20) *Pſ.* cxxix. 3.

(21) *Ch.* l. 6, & *ſeq.*

(22) Matth. xxvii. 25.

a him of his mock royalty, and put on him his own garments; and having laid his croſs on him, they led him with two other criminals out of the city (X), to a place called in *Hebrew*, *Golgotha*, and in *Latin*, *Calvary*, to be crucified. His tender body, quite ſpent with watching and ſufferings, beginning to ſink under its weight, they compelled a *Cyrenean Jew* †, named *Simon*, to help to bear his croſs after him. In this doleful march he beheld ſome women melting into tears at the ſight of his deplorable condition; but it ſeems, as if the more dreadful fate, which waited the unhappy *Jews*, had made him quite inſenſible of his own miſery; for turning to them with uſual compaſſion, he bid them rather weep at the more diſmal proſpect of their future ruin, when their calamities would make them wiſh their wombs had been barren,
b and their breaſts incapable of yielding any nouriſhment to a generation, whoſe fidelity would ſhortly render them the ſad object of the divine vengeance, and the ſcorn and hatred of the world [g].

It was now about the ſixth hour of the day, anſwering to our mid-day (Y), when they came to the place, where they offered him ſome wine mixed with myrrh (Z), which, when he had taſted, he refuſed to drink. They then ſtripped him of his cloaths, and extending his body on the croſs, faſtened him to it, with nails driven through his hands and feet, whilſt he was earneſtly praying to his Father to forgive them a deed, which they committed through ignorance. After which they reared up the croſs, and fixed it on the ground, ſo that his body hanged on four wounds, made
c on the moſt tender and ſenſible parts of the body. With him they crucified two malefactors (A), one on each ſide, according to that oracle, which foretold his being

Jeſus *crucified between two thieves.*

† De his vid. ſup. pag. 31. a; & (D).

[g] Luke xxiii. 27, & ſeq.

(X) The *Jews* ſuffered no criminals to be put to death in any of their cities, much leſs in the metropolis; and this was done in imitation of what had been practiſed in their camps in the wilderneſs (23), and was typified by the red heifer and ſcape-goat, of which we have ſpoken in a former volume *; ſo that Chriſt, the grand propitiatory victim, was led, loaden with the ſins of mankind †, to be offered up without the gates of *Jeruſalem*.

Golgotha or *Calvary* was a rocky hill on the weſt ſide of the city (24), and was a kind of charnel ſtore-houſe from which it had thoſe names, which ſignify *the place of a ſcull*, probably from its reſemblance to it; and was alſo made uſe of for a place of execution.

It is ſuppoſed by the ancient fathers to have been the mountain where *Abraham* went to ſacrifice his ſon. Some of them add, on the authority of a *Jewiſh* tradition, that the ſcull of *Adam* had been there buried by *Shem*, to whom his father gave it in charge after the flood, as it was he who was to people the holy land (25).

(Y) The difference between St. *Mark*, who calls it *the third hour* (26), and the other two evangeliſts, who call it *the ſixth* (27), is eaſily reconciled by their different ways of dividing the day, namely, either into twelve hours, beginning at the ſun-riſe (28), which the two laſt follow, and into four parts, called alſo hours; but which they diſtinguiſhed only by three, ſix, nine, and twelve; and theſe were the uſual hours to repair to the temple or ſynagogues, &c. to pray (29); and to this laſt way of reckoning the former ſeems to allude, calling it the third hour, probably becauſe the ſixth was not quite begun. Perhaps alſo is he there ſpeaking, not of his real crucifixion, but of the *Jews* obtaining *Pilate*'s ſentence of it againſt him, which was certainly near the third hour, or our nine of the clock in the morning.

(Z) This mixture was probably given to intoxicate the ſufferers, that they might be leſs ſenſible of their torment; and *Jeſus* might refuſe it upon that very account, becauſe it became him, who was then going to offer himſelf a free and voluntary ſacrifice to God for the ſins of men, and was to ſhew them a pattern how to bear afflictions with due reſignation to the divine will; to avoid a thing which might too far diſcompoſe his thoughts, and ſhew too ill a precedent to his followers.

One of the evangeliſts makes this mixture to conſiſt of myrrh and wine (30), and another of vinegar and gall (31). Hence ſome ſuppoſe, that though the former was uſually given on ſuch occaſions, yet the ſoldiers ought of ſpight and contempt gave him the latter, which would have a contrary effect. But we much doubt, whether the *Romans*, naturally delighting in being cruel to perſons in miſery, could be capable of ſo much compaſſion towards criminals. Their barbarous ſports and ſpectacles argue rather the reverſe. Beſides, the *vinum myrrhatum*, we are told (32), was highly eſteemed by them, inſomuch, that one of the laws of the twelve tables forbad their dead to be waſhed or ſprinkled with it. And who can imagine, that they would beſtow it on ſuch criminals as they condemned to this kind of death, which was held in the greateſt ignominy and reproach among them?

It is more likely, that the evangeliſt, who wrote in the *Hebrew* or *Syriac*, made uſe of the word מר, *mar*, which ſignifies *bitterneſs*, or *any bitter ingredient*, and that his tranſlator miſtook it for מור, *mor*, *myrrh*; and thus the two evangeliſts will be reconciled, and the prophecy fulfilled, *They gave me gall to eat, and in my thirſt, vinegar to drink* (33). For the whole tenor of this pſalm ſeems to be a continued prophecy of Chriſt's ſufferings, as well as of that judicial blindneſs, ruin, and diſperſion, which fell on the impenitent *Jews* (34).

(A) Theſe are reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been two of the gang of thoſe free-booters, whom the *Jews*

(23) *De hoc vid. int. al. Vol. I. p.* 528. d. 557, & *note.* * *Ibid.* 619, (V). 622, c. & (Z). † *Ibid. in fin. not.* (Z). (24) *See the map of the city.* (25) *Hieron. Euſeb. Tertul. Orig. & al. mult.* (26) *Cb.* xv. 34. (27) Luke xxiii. 44. John xix. 14. (28) *Vid.* Matth. xxi. 3, & *ſeq.* John xi. 9. (29) *Ut* Act. iii. 1. x. 9. *De his vid. & Druſ. in loc. Goodwin*, Moſes & Aar. *l.* iii. *c.* 1. *ſect.* 6, 7. & *ſeq.* (30) Mark xv. 23. (31) xxvii. 34. (32) *Vid. Plin. l.* xiv. *c.* 13. (33) *Pſ.* lxix. 21. (34) *Vid. a verſ.* 22. *ad fin.*

being numbered with tranſgreſſors [h]. *Pilate* had likewiſe ordered the title of his a
accuſation to be fixed to the croſs; it was written in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin*, the three moſt known tongues at that time, and in theſe words; *Jeſus of* Nazareth, *king of the* Jews. The chiefs were therefore highly affronted at it, and came to beg of *Pilate* to have it altered, and, inſtead of calling him king of the *Jews*, to have it inſerted that he aſſumed that title to him. But he as ſtifly refuſed it, and ſent them away with this haughty anſwer, *What I have written, I have written.* Here, whilſt the ſoldiers, who were ſet to watch him, fulfilled another prophecy of him, in the diviſion they made of his garments and caſting lots on his robe, becauſe it was without ſeam and woven from top throughout [i]; the prieſts and elders were verifying
Reviled by the prieſts, &c. another, in the ſcornful taunts and injurious reflections they caſt upon him, in the height b
of his anguiſh and dying pangs. *He ſaved others*, ſaid they, in a deriding tone; *but cannot ſave himſelf: he pretended to truſt in God, let him now deliver him, if he had ſuch delight in him* [k]. Their example was followed by all the multitudes that were gathered to ſee the diſmal ſight. The very criminals, who were crucified on each ſide, could not forbear reviling him, till one of them, ſtung at laſt with ſome lively remorſe, gave his fellow-ſufferer a ſevere rebuke for his impiety; then addreſſing him-
The penitent thief forgiven. ſelf to the ſuffering *Jeſus*, who was then, more than ever, touched with a feeling of our infirmities, and ſympathiſing with his torments and agonies; in the humbleſt terms confeſſed his own guilt; and in that pathetic and glorious confeſſion he made of him, whilſt under the ſame ſhameful ſentence and puniſhment, gave ſuch a ſignal c
inſtance of his faith and piety, as no age of the chriſtian church ſince that time could ever parallel (B); and for which he received this comfortable aſſurance, from him that had the keys of life and death, *This day ſhalt thou be with me in paradiſe* [l].

WHILST *Jeſus* hanged on the croſs, he beheld his ſorrowful virgin mother ſtanding by, on whom was now verified the ſaying of old *Simeon*, that *a ſword ſhould pierce her very ſoul*; and with her ſtood his beloved diſciple, with *Mary Magdalen*, and ſome other women. The ſight of her grief, which muſt be ſuppoſed to be beyond expreſſion at this diſmal juncture, revived his tenderneſs for her; ſo that, being now come to the laſt period of his life, he recommended her to the care of that favourite diſciple, intreating them to ſhew to each other from thenceforward the indearing duties of d
mother and ſon; and from that time *John* took her to his own houſe [m]. In the mean time, a horrid darkneſs overſpread the face of the earth; the ſun hid, as it were, himſelf from ſo diſmal a ſight (C); all the ſpectators were ſeized with a ſudden terror and amazement,

[h] Conf. Iſai. liii. ult. & Mark xv. 28. Luke xxii. 37, xxiii. 33. [i] Conf. Pſ. xxii. 18. & Luke xxiii. 34. John xix. 24. [k] Conf. Pſ. xxii. 7, 8. & Matth. xxvii. 41, & ſeq. [l] Luke ibid. 39. & ſeq. [m] John xix. 25, & ſeq.

Jews called לסטסין, *liſteſſin*, and the *Romans prædones*; ſuch as, we have obſerved in a former ſection, uſed to infeſt thoſe countries, and had given *Herod* ſo much trouble to ſuppreſs.

(B) This remarkable circumſtance is the more worthy being obſerved in all its parts, becauſe many a wicked perſon have flattered themſelves with a dangerous notion, that ſome ſuch ſhort ejaculation at their laſt agonies will meet with the like ſucceſs, though in every other particular quite oppoſite to him.

He ſees *Jeſus* rejected and condemned by his whole nation, who had been witneſſes of his ſtupendous works; ſentenced by the *Romans*; reviled by the *Jewiſh* prieſts and elders; forſaken by his own diſciples; undergoing a moſt ignominious and excruciating death; and yet, under all thoſe diſadvantagious circumſtances, acknowledges him a King, a Saviour, and a Lord. He proclaims the unrighteouſneſs of his ſentence, and the juſtice of his own: he declares his faith and hope in him; his belief of another life; and ſo ſubmiſſive is he under his torments, that, inſtead of praying to be delivered from them, either by ſome miracle, or by a ſpeedy death, his extreme humility will not ſuffer him to aſk for more than a bare remembrance of him, when he came into his kingdom.

(C) This darkneſs was the more miraculous, becauſe it happened in the time of the oppoſition of the two luminaries, when conſequently there could be no eclipſe of the ſun. For we have formerly obſerved, that the paſſover began in the full moon *; beſides, the total darkneſs of the ſun's eclipſes laſted but at moſt twelve or fifteen minutes; whereas this is recorded to have laſted three full hours (35). Whether it reached the whole hemiſphere, or only the land of *Judæa*, is not eaſily determined, the ancient fathers being divided about it. *Origen* and ſome others confined it to the latter (36), whilſt others (37) extend it over the former. Theſe quote the famous aſtronomer *Phlegon*, the freed-man of the emperor *Adrian*, who affirms, that in the fourth year of the CCII olympiad, which is ſuppoſed to be that of the death of Chriſt, there was ſuch a total eclipſe of the ſun at noon-day, that the ſtars were plainly to be ſeen. It has indeed been diſputed, whether this year of Chriſt's crucifixion anſwered to that of the olympiad abovementioned; and what is there of this nature that ſome bold critics will not diſpute? but we ſhall refer our readers for a fuller view of the controverſy to the learned doctor *Dawſon*'s diſſertation on that ſubject. *Tertullian*, in his uſual elegant way, refers the heathens to their public records for this ſurpriſing phœnomenon, wherein midnight

* *Vol. I. p.* 502, a, b. 602, a, & *ſeq.* (35) *Vid.* Matth. xxvii. 45. (36) *In* Matth. *ubi ſupra.* & *alii.* (37) *Jul. African. ap. Syncel. Euſeb. in chronic. Hieron. & al.*

amazement. Some returned to *Jeruſalem*, ſmiting their breaſts, and proclaiming him a righteous man, whilſt the reſt, more hardened, ſtood in a kind of mournful ſilence, expecting the event. This unnatural darkneſs and diſorder, which laſted from the ſixth to the ninth hour, that is, from noon to three of the clock after it, was followed by a greater, when *Jeſus*, quite ſpent with pain and anguiſh, cried out, *Eli, Eli, Lama Sabachtani* (D); and having taſted the mingled vinegar, which was offered to imbitter

night happened at noon-day (38). And *Suidas* introduces *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, then at *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, expreſſing himſelf to his friend *Apollophanes* concerning this unnatural eclipſe; that *either the Author of nature ſuffered, or was ſympathiſing with the ſufferer*.

(D) Or, which is more probable, repeated the whole twenty-ſecond pſalm, of which thoſe are the title, or firſt words, and in which there are the moſt lively ſtrokes of all the remarkable particulars of his paſſion; ſome of which we have already quoted, others we have elſewhere explained in a manner wholly new, and yet ſatisfactory, as we have found, to many of our readers *. The word שבקתני, *ſabachtani*, here uſed, inſtead of the *Hebrew* עזבתני, *hazabthani*, ſhews, that it was quoted out of the *Chaldee* paraphraſe, which was then the moſt in uſe, and in which alone that word is to be found (39). So that he ſeems here to have, as it were, reminded his heavenly Father, how he was now fulfilling all thoſe prophecies contained in that pſalm, which is a kind of epitome or ſummary of all the other oracles relating to his ſufferings and death. In conſequence of which, he was praying to him that he would make good to him and to his ſpiritual poſterity, that is, to his church; all thoſe gracious promiſes, which are contained in the latter part of the ſame pſalm, from the twenty-ſecond verſe to the end.

The *Jews* therefore, who knew that there was no other way then, to quote either a pſalm, or any other ſection of holy writ, but from the firſt words of it, as we have elſewhere ſhewn †, might have ſaved their invectives againſt Chriſt, as if he had been then ſeized with a kind of deſpair (40), and objecting to him the words of the pſalmiſt, *I never ſaw the righteous forſaken*, &c. (41). Our commentators might likewiſe have ſaved themſelves the trouble of accounting for this ſeemingly deſpairing expoſtulation, from the ſuppoſition, that the Deity had wholly withdrawn every ſpark of comfort and hope from him, whilſt he was thus undergoing the puniſhment due to ſin; ſome of whom have carried it to ſuch a height, as cannot be read without horror (42). Whereas the ſuppoſition above-mentioned, that he was then repeating this noble pſalm, which, after the recapitulation of his unparallelled ſufferings, concludes with the moſt comfortable promiſes both to him and his followers; ſhews him to have been ſo far from either doubt or deſpair, that he comforted himſelf under the terrible weight of the former by the aſſured proſpect of the latter. And that he really died in this godlike temper of mind, all the other circumſtances of his paſſion and death, as well as his laſt dying ejaculations, and the noble teſtimony which the centurion gave of it, do plainly ſhew.

And here we beg leave to make one remark more on the elaborate metrical verſion, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, wherein that learned prelate, ſpeaking of the pſalm we are now upon, thinks to have found in it ſuch difference of ſtyle, matter, &c. that he cannot forbear ſuppoſing they are two different pſalms, abſurdly tacked together by the *Jews*, and which ought to be divided at the twenty-ſecond verſe above-mentioned, where a kind of new theme ſeems to begin.

But, with due ſubmiſſion to his lordſhip's great judgment, we think this difference of ſtyle, &c. highly conſiſtent with the two-fold deſign of it, the one to foretel the great humiliation of Chriſt, and the other to ſhew his glorious exaltation immediately following it (43). The ſubject of thoſe two prophecies being vaſtly different, it could hardly be otherwiſe, but the ſtyle muſt be ſo likewiſe. We may add, that the fifty-third chapter of *Iſaiah*, which runs almoſt parallel in both theſe caſes, and is allowed by all chriſtians, as it was once by the ancient *Jews*, to relate to the Meſſiah (44), might be as properly divided into two, as this pſalm; which yet never came into any man's head, on account of that difference, or any other. No not even into that of the *Jews*, though ſo cloſely pinched by it, that they have even ventured to ſplit the perſon here ſpoken of into two.

Before we diſmiſs this noble pſalm, we beg leave to anſwer an objection which the latter raiſe againſt our reading in the ſixteenth verſe, כרו, *caru, they pierced my hands*, &c. inſtead of כארי, *caare*, which they pretend is the true reading, and ſignifies *like a lion*, as if the meaning had been, *my hands and feet, like thoſe of a lion*; (to which they were forced to add to make it ſenſe,) *were watched* or *obſerved*. And this exchange of the latter for the former they do not ſcruple to charge us with, as done deſignedly by the ſacred hiſtorian (45).

As we have no manuſcript of ſo old a date as to be able to decide the matter on either ſide, it might be a ſufficient anſwer to obſerve to them the unlikelihood, that St. *Matthew*, who was a converted *Jew*, and wrote in a language ſo well underſtood by the whole nation, ſhould dare to quote a paſſage ſo contrary to its received reading and ſenſe, if theirs had really been the right one.

We might tell them farther, that by their own confeſſion the ſeptuagint verſion had altered the ſenſe of ſeveral texts of ſcripture, which they thought looked derogatory of either their law-giver, or of the Meſſiah. Of this laſt nature was the changing of the words of the text, *Mine ears haſt thou bore, for a body haſt thou prepared for me*. Concerning which we have ſpoken more fully in our firſt volume ‡; to which we might add, that *Juſtin Martyr* charges them (46) with having made many other more conſiderable alterations, and in particular with having expunged the words απο του ξυλου out of the tenth verſe of the ninety-ſixth pſalm, when both that verſion and the ancient *Latin* one made from it, called *Vetus Itala*, read, *Dicite in gentibus, Dominus regnavit à ligno*; which laſt words are likewiſe to be ſeen in ſome other verſions in the ſame tongue (47); and is it not more reaſonable to think, that when the old *Maſorites* came to find what uſe was made

(38) *Apolog.* c. 21. * *Vid. Vol. I. p.* 622. *in fin.* (Z). (39) *Vid. Munſt. in Pſ.* xxii. *note b. Prid. Connect. part.* 2 *l.* 8. *ſub an. A. C.* 27. (40) עזיחר-טוב, & *al. comment. in Pſal.* (41) *Pſal.* xxxvii. 25. & *alib.* (42) *Vid. inter al. Calvin. in loc. & inſtitut.* (43) *De hoc vid. Philip.* ii. 8, & 9. † *Vid. int. al. Mori Diatrib. in Iſai.* liii. *præf. & not. paſſ. & parallelism. int. loc. & nov. teſt. ſcript.* (44) *Vid. int. al. Dial. lib. Nizachon.* ‡ *Pag.* 614. *not.* (N). (45) *Dialog. cont. Tryph.* (47) *Vid. Hexapl. in loc. Psalter. pentaglot. Auguſt. in Pſ. in loc.*

imbitter his laſt gaſp, recommended his ſpirit into the hands of his heavenly Father, a
and in an agony of prayer yielded up the ghoſt.

The ſtrange prodigies which happened at his death.

FOR immediately upon his expiring, the frame of nature fell, as it were, into convulſions: the earth quaked, the rocks were cleft aſunder, the graves opened, the dead raiſed; and the veil, which covered the moſt holy place, was rent in twain from the top to the bottom, uncovering thereby thoſe myſteries of the *Moſaic* diſpenſation, which had now in his death their full accompliſhment; in token of which he broke out in his laſt agonies with thoſe ſignal words, *It is finiſhed.* Here the centurion and infidel ſoldiers, obſerving his meek and pious exit, and the miraculous circumſtances which attended it, were ſtruck with ſuch admiration and dread, that they confeſſed him to be the Son of God [n]. Not ſo did the *Jewiſh* prieſts and elders, b
who remained inflexible in ſpite of all theſe prodigies, and purſued their malice to the utmoſt, and without the leaſt relenting. It was now paſt three of the clock, the time in which the evening lamb was daily offered up; and this was the eve of their ſabbath, and of one of their grand feſtivals; that the ſolemnity of it therefore might not be ſullied or diſturbed by the hanging of the three bodies on the croſs [o], they went to beg of *Pilate*, that he would order their legs to be broke, and that they might be taken down, and carried off. This was immediately executed on the two criminals; but when they came to *Jeſus*, and found him already dead, they broke not his legs, but one of the ſoldiers, ſeemingly out of wantonneſs, ſtruck his lance into his ſide, which immediately iſſued forth water and blood. Theſe laſt circumſtances happened, not c
without a peculiar direction of providence, not only as they fully aſſured us of his being really dead, but as they verified two ſignal prophecies concerning him; the one, that *not a bone of his ſhould be broken* [p]; and the other, that *they, the inhabitants of* Jeruſalem, *ſhould behold him whom they had pierced* [q].

Chriſt embalmed and buried.

WHILST theſe things were tranſacting on mount *Calvary*, *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* (E), a wealthy and honourable *Jewiſh* ruler, and a ſecret diſciple of *Jeſus*, but yet of ſuch courage and integrity, as to proteſt againſt their violent and unjuſt proceedings againſt him, went boldly to *Pilate*, and begged leave to take down and bury his ſacred remains. *Pilate* at firſt could ſcarcely believe that he could be ſo ſoon dead, but being aſſured of it by the centurion, he readily granted his requeſt. *Joſeph* had a
garden adjoining to the place, in which he had hewn a new tomb in the rock, which he deſigned for himſelf, but was now by a particular providence better diſpoſed of, and was made the repoſitory of his maſter's body. We have formerly obſerved in what manner criminals that died by the hands of juſtice were to be buried apart †; but, in recording him in this maiden grave, they ſeem to have fulfilled another ſignal prophecy in the ſame chapter of *Iſaiah*, where the hiſtory of his ſufferings is ſo lively repreſented, and where this remarkable circumſtance is foretold, *that though he was*

numbered

[n] Matth. xxvii. 50, & ſeq. Exod. xii. 46. Numb. ix. 12, & alib. [o] De hoc vid. Deut. xxi. 22, & ſeq. & Vol. I. p. 673, a. [p] Vid. Vol. I. p. 672, & ſeq. [q] Zechar. xii. 10. Conf. cum John xix. 36, & ſeq. † See

made of this text againſt them, they might at firſt ſlide the וארי in the margin, or *keri*, and by degrees change that into the *ketib*; than to ſuppoſe an evangeliſt to be guilty of ſuch a manifeſt and wilful corruption. Thoſe who are unacquainted with the terms of *keri* and *ketib*, may ſee what we have ſaid of them at the beginning of this chapter *.

But let the words have ſlipped in or out of the text as they will, as long as they own that וארי is the true reading, it will be ſufficient to anſwer them with the learned *Hottinger*, in his diſſertation on that word, that it may as well be the participle כרי, and ſo ſignify as properly *piercing*, the א being there euphonical or hemantic; in which caſe the ſenſe will run ſtill more elegant and agreeable to the *Hebrew* idiom, which often uſes the participle for the verb, *piercing my hands and my feet*; whereas, take the *caari* in the *Jewiſh* ſignification, the ſenſe is imperfect, and muſt be ſupplied with a far-fetched verb, to make it intelligible.

However, we are far enough from allowing this laſt to be the true ancient reading; the contrary has been fully proved from the ſeptuagint verſion, which read it as we do, *Caru*; and from the confeſſion of ſeveral rabbis, as the reader may ſee, among many more, in the two learned authors quoted in the margin (48).

(E) The ſame which is called in the ſacred *Hebrew* books *Ramah*, and *Ramathah*, and ſignifies *a high place*; and this is the reaſon why we meet with ſeveral of the ſame name, which have been confounded one with another. This therefore here ſpoken of by the evangeliſts, and which St. *Jerom* places between *Joppa* and *Lydda* (49), and ſome modern travellers on an eminence between the former and *Jeruſalem*, being conſequently on the weſt of that metropolis, was very different from *Ramathaim Zophim*, *Samuel*'s native place, which was ſituate on the north of it. As the reader may ſee by comparing *Saul*'s journey, in ſearch of his father's aſſes (50), with the map of *Paleſtine* (1.)

* *Pag.* 14. (Z). (48) *Bochart. hieroz. p.* 1. *l.* iii. *c.* 6. *Hare in Pſ.* xxii. *note* 33. (49) *Epitaph. in Paul.* (50) 1 *Sam* ix. 4, & ſeq. (50) *Vid. Rel. Palæſt.*

a *numbered* (in his death) *with the transgressors, yet he should have his grave among the great or wealthy* [r]. *Nicodemus*, another of his private disciples, assisted at the doleful rite; and these two having hastily embalmed the body with a large quantity of myrrh and aloes, and wrapt it in a new winding-sheet, deposited it into this new sepulchre, wherein no corps had as yet been laid; and covered the mouth of it with a large stone, not to be removed but by a good number of hands; after which they went to prepare themselves for the celebration of the ensuing solemnity [s]. In the mean while, the jealous *Jews* went to *Pilate*, and acquainted him, that *Jesus*, whom they there style *this deceiver*, had formerly boasted, that he would rise again on the third day; and that it was therefore highly necessary to have his tomb well guarded till then, lest *His tomb sealed and guarded.*
b his disciples should privately steal him away, and then give out, that he was really risen, which would make the last mistake more dangerous than the first. *Pilate* easily agreed to what they asked, and, to prevent any imposition of that kind, told them, Ye have a guard (F); go ye therefore and make every thing as sure as you can. So they went and set a guard at the door of the sepulchre, and set their seal upon the stone [t]; and, by their extraordinary care to prevent any private attempt, made the truth of his resurrection appear in the stronger light, as we shall see in the next section.

[r] Isaiah liii. 9. Vid. Mor. diatrib: in loc. & parallel. in fin. [s] Matth. xxvii. 57, & seq. Mark xv. 42, &c. Luke xxiii. 50, &c. John xix. 38, & seq, [t] Matth. xxvii. 62. ad fin.

(F) We think there is here a material circumstance, which has hitherto past unobserved, and which still more secures the truth of Christ's resurrection, *viz.* his tomb being guarded, not by a *Roman*, but a *Jewish* watch. The former might have been liable to suspicion, and these *Pagan* soldiers, little minding whether the *Jews* or Christ's disciples were most in the right, might have been bribed by the latter to connive at an attempt to impose on a whole nation, which they hated and despised. But a *Jewish* guard, or, as they are elsewhere called, *the officers and band of the high-priests* (2), and were perhaps the same who had so lately brought him from the garden into that pontiff's palace, where they had made him suffer so many indignities, these, we say, could not be supposed to join in such a cheat.

Now this seems to be the reason why *Pilate*, who by his late behaviour seems to have entertained a much higher notion of Christ, might now be so far apprehensive of his keeping his promise, that to prevent all suspicion from him or his soldiers, he tells the *Jewish* chiefs, You have a guard of your own; make the best use you can of it. We do not, however, pretend to insinuate, that they were permitted by the *Romans* to keep any troops of militia of their own; but only, that since the high-priesthood had been joined to the royalty in the time of the *Maccabees*, they used to have a considerable body of life-guards, it is more than probable, that, after these two dignities were parted, the pontiffs were still allowed the same, though perhaps in a less number, or else it will be difficult to guess what to make of those soldiers and officers of the high-priest, which are so often met with in the gospels and in the acts.

(2) *Vid. John* xviii. 3. *Conf. cum* vii. 32, 45. *Matth.* xxvi. 47. *Mark* xv. 43. *Acts* iv. 1, *& alib.*

SECT. VII.

The history of the Jews, *from Christ's resurrection to the total destruction of their city and temple, and dispersion of that people.*

WE have hitherto seen *Jesus Christ* the Son of God in his lowest humiliation, despised, rejected, and abhorred; persecuted, tried, and condemned to a death of utmost shame and ignominy; expiring on a cross and laid in a grave, and in all these respects in the lowest and most abject condition of a man. The third day after his death, being the first day of the week, or our *Sunday*, and the fifth of *April* [a], offers him to our view in his glorified state, and risen again from the dead, accord- *Christ rises from the dead.*
ing to his own promises, and the oracles written of old concerning him [b]. By the earliest dawn of this day, those pious women, who had accompanied him through his last three years travels, and had prepared a costly mixture to embalm his body, not dreaming at least of his so sudden resurrection, made their way towards the place, where they had seen him deposited two days before. They do not seem to have known any thing of a guard being set over it, their great concern was only how to get

[a] Vid. Usser. ann. sub A. M. 4036, p. 843. [b] Conf. Psalm xvi. 10. & Act. ii. 31. & alib.

get the ponderous ſtone rolled from the entrance. But that obſtacle was already taken off by a miraculous earthquake, which had likewiſe put the guards to flight, ſo that at their arrival they found the ſtone rolled on one ſide, and an angel cloathed in a refulgent array ſitting upon it. Their ſurpriſe was ſtill greater, when they heard the heavenly meſſenger reprove their officious, but untimely, piety, in words to this effect: Why ſeek ye the living among the dead, forgetful of what he often repeated to you, that he was to ſuffer death, and to riſe again on the third day? Behold the place where he was laid, and from which he is riſen, and go and acquaint his diſciples with it, and tell them, that he will meet you in *Galilee* according to his promiſe. They did ſo accordingly, and, with the greateſt joy and wonder, went and told them what they had ſeen and heard; but thoſe, ſtill backward to believe, looked upon it as the effects of fancy and deluſion [e].

The angel's ſpeech to the women.

Two of them, however, had the curioſity to run to the ſepulchre: *John*, who was the youngeſt of the two, came firſt; and ſtooping down found, that the body was really gone; but when *Peter* came next, he went into the place along with that beloved diſciple, and to their ſurpriſe found the grave-cloaths and the napkin, not haſtily and confuſedly thrown by, but neatly folded up ſeparately; upon which they began to entertain ſome hopes, and returned to acquaint the reſt with the news [d]. Whilſt they were thus together, and the women with them, *Mary Magdalen*, who had ſtayed in the garden, prying about to find whether the body had not been removed to ſome other place; came haſtily to them, and aſſured them, that the Lord had appeared to her there [e]. But neither could this further confirmation diſpell either their ſorrow or unbelief; till *Jeſus* at length came and ſhewed himſelf to them, gave them a gracious *All hail*, and bid them be of good comfort, for he was alive again, and, according to his promiſe, would ſhortly meet them in *Galilee*. In the mean time, the frighted guards, leaving the garden with utmoſt ſpeed and confuſion, went to acquaint the chief-prieſts and rulers with what had happened; upon which a council was immediately called. Here one might have reaſonably expected, they would either have yielded to ſo much evidence, or at leaſt ſuſpended all further reſolutions, till they had made a full inquiry into the fact. But inſtead of that, they rather choſe at any rate to ſuppreſs a truth, which was ſure to caſt the deepeſt guilt on their late unjuſt ſentence againſt Chriſt [f]; and accordingly bribed the watch with a good round ſum, to give out, that his diſciples had ſtolen him away whilſt they were aſleep, promiſing them at the ſame time, that if the matter came to the governor's ears, they would find means to pacify him, and bear them harmleſs. Upon which they went and ſpread abroad that report, which was readily ſwallowed by the greateſt part of the *Jews*, and went ſtill current among them for many years [g] (A).

On that evening, two of the diſciples going to a village called *Emmaus*, diſtant about ſixty furlongs, or eight miles north-weſt of *Jeruſalem*, were diſcourſing with each other about the ſtrange tranſactions of the day, when *Jeſus* overtook them, and, without making himſelf known, aſked them the cauſe of their melancholy entertainment. *Cleophas*, one of the two, in a kind of ſurpriſe, that he ſhould ſeem ſo great a ſtranger to the tranſactions of the laſt week, began to give him an account both of them and of thoſe of that day; particularly their ſurpriſe at the viſion, which the women had ſeen at the ſepulchre, concluding the whole with a kind of complaint, that though they had hitherto looked upon *Jeſus* as the future deliverer of their unhappy nation; yet it being now three days ſince they had ſeen him expire on a ſhameful croſs, their hopes were almoſt at an end, in ſpite of the women's report of his reſurrection, and

[e] Matth. xxviii. 1, & ſeq. Mark xvi. 1, & ſeq. Luke xxiv. 1, & ſeq. John xx. 1, & ſeq. [d] John ibid. verſ. 3, & ſeq. [e] Ibid. verſ. 15, & ſeq. [f] Vid. int. al. Acts v. 28. [g] Matth. xxviii. 5, & ſeq.

(A) So ſays the evangeliſt (1). But the *Jews* have ſince found out another way to oppoſe this ſignal truth, by denying that of his crucifixion, under pretence, that it was a puniſhment unuſual and unwarranted among them. We have had frequent occaſion to mention this and ſome others of their poor and ſhameful evaſions, and ſhall not repeat them here.

Much leſs ſhall we take upon us to anſwer all the cavils which our modern ſceptics have raiſed againſt this important article, which has been ſo ſtrenuouſly defended by ſo many abler hands, and more particularly of late by a very learned pen, and in a manner wholly new, but ſo convincing, that nothing need be added to it (2), as indeed nothing has, or can be, replied to it.

(1) *Matth.* xxviii. 15

(2) *Trial of the witneſſes, paſſ.*

a and its being in ſome meaſure confirmed by ſome of the apoſtles, who had been that morning at the ſepulchre. Here *Jeſus* took occaſion to blame their want of faith, not only in him, but in the ſcriptures, where both his ſufferings and death, reſurrection and glory, were ſo plainly foretold, and to give them a thorough expoſition of them from the firſt to the laſt. By this time they were got to the village, where *Jeſus* made a ſhew as if he deſigned to go farther; but they had been ſo comforted by his diſcourſe, that they intreated him to ſpend that night with them, the evening being then juſt upon cloſing. He went in with them accordingly, and, being ſat down at table, began with the breaking of the bread, as he had been wont to do; upon which they knew him, and he immediately vaniſhed. This ſurpriſing diſcovery, added to the b warmth which their hearts had felt, whilſt he expounded the ſcriptures to them on the road, would not ſuffer them to tarry longer there; but they went to communicate their joy that very night to the reſt, that were then gathered together at *Jeruſalem*, and who acquainted them at the ſame time with his having appeared unto them [h].

ALL theſe circumſtances had been ſo far from convincing them hitherto, that they rather concluded, from his ſo ſudden diſappearing, that they had only ſeen ſome ſpirit in his likeneſs. They ſeemed ſtill more confirmed in it, when being ſat down to ſupper, with the gates faſt for fear of the *Jews*, he ſurprized them with his preſence, and gave them his uſual ſalutation, *Peace be to you.* To convince them there- *Appears to the twelve at ſupper.*
c fore of their miſtake, he commanded them to draw near, and conſider his pierced hands and feet, handle his body, and ſatisfy themſelves by all proper means, that he was no ſpirit or phantaſm, but their real riſen lord and maſter. Whilſt they were ſtill fluctuating between joy and doubt, he reminded them of his former promiſes, explained thoſe oracles to them, in which theſe things were preſignified of him, renewed his former commiſſion and power to them to preach and confirm his goſpel, and left them for that night with his uſual bleſſing, full of joy and wonder, to collect and compare the ſeveral tranſactions of that glorious and ſignal day (B) [i].

Thomas, one of the eleven apoſtles, called *Didymus*, chanced to be abſent when this happened; ſo that when the reſt informed him of it, he plainly told them, that he ſhould never believe it, till he had thruſt his fingers into the print of the nails, and his hand into his wounded ſide. Eight days after, being the twelfth of *April*, *Jeſus* appeared again unto them, when *Thomas* was there, and invited him to come *Appears to* and take that full demonſtration, which he had ſo ſtifly inſiſted on; but the incredu- *Thomas.*
lous ſervant, being now fully aſſured without it; fell at his gracious feet, and, with an humble eeſtaſy of joy, confeſſed him to be his Lord and his God; upon which he was diſmiſſed with this gentle reproof; *Thou believeſt*, Thomas, *becauſe thou haſt ſeen; but bleſſed are they that have not ſeen, and yet believe* [k]. Some days after, they all left *Jeruſalem*, and went according to his appointment into *Galilee*; where he appeared again unto them, and, after his uſual ſalutation, ſaid unto them, *All power is given me in*
c *heaven and earth. Go therefore and preach to all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt*, &c. [l] Seven of them being ſoon after gone to *To ſeven* the ſea-ſide to fiſh, namely *Peter*, *John*, *James*, *Thomas*, *Bartholomew*, or *Nathanael*, *others.* and two others not named, and having toiled all night in vain, *Jeſus* manifeſted himſelf again to them in the morning, by the kind and known token of a beneficial miracle; and, after they had dragged their loaded net to the ſhore, condeſcended to eat and drink with them. After breakfaſt, *Jeſus* addreſſing himſelf to *Peter*, aſked, whether he loved him more than the reſt? and being anſwered in the affirmative, commanded him to feed his flock. He repeated the ſame queſtion twice more to him, inſomuch, that *Peter*, being grieved at it, broke out into this expreſſion; *Lord, thou,*
f *who knoweſt all things, muſt know that I love thee.* After this treble confeſſion of *His commiſſion* his unfeigned love, deſigned probably as a kind of expiation for his treble denial of *to* Peter. him, *Jeſus* plainly told him, that the time would come, when he ſhould make a much more authentic acknowledgment of him, when he ſuffered himſelf to be bound and led

to

[h] LUKE xxiv. 13, and ſeq. [i] LUKE xxiv. 34, & ſeq. JOHN xx. 19, & ſeq. & alib. [k] JOHN ibid. verſ. 24, & ſeq. [l] MATTH. xxviii. 16, & ſeq.

(B) This laſt was the fifth appearance he made of himſelf on this one day, *viz.* 1. to *Mary Magdalen*; 2. to the other women; 3. to *Peter*, in ſome manner not plainly recorded, but mentioned tranſitorily by St. *Luke* and St. *Paul* (3); 4. to the two diſciples; and, 5. to the whole college at ſupper

(3) *Luke* xxiv. 34. 1 *Corinth.* xv. 5

to a glorious martyrdom for his ſake, and in imitation of him, intimating thereby, as a the evangeliſt hints, his crucifixion, by which he was to glorify God, as he did accordingly many years after, with a conſtancy becoming a chief apoſtle (C). This was

(C) The ſufferings and martyrdom of the primitive preachers of the goſpel being not only an irrefragable teſtimony of their ſincerity, as well as aſſurance of the facts and truths delivered by them, but moreover one of the higheſt inſtances of the divine wiſdom and power, which was to be diſplayed in the propagation of it (4); it will not be amiſs to ſpeak a little more fully of them, in this place, and upon this occaſion; ſince the thread of this chapter will not permit us to follow them into thoſe foreign countries, where they ſealed it with their blood.

Whoever conſiders what a ſtrenuous oppoſition the degenerate world has always made to chriſtianity, muſt own, that whatever fate had attended the preachers of it, was ſure to be turned into an objection againſt it. Were they encouraged, admired, and careſſed, or did their charitable labour meet with ſuitable returns, No wonder, would it have been ſaid, they are ſo zealous and indefatigable to propagate a goſpel, which turns ſo much to their credit and advantage. Were they deſpiſed, abhorred, perſecuted, and liable to the moſt ſhocking diſcouragements, how inconſiſtent would it have been thought with the divine goodneſs and juſtice, to ſuffer ſuch faithful, zealous, and charitable ſervants to be thus treated by thoſe, whom their chief ſtudy and deſign was to render the moſt happy perſons both here and hereafter; or to permit men of ſuch excellent and godlike diſpoſitions to be expoſed to the barbarous fury of the very vileſt of human race!

What medium the moſt conſummate human forecaſt could have found out between theſe two caſes, we may well be at a loſs to imagine. But here it was, that infinite wiſdom and power triumphed in ſuch a manner, as was once more to confound the moſt wiſe and prudent of the world. And this was done, by creating, as it were, ſuch a new nature in thoſe primitive profeſſors of the goſpel, as ſhould not only render them inſenſible of, but even capable of receiving the moſt ecſtatic comforts in, the moſt excruciating torments, to which they were going to be expoſed. By this, the objections of worldly gain on their part, or of injuſtice on God's, were fully obviated; whilſt the amazed world beheld them moſt calm, ſerene, and joyful, when, to all human appearance, they laboured under the heavieſt loads of pain, and miſery.

This miraculous change once wrought in them, they are no more the cowards that forſook their maſter, or ſhut their doors for fear of the *Jews*; but in the ſynagogues, the ſtreets, and even to the face of death, freely confeſs and preach him (5). *Peter*, who through fear of the danger of being his, had thrice denied and forſworn him, can now ſleep as calmly and ſoundly in a dungeon, with his hands and feet loaded with irons, and on the eve, as he thought, and *Herod* deſigned, of his martyrdom, as if he had been in his own bed, and out of all danger (6). *Paul* and *Silas*, after having been unmercifully ſcourged, are thruſt down into the loweſt hold of a common gaol, and are heard by all the priſoners to ſing pſalms and hymns in the middle of the night (7).

In a word, this ſurprizing change was not confined to the apoſtles, diſciples, and preachers of the goſpel, much leſs to the infancy of it; but extended itſelf to their proſelytes of all ranks, ages, ſexes, conditions, and countries, during near three hundred years, if not much beyond. All which is a ſubject ſo well known and atteſted, not only by the primive fathers and apologiſts; the former of whom, ſealing the truth with their blood, and the latter, moreover, appealing to the records of their enemies and the notoriety of the facts, muſt conſequently be allowed unexceptionable witneſſes; but likewiſe by the very heathen authors themſelves, who ſeemed as much to deſpiſe them for their folly, as they were aſtoniſhed at their univerſal conſtancy; ſo that it would be ſuperfluous to inſiſt longer upon it.

We are not inſenſible indeed, how much the innumerable inſtances of this kind, which we meet with in the later hiſtories of *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and others, have been thought exaggerated, and what little credit thoſe writers have of late among us. The ſtory of a *Laurence* throwing his ſarcaſtical jeſts on his judges and executioners, whilſt broiling on a gridiron, has been thought ſo monſtrouſly abſurd and unnatural, that it has almoſt diſcredited all the reſt. We would therefore beg leave to aſk theſe doubtful gentlemen, whether they would have believed that ſtory, had it been tranſmitted down to us by any, but chriſtian writers; or, which is ſtill more, by men profeſſed enemies to chriſtianity, and at the ſame time of avowed ſenſe, learning, and integrity? If they would, we hope we may be permitted to ſubjoin one here of altogether as ſurprizeing a nature, and upon the authority of a perſon of the unqueſtionable character laſt mentioned.

Libanius, the famous orator of *Antioch*, a perſon greatly eſteemed by all for his learning and humanity, but eſpecially by the emperor *Julian*, as appears by their mutual literary intercourſe, is the author we are ſpeaking of (8). The ſtory he relates is of one *Mark*, a venerable old biſhop of *Arethuſa*, a city in *Syria* between *Emeſa* and *Epiphania*; who endured the moſt exquiſite torments, under the above-mentioned emperor, not only with utmoſt conſtancy, but braved his enemies with ſuch biting ſarcaſms in the midſt of his torments, that, being at laſt overcome by his heroic behaviour, they were forced to let him down, and go off with his life, to prevent the heathen ſpectators falling down and worſhipping him. The deſign of this ſtory, as well as of the orator's letter, was, to ſtop a perſecution newly raiſed under that apoſtate monarch againſt the chriſtians, for the havock they had made of the *Pagan* temples under his predeceſſor's reign; and the judge to whom he writes it, had then a zealous chriſtian priſoner, named *Orion*, who, it was apprehended, would prove a ſecond *Mark*, if the ſame ſeverities ſhould be uſed againſt him, and much more, leſt the known conſtancy of the reſt ſhould cauſe an univerſal defection from paganiſm. For which reaſon *Libanius*, though a bitter enemy to chriſtianity, is for putting an immediate ſtop to all further perſecution.

His letters, to the number of above ſixteen hundred, though preſerved in manuſcript, in ſeveral public as well as private libraries, and a good number of them printed and tranſlated into *Latin* (9), are yet ſo little known by our *Engliſh* readers, that we hope it will not be thought impertinent, if we ſubjoin a ſhort

(4) *Conf. Iſai.* xxix. 14. 1 *Cor.* i. 19, & *ſeq.* (5) *Vid. Act.* ii, iii, & *ſeq. paſſ.* (6) *Ibid.* xii. 3, & *ſeq.* (7) *Ibid.* xvi. 23, & *ſeq.* (8) *De Liban. & ejus epiſtol. Vid. int. al. Eunap. vita Lib.* p. *Johan Chriſt. Volf. præfat. in cent. epiſt. Liban. ſophiſt. cum not. Leipſik*, 1711. (9) *Fr. Zambecar. Johan. Sommerfeld. Morel. & al. ap. Volf. ubi ſupra.*

a was the third time of his appearing to the full body of his disciples after his resurrection. After that prediction, *Jesus* bid *Peter* come after him; who, turning about and seeing the beloved disciple, asked his master, whether he would have him also follow him? But *Jesus* rebuked his untimely curiosity, with telling him, If I will have him tarry till I come, what have you to do with it? hence arose a strange notion among the rest, that that disciple should not die[m]; though, in all probability, Christ meant no more than his tarrying on earth, till his coming to take vengeance on the *Jewish* nation, which St. *John* actually lived to see totally dispersed.

b THUS did our risen Saviour manifest himself, either to his whole church, or to some of them more particularly, during the space of forty days, in all convincing proofs; instructing them still further in his heavenly doctrine, discoursing more familiarly with them of his spiritual kingdom, dispelling their doubts, allaying their fears, and comforting their hearts with the glorious prospect of an eternal life to crown their painful and arduous race. At length, the appointed time of his departure drawing near, he gathered them together, to the number, as St. *Paul* tells us, of above five hundred[n]. He led them into a retired part of a mountain, where he again gave them fresh assurances of his never-failing love, care, and protection, to the end of the world, renewed his commission and miraculous powers to them, together with the promise of a plentiful effusion of his Holy Spirit to direct them into all truth, and fit them for their glorious work, the conversion of the world[o].

HAVING

[m] JOHN xxi. per tot. [n] 1 CORINTH. xv. 6. [o] MARK xvi. 17. ad fin.

here the substance both of the letter and of this signal story; though, for the better understanding of it, we shall be forced to have recourse to *Theodoret*'s (10) assistance. For the style of the former is so intricate and laconic every-where, especially where he speaks of things and facts of a recent nature and universally known, that, without the guide of some other historian, one would never guess what he means or alludes to, because he contents himself with the bare hint of them, as the reader may see by the letter itself (11). We hope the curiousness of the subject, as well as the character of the author, will excuse the length of this note; though, to shorten it as much as we can, we shall join the account out of those two authors together, leaving it to our readers to compare them with each other at their own leisure.

" *Mark*, the heroic bishop in question, having in " the reign of *Constans* built a christian church by " and on the ruins of a *Pagan* temple, and being " like to suffer for it under *Julian*, endeavoured at " first to avoid it by flight; where being informed " that some of his diocese were going to be taken " up for it, he came back and surrendered himself " to the heathen officers, as the only person ac- " countable for that fact. But these, without re- " gard to his learning, dignity, or great age, order- " ed him to be stripped naked, and scourged from " head to foot. From thence he was flung into a " stinking common-shore; and being taken out a- " gain, was exposed in that condition to the mercy " of a great number of school-boys, who made " it their cruel sport to pink his flesh with their " writing instruments.

" All this was done to oblige him to refund the " damages of the demolished temple, which when " he constantly refused to do, they besmeared him " all over with honey and a kind of sweet sauce, " called *garon*, and hoisted him up into the air in a " kind of net, or open basket; where, it being then " the heat of summer, the bees, wasps, &c. did " eat him up alive. Whilst he hung in this dread- " ful condition, they offered to abate him half of " the stipulated sum, thinking his refusal owing to " the inability of paying the whole. But, to their " surprise, he answered, that he should think it as " impious to refund a doit, as the whole sum. But " what increased their wonder beyond expression is, " he was all this time so far from uttering a groan, " or shewing the least sense of pain, that he even " seemed to make himself merry with his *Pagan* " tormentors, telling them, that *they were from* " *beneath, but he from above*; alluding to his sus- " pension. The consequence of the whole was, " that, being at length overcome by his super- " natural constancy, they let him down, and re- " leased him full of the deepest veneration and re- " spect ".

Now, when a story comes to us confirmed by a person of *Libanius*'s character, and who was not only cotemporary to it, but speaks of it with the same assurance, as if he had been an eye-witness of it; we know not well how that of *Laurence*, or any other, can be questioned in those historians. The same sophist adds to what *Theodoret* says, that the people were so astonished at the old bishop's constancy, that they worshipped him as a god; and that when *Julian* heard of it, though he was vexed at the demolition of the temple, he yet chose rather to forgive him, than to make further trial of his patience.

He concludes his letter with desiring his friend the judge not to make of *Orion* his prisoner a second *Mark*, or a second *Marsyas* (who had been lately flayed alive.) If, says he, you think *Orion* has a golden mine in his skin, you would do well to get it out; if not, by *Jupiter*, you had better let him go; or if you must punish him, do it in such a manner, that he may have no opportunity to make a public shew of his patience and constancy. Some have thought, that all this moderation of our orator might be owing to an apprehension of *Julian*'s being succeeded by a christian (12); but, be that how it will, it cannot invalidate the testimony which he gives to those heroic sufferers. However, many of his letters appear full of the same moderate spirit, in other instances; and the tenor of the letter above-mentioned shews him to have been rather afraid of the effects of the christian constancy, which under such grievous persecutions always drew, as well it might, a great number of converts, and threatened a total dereliction of their heathen temples and worship.

(10) *Hist. Eccl.* iii. *c.* 7. *Vid. & Sozomen. l.* v. *c.* 10. (11) *In epist.* lxx. *a.* (12) *Le Clerc, bibl. A. M.* 1715. *part* 2. *sect.* 4.

Having finiſhed his diſcourſe, he bid them return to *Jeruſalem*, where he would meet them before his aſcenſion, as he accordingly did; and ordered them to remain till they had received the promiſed Comforter, by whom they ſhould ſhortly after be endowed with power from above, anſwerable to their high commiſſion. Great need they ſtill ſtood in of ſuch a divine director, ſince theſe laſt words filled them again with hopes, that their maſter was now going indeed to reſtore the kingdom of *Iſrael*. *Jeſus* was here again obliged to check their untimely curioſity, but referred the further diſplay of this important point to that promiſed heavenly inſtructor. And now, having finiſhed his glorious work, he led them forth toward *Bethany*, to the mount of *Olives*; where being arrived, he tenderly gathered them about him, and, in their full ſight, went up to heaven, leaving his gracious bleſſing upon them, and the comfortable aſſurance, that he was going to prepare a place for them in his own kingdom; whilſt they, in an adoring poſture, followed him with their wiſhful eyes, till a bright cloud received him out of their ſight (D). Whilſt their eyes were thus fixed ſtill towards him, two angels appeared to them in bright apparel, and ſaid unto them, *Ye men of* Galilee, *why ſtand ye gazing up to heaven? The ſame* Jeſus, *whom ye have now beheld aſcending thither, ſhall in the like manner come down again from thence* [p]; meaning, doubtleſs, at the laſt day to judge the world; till when he will there remain, and reign at the right hand of his Father, till all his enemies be made his footſtool [q] (E).

Aſcends into heaven.

The

[p] Ibid. ver. ult. Luke xxiv. 46. ad fin. Act. i. 6, & ſeq. [q] Conf. Pſ. cx. 1. Matth. xxii. 44 Act. ii. 35. Hebr. i. 13. x. 12, 13.

(D) This happened, according to our learned *Uſher*'s computation, hinted a little higher, on a *Thurſday*, the fourteenth of *May*, which is the ninth month of the *Jewiſh* year, and in the thirty-ſixth, or, according to others, the thirty-third year of his age, and the nineteenth of *Tiberius*'s reign. There is an ancient tradition, which adds, that it was about the time of noon when he was taken up, and aſcended from one of the ſummits of mount *Olivet*, where the print of his feet, where he laſt ſtood, was ſtill to be ſeen, and on that account has been had in great veneration ever ſince. The reader may ſee what we have ſaid of it in a former volume †.

(E) It will not be amiſs to cloſe this hiſtory of the Saviour of the world with thoſe other teſtimonies which we find concerning him, both in *Joſephus* and in ſome eminent heathen authors. We begin with the former, becauſe we have elſewhere promiſed to ſay ſomething further concerning that known and much controverted paſſage of his, which runs to this effect (13):

"At the ſame time there was one *Jeſus*, a wiſe "man, if at leaſt he may be called a man, who was "a great worker of miracles, and a teacher of truth, "to all that were deſirous to learn it, and had a "great number of diſciples, both of *Jews* and "*Gentiles*. This was (or, as St. *Jerom* read it, *credebatur*, was believed to be) the Chriſt, whom *Pilate* "through the envy of the heads of our nation, cauſed to be crucified; but this did not hinder his diſciples from cleaving ſtedfaſtly unto him. He was "ſeen by them three days after his death, according to the prophecies concerning him. The chriſtian ſect ſubſiſt to this day, call themſelves by his "name, and acknowledge him for their head".

This paſſage being not only found in all the manuſcripts of that hiſtorian, but quoted by St. *Jerom*, *Euſebius* (14), and other ancients, the main objection againſt it is, how *Joſephus* could expreſs himſelf in ſuch a manner concerning Chriſt, and yet live and die a *Jew*. To which may be added another difficulty, *viz.* how he could acknowledge him the promiſed Meſſiah, after he had once complimented the *Roman* emperor with that title (14). But thoſe who believe it to have been foiſted in by ſome pious chriſtians, will find it ſtill much more difficult to account how they could get it inſerted in all future copies, and ſuppreſs all the old and genuine ones.

Thoſe who know how much has been already writ for and againſt it, will eaſily excuſe our not entering further into that controverſy, than referring our readers to the authors themſelves, whom he will find quoted in the margin (15).

All that we ſhall add by way of leſſening the two difficulties raiſed againſt the genuineneſs of the text is, 1ſt, That *Joſephus* was no leſs a courier, than a *Jew* and a *Phariſee*; he might, as an hiſtorian, who made great ſhew of ſincerity, be forced to publiſh a truth, the ſuppreſſion of which would have brought his character in queſtion, and yet not have reſolution enough to ſacrifice his temporal intereſt to his conviction. The cruel treatment which the diſciples of Chriſt met with from *Jews* and *Gentiles* might be a ſufficient obſtacle, to a man of his mould, liſting himſelf into their number. He might, and had in all probability converſed with ſeveral learned chriſtians, who might have inſpired him with a great veneration for their divine maſter, and, from the many prophecies concerning him, have convinced him of his being the Meſſiah, and at the ſame time, his brethren of the *Phariſaic* leaven might trump up their notion of a double Meſſiah, *viz.* a ſuffering one, and the other a great and glorious conqueror.

For no time could be more likely to produce ſuch a wild diſtinction, than that about which he wrote his hiſtory, when all their hopes were wholly quaſhed, the ſceptre long ago departed from *Judah*, the ſecond temple deſtroyed, the nation ruined, the utmoſt length of their computation of *Daniel*'s weeks long ſince ended, and the chriſtians every-where beating them out of all other reintrenchments, and forcing them at length to thruſt themſelves to this broken plank; and was not a man of *Joſephus*'s character as likely to prefer this ſoothing notion, to the manifeſt danger of becoming a profeſſed chriſtian, as any of his fraternity?

But, laſtly, who can tell, how far the ill treatment which he met with from theſe laſt, at the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, their invincible obſtinacy and ingratitude, their cruelty, hypocriſy, and irreconcile-

able

† *See before, Vol. I. p.* 573, a. *eccl. hiſt. l.* i. *cap.* 11. iii. *c.* 9. *ſcrt. de loc. ſup. an.* 1601.

(13) *Antiq. l.* xviii. *c.* 4. (14) *Lib. de ſcriptor. Vid. & Fuich.* (15) *Vid. int. al Huet. demonſtr. evang. prop. ſect.* 11. *& Arnold. diſ-*

a THE disciples, thus warned, returned immediately to *Jerusalem*, where they spent their time in prayers, fastings, and such-like other duties, as were likeliest to qualify them for the reception of the promised Comforter. They were about a hundred and twenty persons, probably exclusive of the women, who did not use to be reckoned in the number, though they kept still with them, and among the rest the virgin *Mary*, who is here particularly mentioned, and for the last time [r]. The place they used to assemble in, was a large upper room (F), where a few days after their master's ascension, *Peter* addressed himself to the rest, and reminded them how necessary it was, before they entered into their grand commission, to chuse a new member into the apostolic college, from among those who had been conversant with *Jesus* from *John*'s
b baptism to that present time, to fill the vacancy which the traytor *Judas* had made to their number. The proposal being approved, two candidates were offered to them, namely *Joseph*, surnamed *Justus* and *Barsabas* (who is supposed by some to be the brother of *James the Less*, and by others the same with *Barnabas*); and *Matthias*, who was one of the seventy disciples (G). After a short prayer to the discerner of all hearts, to direct them to the person whom he had made choice of, they cast their lots, and *Matthias* was chosen into the apostolical ministry, and their number completed again [s].

WHEN fifty days from Christ's resurrection were finished, which ushered in the grand feast of pentecost, whilst the disciples were all assembled at their usual place, suddenly there was heard a mighty sound from heaven; a vehement wind filled the room they were in, when there appeared a kind of cloven tongues of fire sitting upon each of their heads; upon which they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, illuminated *The Holy Ghost descends on the apostles.*

[r] Act. i. 14. [s] Act. ibid. 15. ad fin.

able hatred to him, may have provoked him to lay this heavy charge upon them, of crucifying the Messiah, and to aggravate it with those other testimonials concerning him, without being himself thoroughly satisfied with them, through prejudice and interest? If we join his resentment against them, and their notion of two Messiahs, with his fawning action of complimenting *Vespasian* with the title of Messiah, we shall find, that he acted nothing but what became such a consummate politician; and the passage above-quoted concerning Christ, and that concerning the *Roman* emperor, though set at that great distance from each other, to conceal his design, when brought nearer together, may amount to no more than this: Since the heads of our nation did unjustly reject and crucify the first Messiah, who came to them in the spirit of meekness and charity, and in all respects answered the description given of him by the antient prophets, it is but just that the second, who is to be the glorious conquering one, should signalize the premises of his reign, with the extirpation of those unworthy wretches, and thereby fulfil the prophecies concerning himself, and his glorious and universal kingdom. All which was in a great measure already done before the historian wrote his two histories, in the last of which he speaks of his conference with that prince (16), and may have dressed it in the most advantagious manner to gain the applause of the *Romans*.

If therefore this text ever suffered any alteration, it seems to have been only in the omission of the word was *believed*, which we find was in St. *Jerom*'s copy, though not in that of *Eusebius*, *Rufinus*, and others, where it was left out; but whether through carelessness, or wilfully, must be left to the readers candor. And, after all, we may as well suspect the great character which the *Jewish* historian gives to *John the Baptist*, and to St. *James*, whom he calls the brother of Christ (17), which yet cast no small honour to this last, whose martyrs they were.

Concerning the testimony of heathen writers, we have already mentioned those which confirm the supernatural eclipse which happened at Christ's passion and the appeal which the apologist fathers made to the heathen records for that and other facts. *Tacitus* confirms also Christ's having been put to death by *Pilate* governor of *Judæa* under the emperor *Tiberius* (18) We might add some others, were we not afraid of swelling this note too much. The readers may see them in the apologies above-mentioned, and in the authors quoted in the margin (19).

For the same reason we shall forbear mentioning that of the *Mohammedans*, and all further debate on the apocryphal gospels, epistles, and other writings concerning him, and all useless inquiries after his person, shape, mien, and other such particularities of neither importance, nor the least certainty. As for his pretended correspondence with the king of *Edessa*, we shall refer our readers to what has been said in a former Volume †.

(F) The words [illegible] (20), do certainly imply some upper room of a house, and not of the temple, as some have imagined. This might be therefore that large one in which *Jesus* had celebrated the last passover with his disciples (21); and is supposed to have belonged to one of them, namely to *John*, surnamed *Mark*, and is said to have been turned, in process of time, into a stately church.

(G) The tradition concerning these two, and others of their collegues, are so uncertain, that there is no relying on them, otherwise this *Joseph* should be the same with that often mentioned in the gospel among the relations of our Saviour; and by his surname of *Barsabas*, he should be the same with *Barnabas*, who is yet said to be a *Cyprian* levite (22). *Matthias* should likewise be the same with *Zacheus* (23), though this last became a disciple but a few weeks before Christ's death, and the apostles chose only those for candidates, who had been with him from the beginning of his ministry.

(16) *Bell. Jud. l.* iii. *c.* 14. v. *c.* 12. (17) *Antiq. l.* xx. *c.* 8. (18) *Ann. l. l.* xv. *c.* 44. (19) *Vid. int. al. Minut. Felix. H. Grot. de verit. Le Clerc. in. cand. Abatie &c al.* (20) *Acts* xii. (21) *Mark* xiv. 14. 15. (22) *Acts* iv. 36. (23) *De his vid. Clem. Alexandr. Strom. Nic. de Lyra, Corn. a Lap. & al.*

minated with his heavenly light, inflamed with his divine heat, inspired with the knowledge of foreign tongues, and endowed with all other supernatural gifts, to qualify them for their glorious task, the conversion of the world. They set themselves immediately about it, *Jerusalem* being then filled with people, who came from all parts of the world, both *Jews* and proselytes, who flocked thither, as usual, to that grand solemnity. These, hearing of that wonderful event, came to them in great crouds, and were beyond measure surprized to hear such poor illiterate *Galileans*, who never knew any but their own mother tongue, and that no better than as simple fishermen, express themselves with such unheard-of readiness and energy, and display in all their different tongues and dialects the most sublime mysteries of the gospel. The sacred historian mentions fifteen different countries, out of which this assembly consisted [t]. Whilst therefore some, struck with amazement at what they saw and heard, were questioning what the issue of such a prodigy would be, others absurdly attributed it to some excess of new wine, which they supposed the apostles had been guilty of that morning. Which when *Peter* understood, he first exploded the supposition, by reminding them, that it was but the third hour of the day, or nine of the morning; and then proved to them from the scriptures, that there was nothing happened in this extraordinary change, but what had been plainly foretold and elegantly described by one of the prophets [u]. From that he proceeded to those other oracles, which had presignified the death and resurrection of Christ, the true Messiah; all which he shewed to them, with such powerful and convincing eloquence, that three thousand of his audience were immediately converted to his doctrine, and continued strict and zealous professors of it [w] (H).

They convert three thousand souls.

Some

[t] Ibid. c. ii. 8, & seq. Act. xi. 15, & seq.

[u] Joel ii. 28, & seq. conf. cum Isai. xxix. 19, & seq. xliv. 3, & seq. cum

[w] Act. ibid. vers. 37. ad fin.

(H) Those that will not acknowledge the truth of this miraculous transaction, must suppose that surprising change in the apostles to have been wrought by some such method as this which follows; we leave them to their choice. They must suppose the hen hearted college to have been all at once seized with a desperate phrentic courage, or inspired with it by some one of the boldest of them, suppose the pretended champion *Peter*, by some such speech as this:

Men and brethren, The natural consequence of our having been so egregiously cheated by our late master, and made to wait so long in vain for his pretended resurrection, should according to human prudence be this; that we should for the future detest the very memory and mention of him; that we should become so much the more tenacious of the expositions and traditions of our betters, since it was our departing from them, to follow him, that has brought us into this dilemma; and lastly, that we should go and beg for absolution of the sanhedrin, which they'll hardly make a difficulty to grant; for what wonder is it, that such poor illiterate fishermen as we are should be so easily deceived, when so many of their learned bench were caught in the same snare?

But for my own part poor and simple as I am, I think I could undergo the most dreadful hazards in life, rather than to stoop to such a base submission, and my project, if I can but bring you into it, is to do the very reverse; to cry our late master up still for the true Messiah, to profess a greater love and veneration for him than ever, to affirm that we have seen him risen from the dead, conversed with him full forty days, in all convincing proofs, and at length seen him go up to heaven; and to propagate the cheat, not only among our nation, but also among the *Gentiles*, as far and wide as we can; and, to make it the better go down with the world, we will pretend to a new and miraculous commission from heaven to the supernatural gifts of prophecy, tongues, miracles, and every thing that is great and stupendous, or apt to raise our master's glory and our own.

Methinks, I hear you already making ten thousand objections and difficulties against my project, which I doubt not but you look upon as the most romantic that ever came into a crazy brain; and I who have duly weighed them, do give you leave to think so still, if I do not remove every one of them, and convince you that my scheme is no less practicable, than it is heroic and glorious.

You will object in the first place, that such a design will expose us to the highest opposition and resentment from *Jews* and *Gentiles*, to imprisonments, scourgings, tortures, and death; I own it, and that is the reason of my being so zealous for it; and I promise myself an unconceivable pleasure in carrying it on under all these difficulties and dangers. But our pretence you'll say, to miracles, tongues, and other supernatural gifts, will be a most effectual means to betray us, because we shall at every turn be ready to discover our want of them. Suppose it happen so; can we not still face them down that we have them, though they cannot see them? Can't we find means to impose, not only upon the eyes and ears of the world, but upon the very understandings of the greatest philosophers that now reign either at *Rome* or *Athens*? Let us but resolutely undertake, and I promise you, you will meet with a thousand unexpected accidents, that will force, as it were, a success into your very laps.

But the greatest objection perhaps to you is, that we shall bring the hatred of even God himself, as well as of the world, upon us; we shall not only deprive ourselves of all the hopes of the true promised Messiah, but of all other comforts of this or of the next life; and what a dreadful thing must it be to be thrown into a dungeon, or led to some cruel execution; abhorred by God and man, tortured by the sting of a conscience as black as the very hell we are hastening to, without one poor glympse of hope or comfort, either from within, or from without us?

There is indeed something in this thought which may appear terrible to mean souls; but mine is above shrinking at such bug-bears, when the glorious prospect of imposing one of the vilest cheats is put

a Some time after *Peter* and *John*, repairing to the temple at the usual evening hour of prayer, healed a poor cripple, who sat begging at the gate. This drew immediately a great concourse of people about them, to the place called *Solomon*'s porch; where *Peter*, having reproved their stupidity in gazing at them, as the authors of so signal a miracle, assured them, that they had wrought it by no other power than that of *Jesus Christ*, whom their elders and rulers had through ignorance condemned to the cross. He concluded wtih such a powerful discourse on the danger of an obstinate and ungrateful unbelief, and on the unspeakable benefits of a speedy faith and repentance that five thousand more were added to them. Thus did the new church of Christ daily improve, not in the number only, but in the zeal, and fervour, b holiness and charity, of its members, beginning now a kind of heavenly life upon earth,

A new miracle adds five thousand more.

in the scale against it. For let our guilt be never of so deep a dye, and the generality of the world judge never so justly of it, yet as long as we make the greatest boasts to sanctity, piety, charity, and every real virtue, and take care that our life, at least outwardly, doth not bely our pretence; we shall still meet with admirers enough to keep up our spirits from flagging in this noble undertaking; and who could grudge to run any dangers, or even to die, for such a cause?

And now, methinks, I see you all, like me, impatient to sally out in this heroic race; but there is still one danger, against which I must warn you all. It is likely, that when we come to be dispersed at a vast distance from each other, as we must be of course to carry on the work, some one of us may through fear of torments, or of some cruel death, be cowardly enough to discover the whole imposture, in which case we shall all lose the fruit of our labours. Our late pusillanimous behaviour, and mine in particular, to our late master in the garden, might indeed incline one to fear, lest there should turn out another *Judas* from among us. But there is something within me that gives me a quite contrary notion of you all, and that you will resolutely persist in carrying on the common cause, and not, through any base fear or terror, torture or death, make shipwreck of that glorious design, to which we are going to sacrifice all that is dear and valuable in this and the next world.

And therefore let me only add a few necessary directions to you, and then let us go on and prosper: 1. It is customary for persons of our character to be elated at every success or applause, and sunk down at every foil. We must act the reverse. Never appear more joyful, lofty, and undaunted, than when you meet with the greatest opposition, scorn, and ill treatment; nor ever more humble and abased, than when men are ready to fall down and worship you. This you know was our master's case, and we must, whatever we do, profess an utter contempt of every thing that this world is fond of, and seem to court nothing but poverty and misery, crosses and persecutions. We may in all likelihood fare the better for it; but if we don't, we shall at least save our credit, if we save nothing else.

2. It is not only natural, but sweet, to such men as we, to retaliate ill usage, though never so justly deserved, with ill language and ill offices, to complain of injustice and cruelty, and even to call for vengeance from heaven on our pretended oppressors. But I advise you, whatever betide us, to let your behaviour breathe nothing but the most surprising patience, meekness, resignation, and charity to your worst enemies, and, in the midst of the most exquisite racks and tortures, and even with your last breath, to pray to heaven for them. You'll perhaps ask how human nature can be capable of such heroic courage? But remember only your character and reputation, as apostles, will rise or sink, according as you follow this rule; and then I doubt not, but that will enable you to go through all this, and much more.

Many other such-like directions will occur in the course of our race, which I shall take care to communicate to you as often as opportunity offers. But one main one I must not omit before we set about the work: for without this, you will be apt, in your preaching or writing the history of our late master, to aggravate every word and action of the *Jews* against him, to exclaim against the pretended injustice and impiety of the sanhedrin for condemning him; on the baseness and cowardice of *Pilate* in ratifying their bloody sentence; on the cruelty of the *Roman* soldiers for their inhuman treatment of him; and on the obstinacy and perverseness of the *Jews* for not believing our report concerning him. And you may think yourselves intitled to do so from the example of the antient prophets, of the baptist, and even of our master, who made no scruple to reprove our nation in the severest terms.

But I absolutely forbid all such invectives and aggravations, as derogatory to our honour, and to that hitherto unexampled plainness and simplicity, to which, I insist, every one of you shall confine himself in the relation of those facts, without betraying the least resentment, or indeed any other emotion, but what shall seem to flow from the deepest concern, pity, and charity to all the actors in that scene. You may perhaps at first not be aware of the usefulness and excellency of this caution; but a little experience will soon convince you, that nothing will preserve or raise your character more. And now men and brethren, *&c.*

We shall go no further with this supposed scene, because we think it clearly appears by this time that a man must be capable of believing any thing, that can think it possible for one, or all, of these twelve fishermen to concert, much less to execute with such surprizing success and efficacy, a plot and imposture of so black and hellish a nature, under all those difficulties and disadvantages.

But here it will perhaps be pretended, that the whole story of the gospel, acts, *&c* was made a long time after, and the characters, facts, and other advantagious circumstances feigned at leisure. But then the question will be, by what miracle, inchantment, or fascination, they could be introduced into the world, be universally received, believed, and attested by the series of men of all ranks and qualities, by men of learning and probity, who sealed those truths with their blood? How and in what age or generation, after Christ or his apostles, these things were introduced? a succession of prelates, preachers, and martyrs, together with a great number of their pretended writings, the decrees of councils, and other records, each quoting their predecessors up to the sacred writers, foiled in with the whole concomitant chain of evidence, which has hitherto illuded the attempts of the subtilest enemies of christianity? When, we say, the bare possibility of such an universal imposition, with all these circumstances, can once be shewed, it will be then time enough to turn sceptics; and if ever that should prove the case, where we shall stop, God alone can tell.

earth, disclaiming all property, selling all they had, and chearfully laying it at the apostles feet, to be distributed to the relief of their brethren; and being even in their worldly goods, as well in their hearts and affections, so perfectly united, that they became the wonder of the world, even of their very enemies. Thus were the divine oracles fulfilled, the promises of Christ performed, and his Church miraculously planted and propagated by that heavenly Spirit; to continue under his direction to the end of the world, maugre all oppositions of *Jews* and *Gentiles* [x].

But the malice of the priests and rulers did not expire with the death of its divine author. This new and signal miracle on the impotent man; the number of converts it drew after; the zeal, boldness, and eloquence of the apostles all contributed to awaken their fears with their wonder, and to put them upon fresh means to suppress what they called this new and dangerous sect. The apostles and the cripple were brought before them, and *Peter* in an elegant speech assured them, that it was by the name and power of their great master, now gloriously inthroned in heaven, that they had wrought this miraculous cure; demonstrated to them from the scriptures, that he was that chief corner stone, which was long since foretold to be rejected by the builders [y], and was now become the foundation of the new covenant, since there was no name given under heaven, by which men might be saved, but that of *Jesus Christ*, crucified indeed by them, but raised again by his own victorious power. The sanhedrin, having nothing to oppose to these pregnant proofs, and yet ashamed to be convinced, and afraid to use violent means, by reason of the admiring multitude, contented themselves for the present with forbidding them to preach any more in that name; to which *Peter* replied, We have received a contrary command from God, and you may easily judge which of the two ought to be obeyed [z].

Peter's *speech to the sanhedrin.*

Peter, upon his return to his colleagues, acquainted them with what had past, and the orders they had received from the *Jewish* chiefs; upon which they joined unanimously in prayer to God, to strengthen their faith, courage, and miraculous power, they they might boldly go on in their ministry, and preach his crucified Son in spite of all opposition and discouragements; upon which they felt their upper room violently shaken, and their hearts inspired with such zeal, that neither threatnings nor persecutions, racks, tortures, or cruel deaths, could put a stop, either to their preaching, or to its miraculous success: for such it really was, being still attended with some fresh miracle (I), which at once confirmed the believers, and still added freshones to their number. In the mean while the sanhedrin, which consisted chiefly of *Sadducees*, finding their endeavours ineffectual, began to think it high time to try some severer means; and to that end ordered them to be seized, and cast into a common goal. But, before the next morning, an angel had opened the prison gates to them, and bid them return to their preaching, which they did accordingly. By that time the council was set to determine something concerning them, word was brought to them, that the prisoners were escaped by some miracle; for that on that morning not one of them was to be met with, though the prison gates were found closely shut. Whilst they were debating about this new prodigy, the news came, that they were preaching as usual at the temple. Their fears now increasing, with their surprise, they sent for them, yet without violence; and *Caiaphas* having expostulated with them, how they dared trangress their command, they boldly answered for themselves, that as obedience ceased to be due to magistrates, as soon as it began to contravene that which was due to God, they had strictly followed their duty in preaching the resurrection of Christ, and the remission of sins through him, and giving the same irrefragable proofs of those saving truths, which they themselves had of them [a].

His second defence.

Gamaliel's *advice to the sanhedrin.*

This noble answer, which gave them to understand, that they were not to be frighted into a base compliance, did raise their indignation to such a degree, that they were just ready to vent it in some severer manner, when *Gamaliel* (K), one of their members,

[x] Act. iii. 1, & seq. [y] Ps. cxviii. 22. [z] Act. iii, & iv. pass. [a] Ibid. & ch. v. 17, & seq.

(I) These miracles, we are told (24), became so frequent and known by this time, that they drew multitudes of people from all the neighbouring cities and countries to *Jerusalem*, who brought their sick friends, paralytics, lunatics, demoniacs, *&c.* to be healed by the apostles. Insomuch, that the very shadow of *Peter* passing by cured many of them, who, by reason of the throngs that followed him, could not by any other means get access to him.

(K) This was the person at whose feet St. *Paul* had been brought up (25); some add also St. [illegible] and

(24) *Acts* v. 15, *& seq.*

(25) *Ibid.* xxii. 3.

members, a perſon of greater coolneſs, and a learned *Phariſee*, ſtood up, and moderated their reſentment for the preſent, by reminding them, that if this counſel was merely human, it would ſoon be cruſhed, as many others of the like nature, which he named, and they knew had lately been; but if it was of God, it was vain, as well as impious, in them to oppoſe it. Wherefore, concluded he, my opinion is, that we let theſe men alone, and wait the event, leſt we ſhould be found at length to contend with an almighty power. His counſel was readily agreed to, and the apoſtles being called in, after having received a ſevere correction and rebuke for their contumacy, were diſmiſſed, and they joyfully rejoined their collegues [b]. About this time *Year of the flood* 4037. *Of Chriſt* $\frac{38}{42}$.
the tetrarch *Philip*, the brother of *Herod*, died at *Julias*, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his reign, from the death of *Herod the Great*. He was buried in a magnificent tomb, which he had erected during his life; and, as he left no heirs of his own body, his tetrarchy was reſumed by *Tiberius*, and annexed to the province of *Syria*, then under the government of *Flaccus Pomponius*; but with this reſtriction, that the revenues of that country ſhould ſtill be kept within the limits of it. *Joſephus* tells us, that *Philip* was of ſo oppoſite a diſpoſition to his father or brother, that his government was mild and quiet; that he went always attended with a ſmall number of ſervants, ſome of whom carried a chair after him, which ſerved him as his tribunal, to be ready to receive every petition or complaint, and to do juſtice every-where upon the ſpot [c].

About the ſame time, the apoſtles, at the complaint of ſome *Grecian* proſelytes, ordained ſeven deacons from among the number of believers, to be overſeers of the miniſtry in the relief of the neceſſitous members. We know little of five of them, beſides their names, which the reader will find in the margin (L). But *Stephen*, who is mentioned at the head of the reſt, was a man of extraordinary faith, learning, and zeal, and full of the Holy Ghoſt, who wrought ſuch wonders among the people, that he gave great umbrage to the *Jews*. He had confuted ſeveral of the heads of them in their reſpective ſynagogues [d], concerning their notion of the perpetuity of the *Moſaic* law, for which he was accuſed before the ſanhedrin. Here the high-prieſt having given him leave to ſpeak for himſelf, he began his defence, with an hiſtorical deduction of the true worſhip of God, excluſive of the *Moſaic* rites; which laſt he ſhewed by authentic proofs were to be done away, to make room for a more ſpiritual religion under the promiſed Meſſiah. This ſpeech was accompanied with ſuch powerful eloquence, angelic majeſty, and with ſuch a ſevere reproof for their conſtant reſiſting the Holy Ghoſt, and perſecuting thoſe who delivered his divine oracles to them, that not being longer able to bear what they called his blaſphemy, they condemned him to death, and hurried him, as was uſual in ſuch caſes, out of the city; where the witneſſes, who were to throw the firſt ſtones, laid their upper garments at the feet of young *Saul*, then a zealous *Phariſee* and enemy to chriſtianity, but ſince the great apoſtle of the *Gentiles*; and having, according to the *Moſaic* law, laid their hands on the condemned perſon, overwhelmed him with ſtones, whilſt he called on God to forgive them his death, and on *Jeſus* to receive his departing ſoul [e]. Authors are not agreed about the exact year of his death, but moſt of them, after *Uſher*, *Pearſon*, and others, place it about this time, that is, about a year after that of his divine maſter.

Seven deacons choſen.

Stephen *ſtoned.*

The death of this glorious protomartyr was ſoon followed by a more grievous perſecution againſt the chriſtian converts, which yet the divine providence turned into a means of propagating the goſpel far and wide, by the diſperſion of a great number *The chriſtians perſecuted.*

of

[b] Acts, ibid. ver. 33. ad fin. [c] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 6. [d] Acts vi. 9, & ſeq. [e] Ibid. vii. per tot.

and *Barnabas* (26); he is affirmed by an ancient writer to have been already converted to chriſtianity (27); others pretend, that he was not till after the martyrdom of *Stephen*. But we have no certainty of any of theſe facts, nor of ſeveral others that are told of him, concerning which the reader may conſult *Baſnage* in the place laſt quoted.

(L) Theſe were, *Stephen*, *Philip*, *Prochorus*, *Nicanor*, *Timon*, *Parmenas*, and *Nicolas*; this laſt is there called a proſelyte of *Antioch*. The reſt being alſo all *Greek* names, ſhews them to have been *Helleniſts*, and that this new order was made in favour of the converts from them.

Some have affirmed this laſt to have been the author of the beaſtly *Nicolaitan* ſect, that ſprung up in the earlieſt age of the church (28); others have ſtrenuouſly vindicated him from it (29). We can gather nothing certain concerning it. *Philip* is probably the ſame who converted the *Samaritans* (30), baptized the eunuch of queen *Candace* (31), and had four daughters endowed with the gift of prophecy (32). As for the other five, we know no more of them, than what has been mentioned above.

(26) *Vid. Lucian. Rev. de S. Steph. Baſnag. hiſt. des Juifs, Tom. 2. l.* iv. *c.* 3. (27) *Recogn. c.* 65, *& ſeq.* (28) *Vid Epiphan. hæreſ*, 25, *& not. Coteler.* (29) *Clem. Alexandr. ſtromat. l.* iii. *Euſeb. Theodoret. Auguſt. & al.* (30) *Acts* viii. 5, *& ſeq.* (31) *Ibid. ver.* 26. *ad fin.* (32) *Ibid.* xxi. 9, *& ſeq.*

of them, who, after *Stephen*'s death, left *Jeruſalem* and *Judæa*, according to our a
Saviour's advice, *When you are perſecuted in one city, flee into another* [f]. So that few
but the apoſtles ſtayed at *Jeruſalem*, whilſt the reſt went and preached, ſome at *Sa-*
maria, ſome at *Cyprus*, and others elſewhere; but ſtill among the *Jews*, for the time
for the converſion of the *Gentiles* was not yet come. One of the chief inſtruments of
this new perſecution was, the young *Saul*, mentioned a little higher, who obſerving
with what zeal the ſanhedrin endeavoured to cruſh the growing church, got a com-
miſſion from them to ſeize, bind, and impriſon all its members where-ever he met
them; purſuant to which, he made a terrible havock among them, without regard
to quality, age, or ſex, till being himſelf miraculouſly converted in the midſt of his b
bloody career, as he was going to *Damaſcus*, he became as zealous a promoter of
it [g]. During this perſecution, *Samaria* having received the goſpel by the preaching
of *Philip*, and *Simon Magus*, who had formerly bewildered them with his ſorceries,
being himſelf become a convert, the apoſtolic college at *Jeruſalem* deputed thither
The Samaritans *converted.* *Peter* and *John*, who being come, imparted the Holy Ghoſt unto them by their
prayer and impoſition of hands. *Simon*, obſerving the wonderful efficacy of this laſt
ceremony, would have purchaſed the ſame power of the apoſtles at a large ſum; for
which profane propoſal *Peter* ſharply rebuked him [h], and after-ages have branded his
memory, by giving that new and unheard-of ſin the name of *Simony*.

Vitellius's kindneſs to the Jews. About the beginning of the next year, *L. Vitellius*, being ſent by *Tiberius* procon- ;
ſul of *Syria*, came to *Jeruſalem* about the feaſt of the paſſover, where he was honour-
ably received by the magiſtrates of that metropolis, in requital of which he remitted
to its inhabitants the whole duty of the fruits that were ſet to ſale. He likewiſe put all
the pontifical habits, which uſed to be kept in the fortreſs of *Antonia* under the
cuſtody of a *Roman* officer, into the poſſeſſion of the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt, to be thence-
forth kept and diſpoſed of at their pleaſure; after which, having depoſed *Caiaphas*
from the pontifical chair, and raiſed *Jonathan* the ſon of *Annas* or *Ananus* to that dig-
nity, he departed for *Antioch*, his capital [i]. Soon after this a tumult happened at
Samaria, in which *Pilate* acted with ſuch arbitrarineſs and cruelty, that it proved a
main ſtep to his ruin. There had appeared there a certain impoſtor, ſome think
the *Simon* lately mentioned, who perſuaded the *Samaritans*, that if they would repair d
to their ſacred mount *Garizzim*, for ſuch they held it above all mountains, as we
have often ſeen in this chapter, he would direct them to the ſacred veſſels, which
Moſes had formerly buried there. The credulous people came in ſhoals armed to him,
and incamped before a village called *Tirathaba*, waiting for others to join them there,
till they could make a ſufficient body to go up and take poſſeſſion of the pretended
holy treaſure. *Pilate*, who had timely notice of it, ſent a ſtrong body of horſe and
foot, who attacked them with ſuch fury, that they killed a great number of thoſe
deluded wretches, took many of them priſoners, and diſperſed the reſt; after which
he ordered thoſe of the beſt rank and quality to be beheaded without mercy or delay.
The *Samaritans* had immediately recourſe to *Vitellius*, and complained of the maſ- e
ſacre done among them, aſſuring him at the ſame time, that their aſſembling in arms
was not with a ſeditious view, but to ſecure themſelves from the intolerable oppreſ-
ſions of the *Jewiſh* governor. *Vitellius*, who was well acquainted with his cruel and
rapacious character, upon this complaint, diſpatched his friend *Marcellus* to take the
government of *Judæa* upon him, and ſent orders to *Pilate* to repair immediately to
Rome, there to anſwer the *Samaritans* acculation before *Cæſar*'s tribunal. *Pilate* was
forced to obey, but, being detained by contrary winds, *Tiberius* was dead before he
could reach *Rome*. This depoſition, which was but the fore-runner of much greater
evils to that cruel oppreſſor, happened in the tenth year of his tyrannic govern-
ment [k] (M).

During

[f] Matth. x. 23. [g] Vid. Act. viii, ix, & ſeq. [h] Ibid. viii. 14, & ſeq. [i] Conf. Joseph. antiq. l. xv. 14. & xviii. 6. [k] Antiq. ibid. c. 5.

(M) The acts of *Pilate* have made ſo much noiſe among the learned, that it will doubtleſs be expected we ſhould give our *Engliſh* readers ſome idea of them, ſince they are ſo confidently quoted by a great number of ancient fathers (33), and have been as ſtrenuouſly oppoſed or defended by learned moderns (34). It ſeems indeed very probable, that every governor of a province of the *Roman* empire was obliged

(33) *De his vid. Juſt. Mart. Apol.* 2. *Tertul. Apolog.* 5. *Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. l.* ii. *c.* ii. *Oroſ. l.* vii. *c.* 4. *Chryſoſt. Epiphan. hær.* 50. *Greg. Turon. & al. mult.* (34) *Vid. int. al. Caſaub. Exercit.* 16. *Baron. annal. Fabric. apocryph. N. T. & al. ab eo citat.*

a During these transactions in *Judæa*, *Herod* had been carrying on his unsuccessful war against *Aretas*, of which we have already spoken; and *Tiberius*, vexed at the success of the latter, had sent express orders to *Vitellius* to invade his country, and either to take him prisoner, or send his head to *Rome*. *Vitellius*, in his march into *Arabia*, designed to have passed through *Judæa*, but was happily diverted from it by the *Jewish* heads, on account of the *Roman* standards. Upon this condescension *Herod* and he came to *Jerusalem*, where they were highly honoured, and offered the usual sacrifices, and removed *Jonathan* from the priesthood to give it to his brother *Theophilus* [l]. Here they received the news of *Tiberius*'s death, and of the installation of the emperor *Caius*, of which a fuller account shall be given in its proper place; and *Vitellius* stayed to receive the oath of fidelity from the people to the new emperor. b *Jerusalem* was the first eastern city, it seems, that heard the news of his succession, and offered up sacrifices for him [m]. By this time *Artabanes* having succeeded *Aretas* in *Arabia*, *Vitellius* went and made an alliance with him near the *Euphrates*, where *Herod* gave them a magnificent entertainment under a stately pavilion, which he had reared for that purpose near the banks of that river. The *Roman* general sent immediately an account of this transaction to the emperor, and was surprised to find by his answer, that *Herod* had

[l] Antiq. ibid. c. 8. Vid. & Dio. l. lix. [m] Vid. Philo. legat. ad Caium.

obliged to send an account, at least, of the most material transactions that happened in his time; and if so, the crucifixion of a person of the Messiah's character, through the tumultuous malice of the *Jews*, and contrary to *Pilate*'s own inclination, was of too signal a nature not to be transmitted to *Rome* by him, though but to disculpate himself of that unjust deed, and to throw all the odium of it on the sanhedrin.

It is true, those acts that have been transmitted to us vary in many particulars, according to the several hands they have passed through; and some of them carry such a face of forgery, that they cannot be reasonably supposed the same with those which those ancient writers speak so positively of, and have given us such seemingly authentic fragments of. So that to conclude them all to be forged by some pious zealots, is to carry scepticism beyond its due bounds. For who can think that men of such sense, learning, and integrity, as the apologists were, should dare to appeal to those records in favour of the persecuted christians, which, if once found to be forged, must have done their cause the greatest prejudice? How could they speak of them, not only as of things commonly known and acknowledged, but with the same confidence, and seeming exactness, as if they had seen them, consulted, and copied them out of their archives? Is it not more reasonable to believe, that there were such records, though sadly blended and corrupted in those after-ages, which, through the baseness of arch-heretics and the blind zeal of others, produced such numbers of other apocryphal writings? *Eusebius* tells us, that even the *Pagans* did, in the beginning of the fourth century, trump up a new account of the *acta Pilati* (35), doubtless to oppose to those cited by *Justin* and *Tertullian* in the foregoing one. Another mongrel sect, called *Quatuordecimani*, had likewise a set of them quite different from the rest, and from which, *Epiphanius* tells us (36), they defended some of their tenets. And where is the wonder that records of such important nature should be corrupted and altered, by designing men, so long after? Is it not rather a greater one, that those of the two apologists above-mentioned, who wrote as if they had had the authentic copies of the true ones before their eyes, should have been preserved to us? We shall now give our readers the substance of them in as few words as we can.

Pilate to *Tiberius*, &c.

" I have been forced to consent at length to the " crucifixion of *Jesus Christ*, to prevent a tumult " from the *Jews*; though it was very much against " my will. For the world never saw, nor probably " will, a man of such extraordinary piety and up- " rightness. But the high-priest and sanhedrin ful- " filled in it the oracles of their prophets, and of " our sybils. Whilst he hung on the cross, a hor- " rid darkness, which covered the earth, seemed to " threaten its final end. His disciples, who pretend " to have seen him rise from the dead, and ascend " into heaven, and acknowledge him for their God, " (37), do still subsist; and by their excellent lives " shew themselves the worthy disciples of so ex- " traordinary a master. I did what I could to save " him from the malice of the *Jews*; but the fear " of a total insurrection made me sacrifice him to " the interest and peace of your empire, *&c.*

There is nothing in all this that can appear inconsistent with the character of such a governor as *Pilate* was, if we except his saying there, that Christ's death had been foretold by the prophets and sybils; and *Josephus* of *Arimathea*, when he went to beg his body, might in all likelihood inform him of the one, and the other he might either know, or be told by some of his own people. As for the rest, the fear he was in of being called to an account for his unjust sentence, might make him the more diligent in sending such a favourable relation of the transaction, as might best prejudice that ticklish emperor in his favour. Some apocryphal writings tell us, that he was forced to do it in his justification; and that *Tiberius*, who had long lingered under a decay, which eluded the skill of his physicians, had been advised to send for *Jesus* from *Judæa*, to cure him by his miraculous power. They add, that when he received this account from *Pilate*, he not only highly resented it from him, but much more from the *Jewish* sanhedrin, whose court he ordered the former to demolish, that, being the only place where they were allowed to sit in council, they might never more pronounce another sentence from it. But this story we would be far from putting on the level with the acts of *Pilate* in point of evidence. As for that prætor, there is no record what became of him after his being sent to *Rome*. Only an ancient tradition, supported by some seeming authentic monuments, says, that he was banished to *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*, where his misery forced him to kill himself with his own sword.

(35) *ubi supra*, *l.* ix. *c.* 4. (36) *Hæres.* 50. *and* Euseb. *ubi supra.*

(37) *These last particulars are only in* Tertullian

had been before-hand with him, and had acquainted him with all the particulars of it; a for which he bore him a mortal grudge ever after [n].

All this while the christian church increased to a surprising degree, not only in *Judæa*, but in all other parts of the world; to which the apostles themselves, after having left *James the Less* bishop of that of *Jerusalem* (N), dispersed themselves, either about, or soon after, this time. It is out of our province, not only to follow them out of *Judea*, but even to enter into many transactions of theirs within it, which have no concern with the *Jewish* history we are upon. Such as their councils held at *Jerusalem*, their converts, miracles, ordination of bishops, and many more of that kind; which regarding only the first propagation and planting of the christian church, we shall refer our readers for them to those christian annalists, historians, and other b authors, who have wrote on the subject, and which are too numerous and too well known to need being mentioned in the margin.

That we may therefore resume and finish our history without any further digression, we shall conclude what relates to the christian church with the miraculous conversion of *Cornelius* the *Roman* centurion, the first-fruits of that of the *Gentile* world; because it is there, that we formerly fixed the final departure of the poor remains of the *Jewish* sceptre or power †. We there observed, after the learned Mr. *Mede*, that the words of *Jacob* might, and by the event ought to, be read, *The sceptre shall not depart*, &c. *till* Shiloh *come*, *and to him the nations be gathered*; which could not therefore be totally removed, till this promised conversion of the *Gentiles* was in some measure accomplished. It had indeed began to dwindle long before, but there were still some remains left; they were still governed by their own laws, their sanhedrin had still c

[n] Joseph. & Dio, ubi supra. † See before, Vol. I. p. 462, note (G).

(N) When this choice or installation was made, whether immediately after the descent of the Holy Ghost, or after the death of the protomartyr, or in any intermediate space between, is not easy to guess; and that he was made bishop of *Jerusalem*, and that this metropolis was made the first christian see, we have not from any sacred writers, but from the fathers (38) and ancient tradition; and both add, that he wore a golden plate on his forehead, probably in imitation of the *Jewish* high-priest †. It is supposed, that both St. *Peter* and the two sons of *Zebedee* gave him the preference of being the first bishop, on account of his being so nearly related to Christ. For he was the son of *Cleophas* or *Alpheus*, the brother of the blessed virgin, from whom he was therefore his first cousin, and hence called his brother, according to the *Hebrew* custom (39).

This his preference is further confirmed by his being mentioned by the apostle before *Peter* and *John*, who are there called the two other pillars of the church (40), and especially by his sitting as president at the first council at *Jerusalem*, when the question about the circumcision of the heathen converts was condemned (41). For there *Peter* having opened the point to the assembly, and *Paul* and *Barnabas* related the main particular of their conversion, *James* stood up and summed up the whole debate; and having delivered his own opinion, and backed it with scripture authority, he gave the definitive sentence, which was assented to by the rest (42).

The fathers above-mentioned speak very much of his great sanctity, mortified life, miracles, &c. for which he was surnamed by *Jews* as well as christians, *The Just*. They add, that he had also that of *Obliah* or *Ophliah* given him, which signifies *the fortress of God*; and that he was even allowed to enter into that part of the temple which was only permitted to the priests, though he was not of that order, and that the people crouded about him to kiss the hem of his garment (43).

Baronius quotes a story out of the *Talmud* (44), that a *Jew*, named *Eleazar*, having been bit by a venomous serpent, *James* was sent for to cure him in the name of *Jesus* the son of the carpenter, which was strenuously opposed by a *Jewish* rabbi there present; and that whilst they were debating about the lawfulness of the cure, the venom grew to such a head, that the patient died; upon which the stiff-necked rabbi congratulated him for dying without breaking the rules of the *Jewish* doctors.

Some apocryphal writings were attributed to St. *James*, but were condemned by the church, which receives none but the epistle that bears his name, and which he is supposed to have written a little before his death, which happened about the year of Christ 62; when his great sanctity having rendered him obnoxious to *Ananus*, the son of *Annas* the high-priest mentioned in the gospel, he drew him into the following snare. He sent for him to declare unto the mistaken people what they ought to think of *Jesus*, concerning whom they had, he pretended, conceived some wrong notion. For the better conveniency of his being heard, he was placed in some gallery, or high balcony, of the temple, where the people from below inquired of him concerning the crucified *Jesus*, to which the good old bishop answered, *That Jesus, whom you crucified, sits now at the right hand of God.*

As the populace below were of the *Jewish* leaven, the priests and *Pharisees* that headed them expected them to have broke out into invectives and blasphemies, instead of which they all broke out into *Hozannahs* to him; upon which the chiefs cried out, *The Just*, alluding to his surname, is also in the delusion, and ordered him to be thrown headlong down. His fall not having made an end of him, they fell a covering him with stones, whilst he prayed to God for them, for which one of them came and knocked his brains out with a club (45).

(38) *Clem. Alexand. Hegesip ap. Euseb. Eccl. hist. l.* ii. *c.* 1. *Epiphan. hæres.* 29, & 78. † *De quo vid. Vol. I. p.* 630, b, c, &c. (39) *Vide Galat.* i. 19. *Joseph. antiq. l.* xx. *c.* 8. (40) *Galat.* ii. 9. (41) *Acts* xv. 4, & *seq.* (42) *Ibid. ver.* 13, & *seq. Vid. & Lesley's case stated.* (43) *Vid. Hieron. in Galat.* i. (44) *Annal an.* 63. (45) *Euseb. ubi supra, l.* ii. *c.* 23.

a ſtill a great power, even of life and death, as we obſerved in the caſe of St. *Stephen*. The reader may ſee ſome further tokens of it in the margin (O). But from this time it was ſo curtailed and reduced, that no footſtep was to be ſeen of it, even before the laſt ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, which was to give the finiſhing ſtroke to that and ſeveral noble prophecies. As this converſion of the *Roman* centurion was to uſher in a new and ſingular epoch, it is no wonder, it was accompanied with ſuch remarkable and miraculous circumſtances. Of this ſort were the extraordinary piety and charity in that new proſelyte, and the viſion that appeared to him, and directed him where to ſend for *Peter*, who was to preach Chriſt to him; the ſurpriſing viſion, which that apoſtle had about the ſame time; the explanation and the command which he received from b the Spirit, the great readineſs with which *Cornelius* and his company received the word preached; and their being endowed with the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, even before their baptiſm. All which are ſo well known, that we ſhall not dwell longer upon them; but only obſerve, that there was a further neceſſity of ſome ſuch extraordinary and miraculous circumſtances, to determine *Peter* and ſatisfy the reſt of the apoſtles and *Jewiſh* converts; ſince it plainly appears, that notwithſtanding Chriſt's repeated commiſſion to them to convert all nations, yet they ſo little dreamed of the heathen being to be brought into his fold, that the former would never have gone to proſelyte this or any other heathen, nor the reſt have been pacified for his ſo doing, if theſe remarkable occurrences had not reminded them, that a happy entrance was to be thereby opened to the reſt of the *Gentile* world °.

We return now to the *Jews*, who, ſoon after the death of *Tiberius*, received a new governor from *Rome*, named *Marullus*, inſtead of *Pontius Pilate*, or rather of *Marcellus*, to whom the care of *Judæa* had been committed after his depoſition. At the ſame time *Caius Caligula* gave his old friend *Agrippa*, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus* and grand-

ſon

° De hoc vid. Act. x, & xi. paſſ. & alib.

(O) We have a pregnant inſtance of this in the aſſault which was made on St. *Paul* in the temple (36), where he was ſeized, and was going to be carried before the high-prieſt, but was reſcued by *Claudius Lyſias*, the commanding officer of that place. This is the firſt inſtance we meet with of the *Romans* interfering in a caſe of this nature; and accordingly, when the priſoner was brought before the governor, *Tertullus*, the *Jewiſh* orator, complained of the violence done to them, in theſe words (37); We found this peſtilent fellow, meaning *Paul*, raiſing ſedition through the world, a ring-leader of the *Nazarite* ſect, who went alſo to profane our temple: whom we therefore laid hold on, and would have judged according to our law. But the chief captain *Lyſias* came, and by main violence reſcued him from our hands, *&c.*

What judgment they deſigned to have paſſed upon him, is eaſy to know, both by what the people cried out when he made his defence (38), and by the accuſation they brought againſt him, ſedition and ſacrilege; for ſuch they deemed the profanation of the temple, which was made capital by their law. Accordingly, we have taken notice in a former ſection of certain inſcriptions faſtened to certain pillars of the building, forbidding all ſtrangers, and polluted *Iſraelites*, to enter beyond the court of the *Gentiles*, under pain of death †. It may be likewiſe gathered from the judgment which *Feſtus*, *Agrippa*, and others made of him, that *he had done nothing worthy of death* (39); by the reaſon which *Feſtus* gave for not delivering him into their hands; *It is not the cuſtom*, ſaid he, *for the* Romans *to deliver a man to die, before*, &c. (40) and by the *Jews* laying in wait to kill him by ſtratagem, ſince they could not get it done in a judicial way.

All this ſeems further confirmed to us by his appeal to *Cæſar*. He knew the crime alledged againſt him to be capital, and chiefly of a religious nature; and yet refuſes to be tried by the ſanhedrin, and affirms that he ought not to be judged by any other tribunal than that of *Cæſar*. Doth not this imply that the power of life and death, even in religious caſes, was by this time taken away? Doth not the defence he made there before *Feſtus* (41) ſeem to amount to this? Though the new governor, out of a deſire to ingratiate himſelf to the *Jews*, offers to make them judges of my cauſe; and if they ſhould condemn me, has ſtill the power to put a negative upon their ſentence; yet, for as much as all capital caſes are now to be tried only before *Cæſar*'s tribunal, I appeal to that, and proteſt againſt his complaiſance to them as contrary to the preſent law.

Upon the whole we have an inſtance of the ſanhedrin's trying, condemning, and executing *Stephen* by their own authority about a year after Chriſt. Twenty-ſix years after they endeavoured to do the ſame by St. *Paul*, and were prevented by the *Roman* captain. Being hindered from doing it by their own authority, they endeavoured to prevail firſt upon the old, next upon the new governor, to conſent to his being put to death, and are refuſed by both, unleſs after a fair trial and conviction at the *Roman* tribunal. At length they found means to perſuade the new one to recede in ſome meaſure from his prerogative, and let them try the pretended criminal themſelves; and this laſt proteſts againſt it, and appeals to *Cæſar* as the only tribunal where he can be lawfully tried. What can this argue, but that, between the death of St. *Stephen* and the trial of St. *Paul*, the *Jews* had loſt all their power of trying criminal cauſes; and ſince this inſtance of the latter is the firſt we meet with, of their being diveſted of that power, about twenty years after the converſion of *Cornelius*; ſeems it not to follow, that the *Jewiſh* ſceptre was not totally departed, till after the *Gentiles* had been gathered to that of the Shiloh there propheſied?

(36) *Acts* xxi. 27, *& ſeq.* (37) *Ibid.* xxiv. 5, *& ſeq.* (38) *Ibid.* xxii. 22, 23. † *Vid. ſup.* p. 146, *ſub not.* (8). (39) xxvi. 31. (40) *Ibid.* xxv. 16. (41) *Acts* xxv. 9, *& ſeq.*

ſon of *Herod the Great*, of whom we have formerly ſpoken *, the tetrarchy of his late uncle *Philip*, and added to it that of *Abylene* in *Syria*, which had formerly belonged to *Lyſanias*. *Agrippa*, whom St. *Luke* calls by the common name of *Herod* P, had been brought up at *Rome* with *Druſus* the ſon of *Tiberius*, and by his extreme generoſity, or rather profuſeneſs, had gained himſelf many friends at court; but they were of the courtly mould. For after *Druſus*'s death, the emperor having removed all the friends of that young prince from him, leſt they ſhould revive the memory of his ſon, *Agrippa* found himſelf reduced to the greateſt extremities, indebted over head ears, pennyleſs, and almoſt friendleſs. In this condition he came into *Judæa*, and ſhut himſelf up in a caſtle in *Idumæa*, reſolved through ſhame, vexation, and miſery, to ſtarve himſelf to death. His wife *Cyprus*, the daughter of *Phaſael*, did what ſhe could to aſſiſt him, writ to his ſiſter in his behalf; and theſe two furniſhed him with ſome preſent ſubſiſtence, but all too little for a prince of his extravagant temper. To this *Herod*, *Herodias*'s huſband, added ſome further favours to him, made him a magiſtrate of *Tiberias*, and aſſiſted him with ſome ſmall ſums. But this kindneſs was ſoon at an end, and *Herod* having one day upbraided him with it at ſome banquet, *Agrippa*, who could not brook the affront, retired to *Flaccus*, governor of *Syria*, where he had not ſtayed long before he diſobliged him, and was forced to retire again into *Italy*. After many other rubs and misfortunes, which the reader may ſee in *Joſephus* q, he was at length, through the ill offices of one of his freedmen, thrown into priſon, and loaded with chains, by *Tiberius*. He continued in this miſerable condition till that prince's death, when *Caius*, with whom he had formerly contracted an intimate friendſhip, ſent for him from his priſon to his own palace, arrayed him in purple, exchanged his iron chain for one of gold of the ſame weight, put a diadem on his head, and gave him the two tetrarchies above-mentioned, with the title of king. *Agrippa* did not, however, come immediately into his new dominions, but continued about a year longer at *Rome* with the new emperor. He obtained at length leave of him to come and viſit his *Jewiſh* territories, and to ſet things in the beſt order, and took *Egypt* in his way. He embarqued at *Puteoli* at the end of *July*, and came a few days after in ſight of *Alexandria*. The magnificence of his entry into that city, though he choſe to make it in the night to avoid its being too much obſerved, drew the envy of the *Alexandrians*, who could not behold this new upſtart *Jewiſh* king in ſuch ſplendor, without offering ſeveral indignities to him, though at a diſtance (P); and *Flaccus* their governor, who was no lover of the *Jews*, not only winked at it, but beheld it with a ſecret pleaſure. He was likewiſe there informed of the indirect means which *Flaccus* had taken to render the *Jewiſh* nation odious to the emperor. All which made him willing to leave the place as ſoon as poſſible. The great oppreſſions, perſecutions, and horrid butcheries, which the *Alexandrian Jews* ſuffered from this baſe governor, for refuſing to worſhip the new mad emperor, and his behaviour to the embaſſadors, ſent to him to repreſent their loyalty in all other caſes that were conſiſtent with their law, are out of our province; the reader may ſee a full account of it in *Philo* above-mentioned r; and we ſhall ſee by-and-by, that thoſe of *Judæa* were like to have ſuffered as much from him, though they had ſuch a powerful advocate as king *Agrippa* to intercede for them, had not *Caius*'s death put a happy period to his impious project of being acknowledged as a deity.

Agrippa raiſed by Caius. Year of the Roſal æra. Of Chriſt.

Jews perſecuted at Alexandria.

Flaccus's *cruelties puniſhed.*

WHILST theſe horrid cruelties were acting at *Alexandria*, *Agrippa*, who had left that city to get into his new kingdom, took care to acquaint the emperor with them, who diſpatched *Baſſus* immediately to ſeize that bloody governor, and bring him to *Rome*, where he was ſtripped of all his riches, baniſhed into an iſland of the *Archipelago*, and at length put to death there.

Herod Antipas's *ambition.*

IN the mean time *Herod Antipas*, who had formerly treated *Agrippa* with ſuch contempt, could not now behold his glory and his being in ſuch favour with *Caligula*, without

* See before, ſect. v. p. 152. in fin. not.

P Act. xii. 1, & ſeq.

q Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7.

r In Flaccum.

(P) One of them was the ſetting up a poor fooliſh fellow that uſed to go naked about the ſtreets, dreſſing him in a kind of mock royalty, and making him ride through the great places of the city, with a tattered life guard like himſelf, and huzzaing of him with the word *Maris*, which means the ſame as, *God bleſs the king*; whilſt others came to preſent their petitions, demanded juſtice, &c. and expoſed his royalty to the moſt audacious ridicule (42).

(42) *Philo in Flaccum Joſeph. antiq. l.* xviii. *c.* 8.

without the deepeſt envy. His wife, a haughty woman, could not brook that he ſhould be contented with the bare title of tetrarch, whilſt her brother was now raiſed to that of a king; and did not ceaſe teazing him, till ſhe made him take a journey to *Rome* to obtain the ſame title from the emperor. She even accompanied him thither, in hopes that her preſence would greatly influence that monarch; but *Agrippa*, who was timely acquainted with their ambitious deſigns, had taken care to ſend thither one of his freedmen, named *Fortunatus*, to accuſe *Herod* with having had a hand in *Sejanus*'s late conſpiracy, and, as a proof of it, to mention the arſenals which he had filled with arms, ſufficient to furniſh ſeventy thouſand men. As ſoon therefore as *Herod* was entered into the preſence, and had paid his reſpects to the emperor, *Fortunatus* preſented him with *Agrippa*'s letter. *Caius* having read it, aſked *Herod* whether he had really ſuch a great reſerve of arms? He was forced to confeſs it; upon which he was ſtripped of his tetrarchy, and ſent into baniſhment to *Lions* in *France*. *Caius* underſtanding, however, that *Herodias* was *Agrippa*'s ſiſter, he offered to pardon her, and to procure her the payment of all the ſums ſhe had lent her brother; but ſhe refuſed his generoſity, and ſince ſhe had been the cauſe of her huſband's diſgrace, ſhe choſe to accompany him, and to ſhare the ſame fate with him (Q); upon which *Caius* gave both his tetrarchy and all his treaſure to *Agrippa*, after *Herod* had enjoyed the former forty-three years [s].

Accuſed to Caius.

Baniſhed.

In the mean time, *Caius*, having taken it into his head to cauſe his ſtatue to be ſet up in the very ſanctuary of the temple, ſent orders to *Petronius*, then governor of *Syria*, to ſee it executed, and to have a number of troops ready to prevent any obſtruction from the *Jews*. *Petronius*, who knew the zeal of theſe, as well as the impetuoſity of his maſter, could not ſet about ſuch a command without ſome dread; and to gain time, ſent for the beſt ſtatuaries and materials from diſtant parts, whilſt he gathered his army into the neighbourhood of *Ptolemais*. This laſt action having alarmed the nation, he was forced to tell them the orders he had received; upon which he was addreſſed by all the heads of the *Jews*, who in the humbleſt manner aſſured him, that they would ſooner hazard the loſs of all that was dear to them, even their lives, than ſuffer their temple to be thus profaned. The governor ſtrove to bring them into a compliance, by reminding them of the danger of their oppoſing, or of his not obeying the emperor's command, and that their reſiſtance would be interpreted as a downright rebellion. They anſwered him, that the prayers and ſacrifices they offered daily for the emperor were a ſufficient token of their loyalty. However, added they, we are ſo far from deſigning to riſe up in arms upon this occaſion, that we will ſuffer ourſelves to be butchered in the moſt cruel manner; and this will be all the reſiſtance you will meet with from us, if you go on with your deſign.

A new ſtorm raiſed againſt the Jews. *Year of the flood* 3038. *Of Chriſt* 42.

Soon after this, *Ariſtobulus* the brother of *Agrippa*, accompanied with ſome of the royal family, came to *Petronius*, and begged, that they might have leave to try to mollify the emperor by an embaſſy, and that he would ſecond it with a letter to that monarch in their behalf. *Petronius* at length conſented to write to the emperor, but forbad them to ſend any embaſſy, or let their reluctance be ſo much as ſuſpected at the *Roman* court. He wrote accordingly to the emperor, that he had met with difficulties in the execution of his orders, through want of proper hands; and that the ſtatue, which he deſigned ſhould be a maſter-piece of its kind, was not yet reared, becauſe he feared leſt the taking ſo many men from their other labours, ſhould bring a ſcarcity in the land, lower the tribute, and ſuch other reaſons, which, inſtead of appeaſing, greatly exaſperated the emperor. He was juſt reading the letter, and in the height of his reſentment, when king *Agrippa*, who was then at *Rome*, came into his preſence. He was greatly ſurpriſed to ſee ſuch a mixture of paſſions in his looks and geſtures, and began to fear he had either offended, or been in ſome way miſrepreſented to him; when *Caius*, who eaſily obſerved his diſorder, broke the ſecret to him in words to this effect: Your *Jewiſh* ſubjects are ſtrange creatures to refuſe to acknowledge

Agrippa *intercedes for them.*

[s] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 9. Vid. & Dio, lib. lix. Philo, ubi ſupra.

(Q) *Joſephus* tells us elſewhere, that he was baniſhed into *Spain* (43), and that he died there; ſo that he muſt either have fled thither afterwards, or, which is more likely, he was ſent thither from *Lyons*, when *Caius* and *Agrippa* came to this laſt place, and made ſome ſtay in it. This was the *Herod* before whom Chriſt was brought before his death.

(43) *Bell. Jud. l.* ii. *c.* 16.

ledge me for a god, and to provoke my reſentment againſt them; I had commanded a the ſtatue of *Jupiter* to be ſet up in their temple, and they have, it ſeems, oppoſed it, and raiſed a kind of univerſal inſurrection.

Obtains his ſuit.

At theſe words *Agrippa*, like one thunder-ſtruck, after having in vain tried to keep himſelf up, fell into a ſwoon, and was carried off into his own palace, where he continued in that condition till the third day, when having taken a little ſuſtenance, he ſet himſelf about writing to the emperor the letter which the reader may ſee at full length in *Joſephus* [t], and the ſubſtance of it in the margin (R). *Caius*, inſtead of being moved at the king's concern, was rather the more exaſperated againſt the *Jews*, and againſt him, for his concern for ſuch an ungrateful race, as he called them, whom all his favours could not work into a compliance to his will. However, he b began to relent when he read the letter, and *Agrippa*, who drew a good omen even from his not anſwering it, took the liberty to invite him to a ſumptuous entertainment, which *Caius*, who really loved him, eaſily accepted. Here the *Jewiſh* king, having well warmed his gueſt with wine, began to extol the great and ſignal favours he had heaped upon him; and, by his large encomiums and expreſſions of gratitude, found means to get a freſh promiſe of whatever he ſhould aſk. To this *Agrippa* anſwered, Since it is your pleaſure to add this new favour to all the reſt, I will beg for ſuch a one as will at once be an irrefragable proof of your goodneſs to me, and draw a plenty of heavenly bleſſings upon your head; and that is, that you will ſet aſide your reſolution of ſetting up the ſtatue in the temple of *Jeruſalem*. This petition, which c ſhewed not only the greateſt diſintereſtedneſs, but alſo the moſt unfeigned love for his country and religion, even at the hazard of his life, had ſuch an effect on that empe-ror, that he wrote immediately to his governor, that if his ſtatue was not already ſet up, he ſhould forbear doing it; adding, that he had altered his deſign out of friend-ſhip to *Agrippa*. However, the lightneſs of his temper ſoon made him repent of his complaiſance to him; ſo that he deſigned to have made a ſecond attempt, unknown to him. At the ſame time his reſentment againſt *Petronius* being kindled afreſh, he ſent him an order to diſpatch himſelf; but *Caius* was aſſaſſinated time enough to pre-vent either miſchief taking effect [u] (S).

Agrippa's policy at Rome.

Agrippa, who was ſtill at *Rome*, did not a little contribute to the ſucceſſion of *Claudius* (T); in conſideration of which, this laſt confirmed to him all *Caligula*'s grants,

[t] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 11. Vid. & legat. ad Caium.

[u] Antiq. ubi ſupra. Sueton. in Caligul.

(R) He began with juſtifying the love he had expreſſed for his own country in their laſt interview, and to which he was bound, not only by the law of nature, but even by thoſe of his own religion, he being deſcended from a race of ſuch noble anceſtors, as had during a long ſeries of ſucceſſions enjoyed the regal and pontifical dignity; for ſo he really was by his grandmother *Mariamne*, the beloved wife of *Herod the Great*, who was of the race of the *Aſhmonean* princes, as we have often hinted in ſome former ſections.

He went on with acquainting him, that he choſe to intercede for his own nation in writing, rather than by word of mouth, as he thought it the moſt reſpectful way of the two; and that the many ſignal favours he had received from him, gave him grounds to hope, that he ſhould now obtain a favour, which would coſt him nothing, but would be eſteemed by the *Jews* as the greateſt he could beſtow on them: That *Jeruſalem* could not but be thought worthy of his regard, ſince it was the firſt city of the eaſt, which had proclaimed him emperor, and offered up ſacrifices for him: That as to the temple of that metropolis, it had been highly reverenced by *Auguſtus*, *Tiberius*, and many others of his anceſtors, for whoſe memory he profeſſed a ſingular honour, and whoſe pious conduct, he hoped, he would imitate upon this occaſion: That as to himſelf, the greateſt favours he had heaped upon him would only increaſe his unhappineſs, if he did not think fit to grant him this laſt: That it was impoſſible for him to outlive the profanation of that ſacred place, and the diſgrace and ruin of his nation.

He concluded with reminding him, that he ſhould be juſtly eſteemed a traytor to both, if he ſhould be wanting in uſing his utmoſt intereſt at this juncture, and that the world would not fail to think him diſcarded of his imperial favour, if he did not ſucceed in a petition of this nature. This long and pathetic letter was immediately ſealed, and ſent to the emperor; and *Agrippa* waited with the utmoſt impatience for an anſwer, but in vain; *Caius*, though mollified by it, not vouchſafing to take the leaſt notice of it to him.

(S) During this interval, beſides the raging perſecution in *Alexandria*, there happened ſome others in other places, and upon other accounts, particularly in *Meſopotamia* and *Babylon*. But we chuſe to refer our readers for them to *Joſephus* (44), rather than ſwell this hiſtory with things that happened out of *Paleſtine*.

It will be ſufficient to obſerve here, that as the *Jews* in other parts withſtood the preaching of the goſpel, where-ever the apoſtles and primitive converts brought it, and with the ſame vehemence as thoſe of *Paleſtine*, they ſeldom, if ever, fail'd ſharing in their puniſhment.

(T) It muſt be owned, that the part which *Agrippa* acted in this election between the new emperor and the ſenate, is not much to his honour, and was more becoming a conſummate courtier than a king (45), as we ſhall ſee in the *Roman* hiſtory. But the wonder will ceaſe, when we remember, that he had been brought up at that court, had ſpent moſt of his life

(44) *Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 12. per tot.*

(45) *Vid. Joſeph. & Dio, loc. ſup. citat.*

a grants, gave him *Judæa*, *Samaria*, and the ſouthern parts of *Idumea*, entered into a ſolemn alliance with him, and made ſeveral edicts in favour of the *Jews*. At his requeſt, he gave likewiſe the kingdom of *Chalcis* to his brother *Herod*, who was alſo his ſon-in-law; *Agrippa* had the honours of the conſulſhip, and *Herod* thoſe of the prætorſhip, conferred upon them; both were intitled to enter into the ſenate, and to pay their compliments to the emperor in *Greek*, which was uſually done in *Latin*[w]. All theſe grants were engraven on copper, and ſet up in the capitol; thus was *Agrippa* raiſed to the height of glory, his territories extended to the furtheſt limits of his grandfather *Herod the Great*, and his power and credit with the ſenate even much greater than his, when at the higheſt pitch. *Claudius's friendſhip to him.*

b He returned ſoon after into his kingdom, where he ſhewed a more extraordinary attachment to the *Jewiſh* religion, than any of his predeceſſors, and began with the ſolemn performance of the vow of *Nazareat* †; after which he cauſed the golden chain, which *Caius* had given him, to be hanged up in one of the moſt conſpicuous parts of the temple, to be a monument to poſterity of the inſtability of human affairs. He depoſed *Theophilus* from the high-prieſthood, and gave it to *Simon Cantharas* the ſon of *Boethus*. He diveſted him of it ſoon after, to beſtow it on *Jonathan* the ſon of *Annas*, who had already enjoyed it after *Caiaphas*; but he modeſtly refuſed it, telling the king, that he thought himſelf ſufficiently honoured to have once enjoyed that dignity; upon which it was given to his brother *Matthias* [x]. *Agrippa* come: to Judæa.

c *Agrippa* was not only a zealous obſerver of the *Jewiſh* religion, but he was likewiſe an excellent prince, delighting in acts of generoſity and clemency (U). He had been at an immenſe charge in building, beautifying, and fortifying a new quarter on the north ſide of the city, which he called *Bezetha*, or *the new city*, and in procuring the emperor's leave to ſurround it with a ſtrong wall, which, if he had obtained, would have rendered that metropolis impregnable. But *Vivius Marſus*, who had this year ſucceeded *Petronius* in the government of *Syria*, repreſented the danger of ſuch a deſign, which had already been carried on to ſome forwardneſs, in ſuch lively colours, that *Claudius* immediately ſent him an order to deſiſt. So conſiderable was he, and eſteemed by all his neighbours, that in one of his progreſſes to *Tiberias*, he had no leſs than five kings, who came to compliment him there. Theſe were *Antio-*

d *chus*, king of *Comagene*, *Samſigeran*, king of *Emiſa*, *Cotis*, king of *Leſſer Armenia*, *Polemon*, king of *Pontus*, and *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*. This meeting, however, gave *Marſus* ſuch jealouſy, that he came thither himſelf; and tho' *Agrippa* complimented him ſo far, as to go ſeven ſtades to meet him, yet that governor commanded them all to depart, and return to their reſpective kingdoms. This action did ſo affront the *Jewiſh* king, that he ſent to deſire the emperor to recal him from his government, and eaſily obtained it; but *Claudius* died juſt before the orders had reached *Syria* [y]. *His character.* *Year of the flood* 3040. *Of Chriſt* 42 *or* 45. *Viſited by five kings.*

Upon his return to *Jeruſalem*, he depoſed *Matthias* the ſon of *Annas* from the high-prieſthood, and gave that dignity to *Elionæus* the ſon of *Cithæus*; and as he was very

[w] Antiq. l. xix. c. 3, & 4. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 18. Dio, lib. lx. † De hoc vid. Vol. I. p. 631, & ſeq. [x] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c, 5, 6, & 7. [y] Antiq. ibid. cap. ult. ad fin.

life there, and that the various viciſſitudes his fortune had formerly led him through, would not ſuffer him to be over-nice at ſuch a juncture, when his kingdom and all depended upon his ſecuring the friendſhip of the next ſucceſſor. In other things he really acted in a quite different character, as the ſequel will ſhew.

(U) We have a ſignal inſtance of it in the caſe of one *Simon*, a ſurly fanatic lawyer, who had ventured to exclaim againſt him in a public aſſembly, as unfit to enter into the court of the *Iſraelites*, becauſe he was an *Idumæan* by the father's ſide. The king, who was then at *Cæſarea*, only ſent for him to the theatre, made him ſit down by him, and, inſtead of reproving his boldneſs, mildly aſked him, whether there was any thing in him, or his actions, which he thought contrary to the *Jewiſh* law. This behaviour ſo mollified the man, that he anſwered him in the negative, approved of all he did, (for *Agrippa* was very fond of thoſe public ſhews) and in a ſubmiſſive manner begged pardon for his former ſpeech, which was readily granted to him (46).

His treatment of *Silas*, whoſe great obligations he had already rewarded with the command of all his forces, has indeed been cenſured as ſavouring of ingratitude; but the abuſe which that general had made of his power, his contemptuous behaviour towards him, and his public proteſting that he would never ceaſe upbraiding him with his former condition, and his own paſt ſervices to him, might well deſerve his reſentment; which yet he carried no further than impriſoning him: for it was *Herod* that put him to death immediately after that of *Agrippa* (47).

Joſephus, in the place laſt quoted, inſtances, as a monument of his magnificence, the ſtately theatre which he built at *Berytus* in *Phœnice*; in which, among other ſpectacles he gave the people there, he cauſed fourteen thouſand condemned criminals to repreſent a fight, which they did in ſuch good earneſt, that there was not one left alive of all that number.

(46) *Antiq. l.* xix. *c.* 7. (47) *Id. ibid.*

very fond of pleasing the *Jewish* nation, he began to persecute the christians, who a till then seem to have been very quiet at *Jerusalem* ever since St. *Paul*'s conversion. The first who fell a victim to his popular zeal was, *James the Less*, surnamed *Boanerges*, whom he caused to be beheaded (W). The pleasure which this action gave to the *Jews*, encouraged him to imprison *Peter* also, with a design to cut him off also immediately after the feast, which was that of the passover, and fell on that year on the first of *April*, in the forty-fourth year after Christ. *Peter* was therefore strongly guarded, having four quaternions of soldiers at his prison door, and being fastened hands and feet with chains to his dungeon; whilst prayers were put up for him by all the christians in and about *Jerusalem*, and obtained him a miraculous deliverance. For on the very b night before his designed martyrdom, an angel came and awaked him out of a sound sleep, knocked off his fetters, opened the prison door, and led him safe through some of the streets of the city, and left him to go and seek for some safe asylum; which he accordingly did, after he had gone and acquainted some of the brethren with his miraculous deliverance [z].

Beheads James, *and imprisons* Peter.

Soon after this disappointment, *Agrippa* returned to *Cæsarea*, where he designed to have exhibited some public games in honour of *Claudius Cæsar*, and was attended thither with a numerous train of the most considerable persons, both of his own, and of the neighbouring nations. He appeared early on the second morning of the festival at the public theatre, in a costly suit artfully wrought, so that the sun-beams darting upon the silver ground of it, were reflected with such an uncommon lustre, that the c people beheld him with a kind of divine respect. He addressed himself in an elegant speech to the deputies of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, who had been some time in disgrace with him, and were now come to beg his pardon, and the continuance of his favour to their respective nations. Here the embassadors, prompted perhaps by some of his court sycophants as is usual in such cases, gave a great shout, crying out, that it was the voice of a god, and not of a man, and added some gestures of a kind of adoration. The king, too sensible of the people's praise, approved, instead of checking, their impious flattery; upon which the angel of the Lord smote him with a dread- ful disease [a], under which having lingered five days, he expired in all the misery that d can be expressed or imagined (X). He left a son of the same name, who was then but seventeen years old, and had been brought up at *Rome*, and three daughters, *Bernice* married to *Herod*, and then sixteen years of age, and *Mariamne* and *Drusilla*, both young and unmarried, though contracted, the former to *Julius Archelaus*, the son of *Chalcias*, and the latter to *Epiphanes*, the son of *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*. He died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign. *Claudius* was going to bestow the kingdom on his son, according to a former promise; but was dissuaded from it by his courtiers, on pretence that he was too young to be trusted with the care of such a nation; upon which *Judæa* became again a province of the empire, and *Cuspius Fadus* was sent governor of it, with this particular order, e that he shou'd act nothing in concert with *Marsus*, that he should severely punish the inhabitants of *Cæsarea* and *Sebaste*, or *Samaria*, for the indignities they had offered to

His dreadful death.

Judæa *made a province by* Claudius.

[z] Act. xii. per tot. [a] Ibid. ver. 20. ad fin. Antiq. ubi supra.

(W) This was not the *James* whom we mentioned a little higher to have been a near relation of Christ, and on that account chosen bishop of *Jerusalem*, and was not martyred till many years after; but one of the sons of *Zebedee*, and brother of *John*.

Eusebius adds (48), upon the testimony of *Clement* bishop of *Alexandria*, that the soldier or captain that was to lead him to execution, was converted to christianity, by the noble defence which that apostle made at his trial, and that they were both martyred together. Some other particularities concerning his austere life, great piety, &c. are added which tho' they may be true enough, we dare not vouch for upon the bare testimony of ancient tradition (49).

(K) The sacred historian says, that he was eaten of worms (50), and *Josephus*, that he was seized with such violent pains in his heart and bowels, that he could not but reflect on the baseness of his flatterers, who had but lately complimented him with a kind of divine immortality, who was now going to expire in all the torments and agonies of a miserable mortal.

The latter adds, that whilst he was as yet in his prison, an owl happened to pearch over his head; upon which a *German*, who was there, foretold him his future rise and happiness; but bid him take notice, that the next time that he saw that bird, it would prove ominous to him, and that he would live but five days after it; which happened accordingly. For whilst he was applauding himself with the shouts and compliments, which the assembly were paying to him, on occasion of his oration, the same bird appeared over his head, pearching upon a rope, from which he concluded that his life and glory was at an end (1).

(48) *Eccl. Hist. l.* ii. *c.* 9. (49) *Vid. Epiph. hæres.* 58. *c.* 4, *& seq. & al.* (50) *Act.* xii. 23.
(1) *Conf. antiq. l.* xviii. *c.* 8. *& l.* xix. *c. ult.*

to the memory of the late king (Y); and that he ſhould ſend the troops that were a kept in *Judæa* away into *Pontus*. But he was ſoon after perſuaded to let them abide ſtill in the former, which proved a ſource of new troubles and miſeries [b]. It was about this time that the famine foretold by *Agabus*, a chriſtian prophet [c], began to rage; againſt which the new churches, planted at *Antioch* and other places, ſent the believers at *Jeruſalem* a liberal relief, by the hands of *Paul* and *Barnabas*; whilſt *Helen*, queen of *Adiabene*, is ſaid to have relieved the *Jews*, and afterwards the chriſtians, in the pious and plentiful manner we have ſpoken of in a former volume †.

Fadus, upon his arrival into *Judæa*, was forced to ſuppreſs the banditti, which were Fadus *ſent into* by that time grown very numerous and powerful; and to quell an inſurrection which Judæa. the *Jews* had raiſed againſt the inhabitants of *Philadelphia*, which was the ſame city b with *Rabbah*, the capital of the *Ammonites* [d]. In the mean time, *Claudius*, having recalled *Marſus* out of reſpect to the late king, had ſent *Caſſius Longinus* into that government, who came immediately to *Jeruſalem*, and inſiſted upon the pontifical veſtments being put into his poſſeſſion, in order to be kept, as formerly, in the fortreſs of *Antonia*. The *Jews* ſurpriſed at this new demand, begged leave that they might *Year of the flood* 3043. ſend a deputation to the emperor againſt it, and did not obtain it from that gover- *Of Chriſt* 45 nor, till ſome of the heads of the nation had put their ſons as hoſtages into his hands. *or* 48. But upon the embaſſadors applying to *Claudius*, in which they were backed by the young *Agrippa*, they obtained a grant, that thoſe ſacred robes ſhould be kept in the poſſeſſion of the high-prieſt, in the manner *Vitellius* had granted it, ſix years before. At the ſame time *Herod* king of *Chalcis* obtained of that emperor the ſuperintendency o. both the temple and ſacred treaſury; together with the authority of naming whom he would to the pontifical dignity; in purſuance to which, he depoſed *Cantharas*, and raiſed *Joſeph* the ſon of *Cami* to it. After *Herod*'s death, young *Agrippa* obtained the ſame grant for himſelf, and enjoyed it till the time of the *Jewiſh* war [e].

DURING *Fadus*'s government there aroſe a notable impoſtor, named *Theudas* (Z), Theudas *an* who drew great numbers of the deluded *Jews* after him, bidding them follow him *impoſtor be-* beyond *Jordan*, and promiſing them that he would divide the waters of that river, as *headed.* *Joſhua* had done, by his ſingle word. *Cuſpius* ſent ſome troops of horſe and foot d againſt him and his followers, killed ſome of them, took others priſoners, and amongſt them *Theudas* himſelf, whom he cauſed to be beheaded, and his head to be brought to *Jeruſalem*. This, according to *Joſephus*, is the moſt remarkable thing that happened during *Fadus*'s government [f]: he was ſoon after ſucceeded by *Tiberius Alexander*, an apoſtate *Jew*, of ſacerdotal race, and nephew to the famous *Philo*, often quoted in this chapter [g]. One of his firſt exploits was the crucifying *James* and *Simon*, the ſons of *Judas*, ſurnamed *Galileus*, head of the *Gaulonitiſh* ſect, ſpoken of in a former ſection; and about the ſame time *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*, having depoſed *Joſeph* the ſon of *Cami*, gave the high-prieſthood to *Ananias* the ſon of *Nebedeus*, and died ſoon after, in the eighth year of *Claudius*. That emperor gave his kingdom to young e *Agrippa*, in prejudice of *Ariſtobulus*, the eldeſt ſon of the deceaſed.

Ventidius Cumanus ſucceeded *Alexander* in the government of *Judæa*, and it was in his time that thoſe troubles began, which ended in the ruin of the *Jewiſh* nation. The great concourſe of people, which their feſtival brought to *Jeruſalem*, obliged the *Romans* at ſuch times to keep a guard before the gates of the temple, to prevent tumults. It was now the paſſover, when one of the *Roman* ſoldiers upon duty, had the impudence to expoſe his nudity to open ſight; this indignity raiſed the reſentment of the *Jews* to ſuch a height, that they went and complained of it to *Cumanus*, and in an inſolent manner told him, that the affront was offered by his order, not only to the nation, but to God. He tried at firſt to appeaſe them by fair means, but finding

[b] Antiq. ubi ſupra. [c] Act. xi. 27. ad fin. † Vol. III. p. 849, & ſeq. [d] Antiq. l. xx. c. 1, & 2. [e] Ibid. [f] Id. ibid. [g] Ibid. c. iii. & bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 11.

(Y) Theſe ungrateful wretches, not contented with making the greateſt rejoycings at *Agrippa*'s death, and blackening his memory with the vileſt outrages, had pulled down the ſtatues of his three daughters from the theatres, and other public places, and carried them into their public ſtews; where they proſtituted them in ſuch a manner, as is unfit to be mentioned (2).

(2) *Antiq. l.* xx. *c.* 1.

(Z) We muſt take care not to confound this *Theudas* of *Joſephus* with another mentioned by St. *Luke*, and ſaid to have appeared juſt after the death of *Herod the Great*, and has been taken notice of in a former ſection †; and is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with the ſon of *Ezechias* mentioned by *Joſephus* under the name of *Judas*.

† *Pag.* 188. c, d, & (S).

Year of the flood 3050. *Of Christ* 55 *or* 52.

finding them to grow more tumultuous, he ordered all his troops to come to the place; a the ſight of which alarmed them ſo, that they fled in the greateſt fright and confuſion, inſomuch, that upwards of ten thouſand were ſtifled to death in their flight, by running over one another in the narrow paſſages that led to and from the temple. The copies of *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* ſay thirty thouſand. Soon after this diſaſter another happened in *Samaria*, where ſome *Galilean Jews*, going to one of the feaſts, were inſulted, and one of them killed. This brought on a terrible ſkirmiſh, in which a great number of the *Jews* were killed, and the reſt went to complain to *Cumanus* againſt the *Samaritans*; but he, being bribed by theſe, refuſed to do them juſtice; upon which the matter was brought before *Quadratus*, governor of *Syria*, who ſent both parties to *Rome*, and *Cumanus* with them, to anſwer for themſelves there (A). The b *Samaritans* were caſt, and condemned to die, *Cumanus* ſent into baniſhment, and *Celer*, one of his tribunes, who had been involved in the ſame guilt, condemned to be dragged through the ſtreets of *Jeruſalem*, and then put to death [h].

Felix *made procurator of* Judæa.

In the year following *Claudius Felix*, the brother of *Pallas*, the emperor's chief favourite, being then in *Judæa*, ſucceeded *Cumanus* in the government of it, under whom the *Jewiſh* affairs went ſtill from bad to worſe (B). The land ſwarmed without with robbers and banditti, and within with falſe prophets, and pretended miracle-mongers, who were ſtill blowing the coals of diſcontent and ſedition; ſo that there paſſed ſcarcely a day, in which there was not ſome dreadful execution made upon ſome of thoſe miſcreants [i]. To theſe we may join the *Sicarii* or *aſſaſſins* (C), which crouded themſelves into all the cities and towns of the kingdom, and committed the moſt horrid murders and butcheries, under covert and pretence of zeal for their religion and liberties. Among the falſe prophets, and pretended ſaviours, by whom that infatuated nation was ſeduced, there was a ſignal one that came from *Egypt*, and had drawn above thirty thouſand men after him, by the large promiſes he made to them of a ſpeedy deliverance. His followers were, however, ſoon diſperſed by the *Roman* troops; but one was no ſooner gone, but there ſtarted up another, ſo that the moſt violent remedies did rather inflame, than aſſuage, their ſeditious diſeaſe. But *Felix* did not exert his cruelties on the rebellious rout alone, but on all others indiſcriminately, whom his avarice or reſentment marked out for deſtruction. This obliged the good old prieſt *Jonathan*, who had d been moſt inſtrumental in procuring him the government, to expoſtulate often with him, and to complain of his ill conduct. *Felix* at length, unable to bear his juſt cen-

His character.

ſures

[h] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 4, & 5.

[i] Ibid. c. 6. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 12.

(A) They were all ſent in chains thither, though they were the heads of each of the contending nations. Thoſe among the *Jews* were *Annas* and *Jonathan*, who had been both high-prieſts, *Ananias* the preſent pontiff, and his ſon the captain of the temple, or rather chief of the *Levites*, who were the keepers of it, with ſome others. Thoſe of the *Samaritans* were likewiſe conſiderable perſons, and theſe joined intereſt with *Cumanus*; but the credit of young *Agrippa* at the *Roman* court eaſily turned the ſcales in favour of the *Jews*.

Thoſe in *Judæa* had not met with ſo favourable a judge, and *Quadratus*, who had the power to try and condemn even the governors themſelves, if he found them guilty, though he remitted the grand trial to *Cæſar*'s court, had cauſed a great number of the moſt ſtirring among them to be, ſome crucified, and others beheaded, beſides thoſe that had been killed in the ſeveral engagements, eſpecially in the canton of *Acrabatene* (3).

(B) *Joſephus* ſays, that the *Jewiſh* nation, eſpecially *Jonathan* the late high-prieſt, had deſired him for their governor. He had been the year before choſen one of the judges by *Quadratus*, in the diſpute between them and the *Samaritans*, and had perhaps ingratiated himſelf to them by his mild behaviour towards them; but after he became their governor, he behaved like a tyrant. *Tacitus* ſays rightly of him (4), that he governed them with the arbitrarineſs of a monarch, and with the genius of a ſlave. He was the brother of *Pallas*, and therefore made no difficulty of committing the greateſt oppreſſions and cruelties, till the flame broke out into an open rebellion, and ended in the moſt dreadful ruin and miſery that ever nation felt.

(C) Theſe were another kind of robbers, who came and mixed themſelves among the crouds and aſſemblies, with ſhort daggers under their cloaks, and ſtabbed all that came near them in open day, and then were the firſt to cry out murder! They not only, by this vile method, rid themſelves of their enemies, but would hire themſelves to murder any others for a ſmall ſum. So that it became extremely dangerous to go into any places of public reſort.

They are ſuppoſed to have been the ſpawn of the *Gaulonitiſh* faction, which began near fifty years before, as we have ſeen in a former ſection *; and in ſpight of all the ſeverities which the *Romans* made them feel, ſtill kept up their ſeditious ſpirit, and daily increaſed in number. They were at laſt better known by the name of *zealots*, and under that ſpecious title committed ſuch unheard-of crimes as haſtened the total ruin of their city and nation. We have ſeen in a former volume †, whence they pretended to derive their origin; though by their actions one would rather think it came from hell, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

(3) *Antiq. l.* xx. *c.* 5. (4) *Hiſt. l.* v. *c.* 9. *Conf. cum antiq. ubi ſupra, c.* 6. & *ſeq.*

* *Pag.* 169.

† *See Vol. I. p.* 675, c. &c.

a sures, hired one *Doras*, a person in whom *Jonathan* put great confidence, to assassinate him, which was accordingly done (D). This murder going unpunished, because the person who should have revenged it was the chief actor in it, proved the source of an infinite number of others, which were committed every-where, the temple not excepted; and the *Jewish* chiefs and even the pontiffs made no scruple to hire the assassins above-mentioned, to rid them of any persons that were obnoxious to them [k].

Marries Drusilla.

We have already taken notice, that *Drusilla*, *Agrippa*'s daughter, had been contracted to *Epiphanes*; but he refusing the circumcision, her brother gave her to *Azizus* king of *Emessa*, who consented to that ceremony out of love to her, she being one of the finest women of that age. But as her virtue was far enough below her beauty,

b *Felix*, who was become enamoured with her, did easily perswade her to forsake her husband, and to be married to him, though a *Pagan*, and one of the worst of that kind [l] (E). He was himself made perhaps more sensible of it than ever he had been when the apostle St. *Paul* was brought before him, and made that noble discourse on *justice*, *temperance*, or *chastity*, and a *judgment to come*; which threw him into such a fit of remorse and trembling, as made him cry out to him, *It is enough, go thy ways for this time*; *and when I am more at leisure, I will send for thee* [m]. It proved however but of short duration. *Felix* did afterwards send for him indeed more than once, but it was rather in hopes of a bribe from him, than a desire of being made better acquainted with those important truths, which he had heard of him; so that after near

c two years, finding himself disappointed, and ready to be recalled from his government, he chose to leave his prisoner in bonds, to ingratiate himself to the exasperated *Jews* [n].

Festus *succeeds* Felix.

He was accordingly succeeded by *Portius Festus*, who upon his coming found the nation in that dist essed condition, we have been speaking of; and, which was still worse, the very priesthood had begun a civil war among themselves, ever since the last year of *Felix*'s government, the occasion of which seems to have been the frequent depositions of the pontiffs, and their pretensions after it to a greater share of the tythes than the inferior priests could afford them (F). *Agrippa* had the year before deposed *Ananias*, and put *Ishmael* in his room; there were still several more such discarded pontiffs alive, who all pretended to the same income of the tythes,

Year of the flood 3056. *Of Christ* 62 *or* 59.

A civil war among the priests.

d which they enjoyed with that dignity, which must of course impoverish the inferior sort, who therefore refused it to them. The rancour arose at length to such a height, that each party used to go along accompanied with a troop of the sicarii, and upon every rencounter fell foul on each other, killing all that opposed them, and filled both city and country, and even the very temple sometimes with blood.

[k] Id. ibid. [l] Id. ibid. & seq. [m] Act. xxiv. pass. & antiq. ubi supra, c. 7. [n] Act. ubi supra, ad fin.

(D) It is impossible to guess from *Josephus*, in what year this murder was committed; only by his expressions it seems to have been done about the beginning of *Felix*'s government (5).

(E) Her two sisters did not prove much more virtuous than she. *Berenice* the eldest, and formerly married to her uncle *Herod* king of *Chalcis*, being become a widow, was shrewdly suspected of holding an incestuous intercourse with her brother *Agrippa*. To suppress that suspicion, she married *Polemon* king of *Pontus*, and of part of *Cilicia*; but, she soon after broke off with him, and by her loose behaviour confirmed the reports that had been spread concerning her unlawful intrigues. Her husband on the other hand, who had embraced judaism on her account, was no sooner forsaken by her, than he cast off her religion, and returned to his paganism.

Mariamne the youngest had been married betimes to *Archelaus* the son of *Chelcias* or *Elchias*, probably of the *Herodian* family; but she likewise forsook him to marry one *Demetrius*, an *Alexandrian Jew*, and one of the richest and most considerable of that city, and was then their Alabarea or chief (6).

(F) We have observed in a former volume *, that the *Levites* were to gather in the tythes from the people, and to allot a tenth part of them to the priests. These allowed the high-priest a proportion of it suitable to his dignity, and divided the rest among themselves. When therefore the number of deposed pontiffs began to increase to such a degree, as to leave the inferior ones too small a quantity for their sustenance, it bred a mutiny among them. The latter refusing them their competency, they sent their armed men to force it from them, to plunder their houses and barns, and to kill all that opposed them. This obliged them to hire the sicarii to repel force by force, and those that could not stand thus in their own defence, were stripped of all they had, and left to starve.

Josephus says, that *Felix* had sent a good number of them in chains to *Rome* to answer for their crimes, which yet he adds were of a light nature; and might therefore be some of this oppressed sort who had armed themselves against the cruelty of those tyrants. He adds, that they were kept prisoners, some years, till he came himself thither on purpose to procure their freedom which he did by the interest of *Poppea*, who was a lover of their nation, and was soon after married to the emperor *Nero*. He highly applauds the piety of those priests, who, says he, were content to live upon nuts, and dry figs, rather than pollute themselves with the usual food of the *Gentiles* (7).

(5) *Antiq. ubi supra, c.* 6. (6) *Ibid. c.* 5. * *Vol. I. p.* 627, *& seq.* (7) *In vita sua.*

blood. *Festus* was therefore forced to begin his government with the greatest severity, a in order to suppress this treble butchery; namely, that of the priesthood against each other; that of the seditious laity against the *Romans* and those that contentedly submitted to them; and that of the banditti abroad, who infested the whole country, and robbed, plundered, and massacred every-where without mercy °. The suppression of all these different parties, and the severe examples he made of their leaders, impostors, and of the most stirring and mutinous of the rebels, was what took up the greatest part of his time and labour during his short government.

Paul *brought before Festus.*

THREE days after his arrival in *Judæa*, he went to *Jerusalem*, where *Ananias* the late high-priest, and the rest of the *Jewish* chiefs, came to demand justice against *Paul*, who was still kept prisoner at *Cæsarea*. As soon therefore as he was returned b thither, he caused him to be brought before him, and after a full hearing of both sides, especially of the prisoners defence, pronounced him innocent of any capital crime. But his enemies still insisting that he was worthy of death, and *Festus* being willing to oblige them with a second trial at *Jerusalem*, *Paul* took hold on the privileges which the law then gave him, to appeal to *Cæsar*, and prevent thereby the

And Agrippa.

effects of their further malice. *Agrippa* and his sister *Berenice* being come to *Cæsarea* to compliment the new governor, and having expressed a desire of seeing this celebrated prisoner, *Festus*, who knew that prince to be thorougly versed in the *Jewish* laws and customs, readily agreed to have him brought once more to the bar. Here *Paul* being permitted to speak for himself, made such a noble defence, that *Festus* acquitted c him of every fault, except that of having turned his brain with too much learning, whilst *Agrippa*, conscious of the truth and force of his reasoning, owned himself almost convinced by him, and after some private conference with the governor, it was declared that he might have been released, if he had not appealed to *Cæsar* P.

Agrippa *displeases the* Jews.

IN the mean time *Agrippa*, who came often to *Jerusalem*, and had a lodging near the temple, of which he had the superintendency given him after his uncle *Herod*, took it into his head to build him a palace there, of such a height, that he could oversee all that was done in the innermost court of it. The *Jews* were the more displeased at it, because *Festus* and the *Romans* would likewise come and take a view d of it from thence; for which reason they built a partition wall high enough to cover that sacred place, which the king and governor taking as an affront, ordered it to be pulled down. The *Jews*, after much opposition, obtained leave at length to send deputies to *Rome*; and these by the intercession of *Poppea* (G), got a grant from the emperor for the keeping up of the wall. *Ishmael* the then high-priest, being at the head of this embassy, was for his laudable zeal deposed by *Agrippa*, who bestowed that dignity on *Joseph*, surnamed *Cabbis*, the son of the late pontiff *Canthurus*. *Josephus*, adds, that *Poppea* detained *Ishmael* and *Chelcias* as hostages at *Rome* q.

Festus dying towards the latter end of this year, *Nero* nominated *Albinus* to succeed him; in the mean time *Agrippa*, having given the high-priesthood from *Cabbis* to *Ananus*, a proud *Sadducee*, this last took that interval before the arrival of the new e prætor to call a council, and to have *James* the apostle and bishop of *Jerusalem*, and some other christians, condemned and stoned to death (H). Upon the governor's arrival at *Alexandria*, complaint was made to him of this presumptuous and unlawful step. *Albinus* resented it, and sent the new pontiff a very threatning letter; and *Agrippa*, who feared the consequence of his anger, took care to depose him, and to put another in his room, *viz. Jesus* the son of *Damneus*, before the governor was got to *Jerusalem*. *Judæa* gained nothing by the change of either governor or pontiff. As for the former, he was such a cruel rapacious monster, that *Felix* and *Festus*, bad as they

° Antiq. ubi supra, c. 6. P Act. xxv, & xxvi. pass. q Antiq. ubi supra, c. 7. ad fin.

(G) *Josephus* highly commends that empress's piety, though, setting aside her love to the *Jewish* nation, she had not one virtue that could intitle her to this compliment. On the contrary, she was known to be a lewd princess, the promoter of a great number of murders, which she made her husband commit on the greatest persons of the empire, and prevailed at length on that mad monarch, to repudiate, banish, and at length put to death, his virtuous wife *Octavia*, to marry her, as we shall see more at large in the *Roman* history.

(H) So says *Josephus*; but we have related the manner of his death according to the testimony of some antient fathers in a late note, to which we refer the reader.

This *Ananus* was the fifth son of that *Ananus* or *Annas*, mentioned by the evangelists, that had enjoyed the high-priesthood after their father, an honour and happiness that never happened to any but him, says that *Jewish* historian (8).

(8) *Antiq. l.* xx, *c.* 8.

they were, were honeſt men to him; and yet he was ſtill in one reſpect better than his ſucceſſor, in that he endeavoured at leaſt, either to hide or to colour his ill actions by ſome pretext or other.

His firſt care was to ſuppreſs the ſicarii, robbers, and banditti, which were now grown more numerous, and bolder than ever. He puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity as many as came into his hands, and they only became the more impudent by it; inſomuch that they ventured one night, during one of their feaſts, to enter into the city, and to carry off *Eleazer* the ſon of *Ananias*, the late high-prieſt, who was ſecretary of the temple, and to ſend his father word that they would not releaſe him, till he had procured the enlargement of ten of their aſſociates, whom *Albinus* kept in priſon. *Ananias*, who was a very opulent perſon, eaſily bribed with a round ſum the rapacious governor to conſent to it, but his compliance was attended with very bad conſequences; being forced ſtill to redeem ſome near relation at the ſame price, as often as any of the banditti were got into the governor's hands[r]. On the other hand *Agrippa*, having given the high-prieſthood from *Jeſus* the ſon of *Damneus* to *Jeſus* the ſon of *Gamaliel*, thoſe two pontiffs got each of them a ſtrong eſcort of armed men, and committed the vileſt outrages; not only againſt each other, but againſt the inferior ſort, who were often plundered of all they had, and reduced to the loweſt miſery. About this time the *Levites* and ſingers, who, as we have formerly obſerved *, had no particular dreſs to diſtinguiſh them from the laity, obtained leave of *Agrippa*, to wear white robes like the prieſts, and ſome other privileges, which were contrary to the *Jewiſh* law, and did not a little diſpleaſe the better ſort of the *Jews*, as well as the whole prieſthood. *Agrippa* was likewiſe become odious to his ſubjects, on account of his high taxes on them, to ſupport his extravagance, ſumptuous building, public ſpectacles, games, and ſuch-like profuſions[s].

About this time all the work of the temple being quite finiſhed, and eighteen thouſand hands at once diſcharged, as we obſerved in a former ſection †, a propoſal was made to that prince to employ them in the taking down an old ſtately gallery of the temple, four hundred cubits high, which was in danger of falling, and rebuilding it a-new; but *Agrippa* conſidering the expenſiveneſs and length of the work, abſolutely refuſed it, and told the *Jewiſh* chiefs that they might employ thoſe hands in paving the city with white ſtones; but that not being agreed to, the greateſt part joined themſelves with the banditti for fear of ſtarving. *Albinus* after a two years government was recalled by *Nero*, and ſucceeded by *Geſſius Florus*, the laſt and worſt governor that ever *Judæa* had. *Joſephus* ſeems at a loſs for words bad enough to deſcribe him by, or a monſter to compare him to[t]; his rapines, cruelties, conniving for large ſums with the banditti, and in a word, his whole behaviour, was ſo open and bare-faced that he was looked upon by the *Jews*, more like a bloody executioner ſent to butcher, than as a magiſtrate to govern them. His deſign was to provoke them to ſuch an open rebellion, as might either give him the brutiſh pleaſure of ſeeing them deſtroy each other, or prevent his oppreſſions, murders, and other helliſh works being inquired into. He ſucceeded but too well in it; and a war was kindled accordingly through his means, which ended not but with the total ruin of the *Jewiſh* nation. This great event, ſo plainly foretold by Chriſt, ſo punctually fulfilled, and ſo lively deſcribed and related by a *Jewiſh* hiſtorian, and an eye-witneſs, might well deſerve a larger place in this chapter; but as it is ſo very well known, and abounds with ſuch dreadful murders, cruelties, and other circumſtances, fit only to fill a reader with horror, we ſhall content ourſelves with giving ſome of the moſt remarkable ſtrokes of it, to avoid drawing this chapter to too great a length.

Geſſius Florus's bloody government. Year of the flood 3065. Of Chriſt 64.

About four years before this dreadful war broke out, and about ſeven before the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, whilſt the *Jews* did ſtill enjoy ſome kind of peace, a country fellow, named *Jeſus*, came to the feaſt of tabernacles, and was on a ſudden ſeized with a kind of phrenſy, as the *Jews* thought it, which made him cry out without ceaſing; *Wo to the city, Wo to the temple: A voice from the four corners, a voice againſt* Jeruſalem, *a voice againſt the nation*, &c. and in this lamentable tone he ran through all the ſtreets of the city night and day, and on the ſabbaths and other feſtivals, was heard to ſpeak thoſe words louder, and in a more diſmal tone, without ever loſing his voice, or even being hoarſe with crying; and, what was ſtill more ſurpriſing, neither

A prodigious warning to the Jews.

[r] Ibid. c. 8. * Vol. I. p. 644, & ſeq. [s] Antiq. ubi ſupra. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 1. 3. † pag. 145. a. & (Z). [t] Antiq. ibid. c. 9. Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra.

neither threats nor the most severe punishments that could be inflicted on him (I), a could make him desist or utter a groan or complaint, or any other words than those dreadful woes, till he saw his predictions begin to be fulfilled by the siege of the city, when he cried out in a more dismal tone, *Woe also to myself*; and was in that instant killed by a stone thrown in by the besiegers [u]. There were several more such prodigious warnings sent to that unhappy nation in the sequel, which though all too little to bring them to a better mind, are sufficient to convince us, that God did not doom them to this dreadful destruction, till their impiety and hardness of heart had forced that severe punishment from him.

Complaints made to Cestius Gallus. *Year of the flood* 3064. *Of Christ* 62.

Judæa being thus distracted within and without, and groaning now more than ever b under a tyrant, who openly promoted those mischiefs he should have remedied; vast numbers of *Jews* forsook it to seek an asylum among foreign nations, whilst those that stayed behind applied themselves to *Cestius Gallus*, the then governor of *Syria*, who was then at *Jerusalem* at the passover, and besought him to pity their wretched state, and free them from the tyranny of a man who had totally ruined their country. *Florus*, who was present when these complaints were preferred against him, made a mere jest of them; and *Cestius*, instead of making a strict inquiry into his conduct, dismissed them with a bare promise, that *Florus* should behave better for the future, and set himself about computing the number of *Jews* that were then at *Jerusalem*, by that of the lambs that were offered at that festival (K), in order to send an account of it to *Nero*; and by that computation the whole was found to amount to two millions c five hundred and fifty-six thousand. *Josephus* thinks they rather amounted to three millions [w].

Soon after this, the contest between the *Jews* and *Syrians* about the city of *Cæsarea*, which had been kept in suspence ever since the time of *Felix* (L), being at length decided in favour of the *Syrians*, the decree was no sooner brought to *Judæa*, but, as if it had been agreed, that this should be the signal for a revolt, the *Jews* every-where, resolved to take up arms; and thus began the fatal war in the second year of *Florus*'s government, in the twelfth of *Nero*'s reign, the seventeenth of that of *Agrippa*, and in the sixty-ninth year of Christ [x]. *Agrippa*, who was at this time at *Jerusalem* at the d beginning of this revolt, strove in vain to assuage them by a long and elaborate speech, as well as by other proper means; they only listened to him, till he came to insist on their submitting to *Florus*, till a new governor could be obtained from *Rome*; this single proposal exasperated them to such a degree, that they began to pelt him with stones, and forced him to leave the city, which was immediately in a flame. *Florus* beheld all this with an inhuman pleasure, and without putting the least help to quell the sedition, though earnestly intreated to it by the *Jewish* heads. *Agrippa* sent them indeed three thousand men; but what could they do now against such an enraged multitude as were then up in arms? The evil soon spread all over the kingdom, and though the *Jews* were every-where the sufferers, yet did not their desperate rage e abate in the least. Nothing was now to be seen but robberies, murders, and all manner of cruelties; cities and villages filled with dead bodies of all ages, sexes and quality, even

[u] Bell. Judaic. l. vii. c. 12. Jud. l. ii. c. 14.

[w] Ibid. l. ii. c. 13, & alib.

[x] Conf. antiq. l. xx. c. ult. & Bell.

(I) *Josephus* adds, that some of the *Jewish* heads, being highly displeased at this poor fellow, caused him to be severely whipped; and that this not proving sufficient either to silence him, or to make him answer to other questions; they had him brought before *Albinus*, who ordered him afresh to the whipping post; where they gave him so many and severe lashes, that his ribs were quite uncovered, without forcing a word or groan from him. And lastly, that being dismissed as a madman, he continued his dreadful outcries, without taking the least notice by word or gesture, either of those that hurted him, or gave him food.

(K) This computation could not be very certain, because, though none but *Jews* offered these lambs at the feast, yet those who had contracted any legal pollution were excluded from it. Besides, one lamb might serve for twenty persons, though never for less than ten. However, they took this last number for each lamb; and found that of the lambs to amount in the whole to two hundred and fifty-five thousand. But as, among the poor, one of them might serve for more than ten, and as far as for twenty, *Josephus* rightly guesses that there must have been a much greater number, though considering the bigness of the place, one would wonder how it was possible for it to contain even that.

(L) This contest, in which the *Jews* maintained that that city belonged to them, because it had been built by *Herod*, and the *Syrians* pretended that it had been always esteemed a *Greek* city, since even that monarch had reared temples and statues in it; grew to such a height, that both parties came at last to blows, and took up arms against each other. *Felix* at length put an end to it for a time, by sending some of the chiefs of each nation to *Rome* to plead their cause before the emperor, where it hung in suspense till this time, when *Nero* decided it in such a manner as caused this insurrection.

even down to the ſucking babes. The *Jews* on their part neither ſpared *Syrians* nor *Romans*, but retaliated their cruelties where-ever they got the better of them, for which vaſt numbers of their peaceful brethren were butchered in their places of abode. The *Cæſareans* fell ſuddenly on thoſe of their city, and maſſacred twenty thouſand of them, two thouſand were murdered at *Ptolemais*, and fifty thouſand at *Alexandria*. In a word, there was neither town nor city, where the *Pagans* proved either ſtronger or quicker than they, where they did not commit the ſame horrid butcheries. At *Jeruſalem Florus* cauſed one day his troops to go and plunder the high market, and to kill all they met; and they murdered accordingly three thouſand five hundred perſons, men, women, and children. Among thoſe that were brought priſoners to him, there were ſome men of quality, and who had been even honoured with the *Roman* knighthood; yet this did not ſave them from his cruelty; on the contrary, he cauſed them to be whipped before his tribunal, and then crucified [y]. *Jews terribly perſecuted.*

Berenice, who had ſtayed at *Jeruſalem* after her brother, being bound there by a vow of *Nazareat* thirty days, ſpared neither prayers, meſſages, nor viſits to mollify the brutiſh prætor, till at length ſhe was likely to have loſt her life by it, and with great difficulty recovered her palace before his helliſh inſtruments could reach her. Yet not diſcouraged by it, ſhe went barefoot to him on the very next day, threw herſelf at the footſtool of his tribunal, and in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms intreated him to put a ſtop to the ſhedding of ſo much blood. The brute did not ſo much as vouchſafe her the leaſt token of common reſpect, ſo that ſhe ran a ſecond riſk of being torn in pieces before ſhe could get home [z]. This may ſerve to give a ſketch of that governor's character, who, becauſe he was depending on that of *Syria*, failed not to write to *Ceſtius*, and throw all the fault on the *Jews*; inſomuch, that this laſt knew not well which to believe, *Florus*, or *Agrippa*, *Berenice*, and other conſiderable *Jewiſh* heads, who gave him a quite different account [a]. Berenice *intercedes in vain.*

In the mean time, a great number of aſſaſſins having joined themſelves to the ſeditious, beat the *Romans* out of the fortreſſes of *Maſſada*, *Antonia*, and the towers of *Phaſael*, *Miriamne*, and others; killing all that oppoſed them. They began next to ſet fire to the palaces of *Agrippa*, *Berenice*, of the high-prieſt *Ananias*, and of his brother *Ezechias*; and theſe two laſt, who had hid themſelves from their fury, being diſcovered, were murdered without mercy. *Menahem*, one of the ſons of the late *Judas*, chief of the *Gaulonites*, had now put himſelf at the head of the ſicarii, who now called themſelves *zealots*; and being come to *Jeruſalem*, was choſen chief of the ſeditious there, but was ſoon after maſſacred by them, with a great number of his men. His nephew *Eleazar* ſucceeded him as chief of the zealots, and beſieged the *Romans* ſo cloſe in their caſtle, that they capitulated at length to retire only with their lives; which being promiſed to them, he cauſed them all to be maſſacred on the ſpot, though it was on the ſabbath [b]. This treachery was cruelly retaliated on the generous *Jews* of *Scythopolis*, or *Bethſhean*, who had offered the *Greeks* of that city to ſtand by them againſt their brethren, who were beſieging them. But their ſincerity being unhappily ſuſpected by their townſmen, theſe obliged them to retire into ſome neighbouring wood, where on the third night they came upon them, when they were aſleep, and killed thirteen thouſand of them, and ſeized upon all their wealth (M) [c]. *The zealots beat the Romans.* Scythopolitan Jews *maſſacred.*

By this time the revolted *Jews* had carried their conqueſts beyond *Jordan*, and had taken the fortreſſes of *Macheron* and *Cyprus*; this laſt they raſed to the ground, after having put al the *Romans* to the ſword; ſo that *Ceſtius Gallus*, who had hitherto kept himſelf an idle ſpectator of all theſe mutual devaſtations, began to think it high time to beſtir himſelf. He marched into *Judæa* with a powerful army, burned all the towns and villages in his way, maſſacred all the *Jews* he could come at, and came and incamped before *Gibeon* (N), about the feaſt of tabernacles. The people at

[y] Ibid, [z] Ibid. c. 15. [a] cap. 16. [b] Ibid. c. 17, 18. [c] cap. 19.

(M) It was on this dreadful occaſion, that a conſiderable *Jew*, named *Simon*, who had ſignalized himſelf in the defence of *Scythopolis* againſt thoſe of his own nation, obſerving what bloody returns the *Greeks* made them for their friendſhip, in a fit of rage and deſpair, inſtead of ſtanding in his own defence, fell on his father, mother, wife, and children, who clung round about him, and killed every one of them; after which, getting on the heap of their dead bodies, he run himſelf through with his own ſword (9).

(N) This city, the capital of the ancient *Gibeonites* †, was diſtant about fifty ſtades or ſeven little miles north of *Jeruſalem*, and ſituate on an eminence, as

(9) *Bell. Jud. l.* ii. *c.* 19.

† *Vid. Vol. I. p.* 331.

at *Jeruſalem* no ſooner heard of his approach, than they forſook the ſolemnity, and, though on the ſabbath, armed themſelves, and came out againſt him with ſuch fury, that they had in all likelihood defeated him, had not his foot been timely ſuccoured by his cavalry. He loſt above five hundred men, and the *Jews* but twenty-two. The latter having ſeized on all the paſſes round about, *Ceſtius* was forced to ſtay three days near *Bethoron*, where *Agrippa* joined him, and aſſiſted him with his troops, his perſon, counſel, and good offices. He tried once more to bring the *Jews* to ſome temper, by ſending two of his chief captains to offer them a pardon, and ſome terms of peace; but the revolters, inſtead of hearkening to their propoſals, killed one of them, and wounded the other, who narrowly eſcaped with his life. This baſe action, which was highly condemned by the more moderate *Jews*, cauſed a diſſenſion between them, which *Ceſtius* failed not to improve, by ſallying ſuddenly againſt them, and purſuing them almoſt up to *Jeruſalem*. He ſtayed three days at *Scopas*, a ſmall mile from it, to try whether their fright would make them relent, and then advanced towards them in order of battle on the thirtieth of *October*, and put them into ſuch conſternation, that they abandoned all the outer quarters of the city, and retired into the inner cincture near the temple. *Ceſtius* ſet fire to the former, and began himſelf to beſiege the latter, and took up his head quarters in the royal palace [d].

Year of the flood 3064. *Of Chriſt* 62.

Ceſtius *defeated.*

HAD the governor vigorouſly puſhed on the ſiege, it is likely he might have put an effectual end to the ſedition; but that ſinful nation was now reſerved for greater evils, and the ſiege was on the ſudden ſhamefully raiſed, at the inſtigation of ſome of *Ceſtius's* generals, whom *Florus* had corrupted; which gave a new life to the ſeditious. They purſued him to his camp at *Gibeon*, haraſſing him in the rear, whilſt thoſe that kept the paſſes attacked him in flank. His army in deſpair, not being able to move forward or backward, made the mountains echo with their hideous cries, and after a loſs of four thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe, and of a great part of their baggage, being aſſiſted by the intervening night on the eighth of *November*, happily got down through the narrow ſtreights of *Bethoron*, and eſcaped [e]. The *Jews*, after this ſucceſs againſt the *Syrian* governor, ſet themſelves about the propereſt means to carry on the war againſt the *Romans*, and chuſing ſome of their braveſt chiefs to command in the ſeveral cantons and fortreſſes of *Judæa*, *Joſephus* the writer of theſe wars, a brave *Jewiſh* prieſt, of conſiderable rank, was appointed governor of the two *Galilees*. *Joſeph* the ſon of *Gorion* and the high-prieſt *Ananus* had the government of *Jeruſalem*; and *Eleazar*, the chief of the revolters, that of *Idumea*; ſoon after which they departed to take care each of their particular commands. All this while there reigned ſuch a diſſenſion among the *Jews*, that great numbers of the better ſort, foreſeeing the ſad effects of the *Roman* reſentment, forſook the city, as men do a ſinking veſſel, and the chriſtians, mindful of their Saviour's warning (O), retired into *Pella*, a ſmall city on the other ſide of *Jordan*, in the tetrarchy of *Herod*, whither the war did not reach [f].

Eſcapes with loſs.

Jews *and* Chriſtians *leave* Jeruſalem.

WHILST the new choſen governors were putting their reſpective cantons in the beſt poſture of defence, the ſon of *Gorion* in repairing the fortifications of *Jeruſalem*, *Joſephus* in fortifying a vaſt number of places in the upper and lower *Galilee*, and raiſing of forces to the number of a hundred thouſand, preparing arms and ammunition, and *Eleazar* was doing the ſame in *Idumea*; the news came to *Nero* of all theſe preparations, as well as of the ill ſucceſs of *Ceſtius* againſt the *Jews*. *Veſpaſian*, who had already ſignalized himſelf in *Germany* and *England*, being then with the emperor in *Achaia*, was nominated to march with all ſpeed againſt *Judæa* with a powerful army [g]. He came accordingly into *Syria*, gathered all his forces and thoſe of his auxiliaries, among

Veſpaſian *ſent into* Judæa.

[d] Ibid. c. 20, 21, & ſeq. [e] cap. 23, 24. [f] cap. 25, & ſeq. [g] lib. iii. c. 1.

as its name properly imports (10). *Joſephus* ſays elſewhere, it was but forty ſtades from that metropolis (11).

Ceſtius's army conſiſted of the whole twelfth legion, two thouſand men picked out of the other legions, ſix cohorts of foot, four of horſe, beſides three thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot ſent him by *Agrippa* and *Antiochus*, and four thouſand from *Soemus*; in the whole about twenty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe.

(O) *Euſebius* aſſures us (12), upon the teſtimony of ſome ancient fathers, that God was pleaſed to direct them to this flight even before the beginning of the war; and *Epiphanius* adds (13), by the miniſtry of an angel ſent on purpoſe to the church of *Jeruſalem*.

(10) *Joſeph. ubi ſupra. Euſeb. loc. Hebr.* (11) *Antiq. l.* vii. *c.* 10. (12) *Hiſt. Eccl. l.* iii. *c.* 5. (13) *Hæreſ.* 29, *& ſeq.*

a among whom *Agrippa* did not fail to meet him at the head of a conſiderable reinforcement of his own, whilſt *Titus* was ſent by his father to fetch the fifth and tenth legions from *Alexandria* into *Judæa* [h]. It is likely, *Ceſtius* did not long outlive his diſgrace, for we hear no more of him; and the *Jews*, elated at his defeat, if not alſo at his death, took it into their heads to go and beſiege *Aſcalon*. *Antony*, who commanded there, came out againſt them, and killed ten thouſand of them; they made a ſecond attempt, and were ſurpriſed in the way, and cut off to almoſt the ſame number. *Niger*, who headed the *Jews*, fled into a tower, to which *Antony* ſet fire; and not doubting but he was burnt in it, left the place; but upon the *Jews* coming three days after to bury their dead, they found him in a cave under-ground, where he had b ſaved himſelf from the flames [i].

Year of the flood 3065. *Of Chriſt* 67.

Veſpaſian, on the very beginning of the next year, having ſent *Placidus* to ſuccour the inhabitants of *Sephoris* (P) againſt the *Jews*, advanced towards *Ptolemais* with *Agrippa*, and was there joined by *Titus* at the head of another body of troops, with whom he had marched thither even in the very depth of winter, and came much ſooner than was expected. Their whole forces of horſe and foot conſiſted now of upwards of ſixty thouſand men, beſides ſervants, all excellently diſciplined, with which they entered *Galilee*, and having burnt *Gadara*, were marching to beſiege *Jotapa*. *Joſephus*, now governor of that province, having timely notice of it, went into that place, and defended it with great bravery and vig our forty-ſeven days, in ſpight of all the *Roman* c efforts and bravery. It was at length taken by aſſault about the beginning of *July* (Q), and put to fire and ſword; not one *Jew* eſcaped to carry the dreadful news, but they were all either murdered, or made priſoners. There were reckoned forty thouſand of the former, and but twelve hundred of the latter, among whom was *Joſephus*, who had hid himſelf in a deep cavern, but was at length diſcovered, and by *Veſpaſian*'s generous offers and intreaties, though much againſt the conſent of thoſe *Jews* that were with him (R), went and ſurrendered himſelf priſoner to him. When he was brought before *Veſpaſian*, the whole army crouding about to ſee him, he was put under a guard, with a deſign to be ſent to *Nero*; which when the *Jewiſh* general underſtood, he deſired to have the liberty to ſpeak to him; which being granted, he d addreſſed himſelf to him in words to this effect: My meſſage to you being from the God of heaven, is of much greater concern to you, than the diſpoſal of me as your priſoner, or ſending me to the emperor; and, as a *Jewiſh* commander, I ſhould have preferred death to this ſurrender, had it not been to deliver his divine commiſſion to you. The interval between *Nero*'s end and your ſucceeding him is ſo ſmall, that I already look upon you as emperor, and your ſon *Titus* as your happy ſucceſſor. Keep me only as your priſoner, and if you find I have abuſed God's name in promiſing you from him the empire of the world, then puniſh me with the ſevereſt death.

Veſpaſian *enters* Judæa.

Jotapa *taken by* Veſpaſian.

Joſephus *ſurrenders himſelf.*

His ſpeech to Veſpaſian.

[h] cap. 2, & 3 [i] Ibid. c. 1, & ſeq. paſſ.

(P) We have already obſerved, that this city was the metropolis of *Galilee*, and was very conſiderable for its ſtrength, ſituation, bigneſs, and opulence. It was now become obnoxious to the revolted *Jews*, by reaſon of its adherence to the *Romans*, ſo that it would have undergone a dreadful fate, had not *Veſpaſian* ſent timely ſuccours to it (14).

(Q) The reader may ſee the ſtrength of this place in *Joſephus* (15), with the many other remarkable particulars of this obſtinate ſiege (16), wherein the *Romans* were terribly peſtered by the valour and conduct of the beſieged, and the general himſelf wounded in the heel (17). This ſtout reſiſtance occaſioned the great ſlaughter he made of them, and the vaſt diſproportion between the number of the ſlain and of the priſoners, the latter being in all probability only women and children.

(R) This cavern was cut into the rock by the ſide of a well, and well ſtored with proviſion; and there *Joſephus* found forty of his own men. He went out the firſt night to ſee whether there was any poſſibility of eſcaping; but finding none, he reſolved to abide there as long as he could. He was diſcovered on the third day by a woman, and *Veſpaſian*, who had a great deſire to ſee him, ſent him two of his tribunes to promiſe him his life and friendſhip. Upon his refuſal to ſurrender himſelf, he ſent a third, named *Nicanor*, and an old acquaintance of his; but he returning likewiſe without him, the *Romans* were for burning him and his men out of it, but were hindered by their brave general.

At length finding it dangerous to reſiſt any longer, he propoſed to the reſt to accept of *Veſpaſian*'s generous offer; for which they upbraided him with treachery and baſeneſs, and threatened to kill him, if he preſumed to ſtir out. He tried once more to remonſtrate to them the unlawfulneſs of ſelf-murder, which he ſaw them now fully bent upon; he was forced at laſt to propoſe to them to draw lots, who ſhould kill the next, and ſo on, till the laſt man; which being agreed to by the reſt, providence ſo ordered it, that there were but two left, *viz. Joſephus* and one more; ſo that being loth either to kill him, or be killed by him, he at length perſuaded him to a ſurrender, which was accordingly done (18).

(14) *Bell. Jud. l.* iii. *c.* 3. (15) *ubi ſupra, c.* 7. (16) *Ibid. c.* 8. *ad* 13. (17) *Ibid. c.* 14.
(18) *Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra, c.* 14.

death. *Vespasian* took him at his word, used him with great respect and generosity, a
Kept close prisoner. but caused him to be kept close prisoner, having a design to make some further use of him in his war against the *Jews* [k]. This prediction of the *Jewish* historian to the *Roman* general, is likewise confirmed by *Suetonius* [l] and *Dion Cassius* [m]. Something like this, but with a more dreadful prospect to the *Jews*, *Lactantius* tells us [n], had
A prophecy of St. Peter *and* Paul. been foretold at *Rome* about the same time, by the two great apostles *Peter* and *Paul*; the substance of which the reader will find in the margin (S). As soon as the news of *Jotapa*'s being taken had reached *Jerusalem*, the *Jews*, who heard also that *Josephus* had been killed in it, made the greatest mourning and lamentations for him for a whole month; but when they came to hear that he had surrendered himself prisoner to the *Romans*, they, who had till then retained a singular esteem and regard for him, began b now to look upon him as a base betrayer of his country, and to persecute him with the most irreconcileable hatred and disdain, of which they gave him many singular proofs, as we shall see in the sequel.

Jotapa *and other cities taken.* WHILST *Vespasian* was besieging *Jotapa*, *Trajan* (T) had been sent to form that of *Japha*, in the neighbourhood, and took it on the twentieth of *June*, but complimented young *Titus* with the honour of it, who came accordingly upon the last assault. Upon their entering the place, the *Japhians* held out a bloody and obstinate street fight during six whole hours; but being at last overpowered, all the men were put to the sword, and the women and children carried away prisoners [o]. A week c after, the *Samaritans*, who had assembled upon mount *Garizzim*, with a design of defending themselves, having been closely surrounded by *Cerealis* at the head of a *Roman* detachment, were ready to perish for want of water. Many of them suffered themselves to die with thirst, and those who refused to surrender, were all butchered to one man [p]. *Joppa*, which had been lately laid waste by *Cestius*, being again repeopled by a great number of seditious *Jews*, who infested the countries about, *Vespasian* sent some troops to take it, which they soon atchieved. Above four thousand *Jews* endeavouring to escape the massacre, by betaking themselves to their ships, a sudden tempest drove them back, so that they were all either drowned, or put to the sword. *Tarichea* and *Tiberias* were taken next (U): the former of these, being situate on an eminence and by the lake of *Genezareth*, was besieged by land and by d water, and made a desperate defence, till a dissension happened within; which being overheard by *Titus*, who commanded at the siege, the town was taken by storm, and all the seditious condemned to die [q].

Galilee *reduced.* AFTER the reduction of those two places, all the other cities of *Galilee* submitted themselves to the *Romans*, except those of *Gischala* and *Gamala*, and the mountain of *Itabyr* (W). Against *Gamala*, which was situate over-against *Tarichea*, on the same lake,

[k] Id. ibid. cap. 12, 13, & 14. [l] In vit. Vespas. [m] lib. lx. [n] lib. iv. c. 21. Vid. USSER. sub an. Chr. 67. [o] Bell. Jud. ubi supra, c. 11. [p] Ibid. c. 12. [q] Ibid. c. 15, & seq.

(S) That God should in a little time send a prince against the *Jews* that should overcome them, and level their metropolis with the ground: that during the siege of it, they should pine with hunger and thirst, even to the eating of one another: that after it was taken, they should see their women grievously tormented before their eyes, their virgins deflowered, their young men torn asunder, and their babes dashed in pieces, themselves reduced to the lowest misery, their country wasted with fire and sword, and the whole nation banished out of their own land, because they had exalted themselves above the most gracious and approved Son of God.

These two apostles, according to the records of both eastern and western churches, suffered martyrdom on the twenty-ninth of *June*, the last day of which month falls within the reign of *Nero* (19); and an ancient father affirms, that the day of St. *Paul*'s death was more certainly known than that of *Alexander the Great* (20); and *Dionysius* bishop of *Corinth* tells us, that St. *Peter* suffered death on the same day (21). St. *Paul* was beheaded; but St. *Peter* was, according to our Saviour's prediction (22), crucified, but with his head downward at his own desire, and out of respect to his divine master (23).

(T) Probably the same, who was afterwards emperor; but at present he was only a colonel of one of the legions.

(U) These two cities belonged to *Agrippa*, but had revolted; the latter was divided; some of the citizens, being for peace, were opposed by the seditious party. *Vespasian* sent some officers to persuade them to submit, but they were repulsed, and forced to flee for their lives; for which he would have burnt the city, but the peaceable citizens having represented their case to *Agrippa*, he interceded for them, and obtained their pardon (24).

(W) The same with *Thabor*, spoken of in a former volume (25), with a spacious plain near twenty stades in square on the top, with a city of the same name upon it. The area was incompassed with a large wall, built by *Josephus* in about forty days (26).

As

(19) *Usser's annal. sub an. Chr.* 67. (20) *Homil.* 26. *in* 2 *Corinth. ap. eund.* (21) *Ap. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l.* ii. c. 24. (22) *John* xxi. 18, *& seq.* (23) *Orig. com. in Gen. tom.* 3. *Vid. Euseb. ubi supra, l.* iii. c. 1. (24) *Bell. Jud. l.* iii. c. 16. (25) *Vol. I. p.* 571. (26) *Bell. Jud. l.* iv. c. 2.

a lake, as *Agrippa* had in vain carried on a ſiege of near ſeven months; the *Romans* were forced to come and aſſiſt him. He tried, however, by a ſet ſpeech to perſuade them to ſurrender, before they were reduced to greater ſtreights. The only anſwer they made him was with ſtones from their engines, one of which wounded him in the arm. The *Romans*, provoked to behold the little regard which thoſe wretches paid to their monarch, made ſuch a deſperate aſſault againſt them, that they had got poſſeſſion of the town; but being inferior in number, they were ſoon driven out of it with conſiderable loſs. It was renewed afreſh with greater fury, and as obſtinately oppoſed by the beſieged, who put the *Roman* courage and ſtrength to the ſevereſt proof they had as yet felt. At length three ſtout *Romans* having beaten down one
b of the towers, the army entered in at the breach, and put all they met to the ſword, to the number of four thouſand. But a much greater number periſhed by their own hands, flinging themſelves down from the rocks, walls, and by other violent means. During this ſiege, *Placidus* was ſent to take *Itabyr* mentioned in the laſt note. He went and ſlily drew the *Jews* down into the plain by a pretended flight, faced about, and defeated them, and got poſſeſſion of the mountain [r].

AFTER this ſtout ſiege was over, *Veſpaſian* ſent his ſon *Titus* to form that of *Giſchala*; Giſchala *taken*. and this laſt, who was now beginning to relent at the great ſlaughter made at *Gamala*, earneſtly exhorted them to prevent, by a timely ſurrender, involving themſelves in the ſame fate. The citizens were inclinable enough to take his advice; but a ſeditious
c *Jew* of that town, named *John*, the ſon of *Levi*, head of the faction and a vile fellow, oppoſed it, and, having the mob at his beck, overawed the whole city. That day being the ſabbath, this wretch begged but of *Titus* to forbear hoſtilities till the morrow, and then he would accept of his offer; but inſtead of that fled to *Jeruſalem*, where he committed an infinite deal of miſchief. On the morrow the citizens came and ſurrendered themſelves, and told the *Roman* general of *John*'s flight, begging of him that he would ſpare the guiltleſs, and only puniſh the factious, which he readily conſented to, and only ſent ſome of his horſe after the fugitives. But *John* had reached *Jeruſalem*, before they could overtake him; they killed, however, near ſix thouſand of his followers on the road, and brought back three thouſand women and
d children priſoners. The taking and gariſoning of this laſt place completed the conqueſt of *Galilee*, and *Titus* rejoined his father at *Cæſarea*, where they gave their troops ſome reſpite before they went to beſiege *Jeruſalem* [s].

THE *Jewiſh* nation by this time was divided into two very oppoſite parties: The *Two parties in* one, foreſeeing, that this war, if continued, muſt end in the total ruin of their country, Judæa. were for putting an effectual end to it, by a ſpeedy ſubmiſſion to the *Romans*: The other, which was the ſpawn of the *Gaulonitiſh* incendiary, and breathed nothing but war, confuſion, and cruelty, oppoſed all peaceable meaſures with an invincible obſtinacy. This party, which was by far the more numerous and powerful, conſiſted of men of the vileſt and moſt abandoned profligate character that ever hiſtory could *A character of* parallel. They were proud, ambitious, cruel, rapacious, and committed the moſt *the zealots.*
e horrid and unnatural crimes, under pretence of religion. In a word, if *Joſephus*'s character of them may be credited, they acted more like incarnate devils, than like men, who had any ſenſe left of goodneſs and humanity. They covered, however, their helliſh brutality with the ſpacious title of zeal for the glory of God, affirming every-where, that it was offering the greateſt diſhonour to him to ſubmit to any earthly potentate, much more to *Romans* and heathens; and that this was the only motive that induced them to take up arms, and to bind themſelves, under the ſtricteſt obligations, not to lay them down, till they had either totally extirpated all foreign authority, or periſhed in the attempt (X) [t]. This obliged the contrary party to riſe
f up likewiſe in arms in their own defence againſt thoſe hell-hounds, from whom, however,

[r] Ibid. l. iv. c. 1, & ſeq. [s] Ibid. c. 4. [t] Bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 6. ad fin. l. v. c. 1, & ſeq.

As for the town of *Sepphoris*, which was extremely rich and ſtrong, it never once rebelled during all this war, but kept conſtant to their ſubjection to the *Romans*, ſo that *Gamala* and *Giſchala* were the two laſt towns in *Galilee* to be reduced.

(X) This dreadful diſſenſion was not confined to *Jeruſalem*, but had infected all the cities, towns, and villages of *Paleſtine*. Even houſes and families were ſo divided againſt each other, that, as our Saviour had expreſsly foretold in the dreadful picture he made of this final war (26), a man's greateſt enemies were often thoſe of his own family and houſehold (27).

(26) Matth. xxiv. *paſſ.* Mark xiii. Luke xxi. 5, *& ſeq.* (27) Matth. x. 36. Luke xii. 52, *& ſeq.*

ever, they ſuffered unſpeakably more, than they did even from the exaſperated *Romans*, as we ſhall ſoon ſee. a

Their horrid butcheries. Year of the flood 3065. *Of Chriſt* 67.

The zealots began to exerciſe their cruelty in robbing, plundering, and maſſacring all that oppoſed them in the countries round about; after which they eaſily entered *Jeruſalem*, with *Zechariah* and *Eleazar* at their head. Here they were, at firſt, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the late high-prieſt *Ananus* (Y), whoſe zeal upon this occaſion *Joſephus* highly commends. That pontiff made a pathetic ſpeech to the people, exhorting them to take up arms againſt thoſe factious villains, who had by this time ſeized upon the temple and made it their gariſon, from which they ſallied out to commit the vileſt outrages and butcheries. He eaſily perſuaded them to follow his advice, upon which they went and armed themſelves, and returned in a b ſtrong body, and made a vigorous attack againſt them. The engagement was fierce and obſtinate on both ſides, and laſted a conſiderable time. At length, *Ananus* forced them out of the outer cincture of the temple, whence they retired into the inner, where he held them cloſely beſieged. We have already taken notice of a vile demagogue,

Seize the temple.

John of *Giſchala*, who had fled lately from this laſt place to *Jeruſalem*, and was at the head of the ſeditious; this wretch, under pretence of taking the intereſt of the peaceable party, was actually betraying them to the zealots. *Ananus*, not ſuſpecting his treachery (Z), ſent him to offer the beſieged ſome fair terms of accommodation; inſtead of which, when he came to them, he perſuaded them to hold out, and call

Invite the Idumeans.

the *Idumeans* to their aſſiſtance. They did ſo, and procured twenty thouſand of them c to come to their relief; but when theſe ap roached the metropolis, *Ananus* refuſed them entrance, and exhorted them in a civil and friendly manner to retire into their own country; at which they were ſo exaſperated, that they accuſed him of being in the *Roman* intereſt, and juſt going to betray the city to them. They ſet down before the walls for that day, threatening *Ananus* and *Jeſus* the ſon of *Gamaliel*, another depoſed high-prieſt, in the ſevereſt terms, if they did not open their gates to them[u].

On that very night there happened ſuch a dreadful ſtorm, accompanied with thunder and lightening, and a violent earthquake, that the zealots, from within the inner court, ſawed the bolts and hinges of the temple gates, without being heard, forced the guards of the beſiegers, and ſallied into the city, and let in the *Idumeans*[w]. d

Horrid butcheries committed.

Theſe two parties, thus joined and ſtrengthened, began to commit the moſt horrid and unheard-of murders and butcheries on the oppoſite ſide. Barely to put them to any ſpeedy death, was what they thought too mild a puniſhment; they muſt have the pleaſure to murder them by inches; ſo that they made it now their diverſion to put them to the moſt exquiſite tortures that could be invented, neither could they be prevailed upon to diſpatch them, till the violence of their torments had rendered them quite incapable of feeling them. Twelve thouſand perſons of noble extraction, and in the flower of their age, were butchered in that horrid manner, and among them the brave *Ananus* (A) and *Jeſus* the ſon of *Gamaliel*, who had ſo nobly oppoſed them. In a word, the zealots fury and cruelty was grown to ſuch a height, that the whole nation e trembled

[u] Ibid. l. iv. c. 5. 6.

[w] cap. 7.

(Y) He had been depoſed about ſix years before, as we have already ſeen, and ſucceeded by ſeveral others. *Matthias* the ſon of *Theophilus* was now in that dignity, to which he had been raiſed a year or two before by king *Agrippa* (28); but the ſeditious in the temple took it into their heads to chuſe another in his ſtead, which they did by caſting lots firſt for the twenty-four claſſes, in which the twelfth was taken, and in that, upon one *Phannias*, a man wholly unfit for it, and whom they were forced to teach the manner of performing his office.

This unprecedented boldneſs, joined to their maſſacres and other pollutions of the temple, and even of the very ſanctuary, gave ſuch offence, not to the prieſts only, but to all the religious *Jews*, that they ſought from that time for ſome means of ridding themſelves of their tyranny, whilſt the zealots crew made a jeſt of them, and of every thing that was ſacred, ſerious, or humane.

(Z) Such was their infatuation, that this wretch, who had ſkrewed himſelf into all their councils, and betrayed them to the zealots, had behaved with ſuch an affected integrity, that few of them ſuſpected him; and when ſome of the council began to queſtion his counterfeited zeal, they were overruled by the reſt, who contented themſelves with making him ſwear, that he would be true to them; which gave him all the opportunity of ruining them that he could deſire.

(A) We have obſerved elſewhere, that he was the ſon of *Annas* mentioned in the goſpel: It was he that cauſed St. *James* to be caſt down from the battlements of the temple, and to be put to death. In other caſes, he was a brave man, and the only perſon almoſt that had courage and conduct enough left to ſtem the tide, and to reſtore peace to the nation; and it was for this reaſon that the zealots cut him off.

(28) *Bell. Jud. l.* iv. *c. ult.*

a trembled at their very name; none dared be ſeen or heard to weep or cry for the murder of their neareſt relations, nor even to give them burial [x].

THE *Idumeans* crying out ſhame at length at the maſſacring of ſuch numbers of worthy perſons indiſcriminately, the zealots began to ſet up a kind of court judicature, to judge thoſe they ſhould think guilty with ſome ſhew of juſtice. *Zechariah* the ſon of *Baruch* (B) was one of the firſt who was brought before this mock court, which conſiſted of ſeventy-two perſons. They brought a black catalogue of accuſations againſt him, which he not only refelled with great eaſe and plainneſs, but reminded them of their own black and helliſh crimes, with ſuch noble courage and in ſuch lively colours, that the conſciouſneſs of their guilt made them pronounce him innocent; at
b which the zealots were ſo exaſperated, that they murdered him on the ſpot, bidding him at the ſame time to take that abſolution at their hands, which would prove ſurer to him than that of his judges; after which they drove theſe out of their ſeats as perſons unfit for their purpoſe. They threw the body of *Zechariah* out of the temple down into the deep valley that was by the ſide of it; and the *Idumeans*, aſhamed to act any longer in concert with ſuch bloody aſſaſſins, retired into their own country, after having ſet at liberty two thouſand of their priſoners, and left the zealots to reign in their cruelties without any further reſtraint. From this time theſe bloody hell-hounds, who were glad at heart to ſee their backs turned upon them, gave themſelves a looſe to all manner of barbarities; and as nothing rendered a man more dreadful to them
c than the bare ſuſpicion of his being honeſt or virtuous, ſo they made the greateſt havock among all that had the leaſt pretence to that character [y].

Zechariah *murdered in the temple.*

THEIR rage did not ſtop there; but, after having butchered all the perſons of any diſtinction or character, they began to wreak it on the common people. It was a capital crime to have once ſeemed to oppoſe them: to be unactive, was to be a ſpy on them; and not to applaud their vileſt actions, was to be diſaffected; and to be either rich, or ſuſpected to be ſo, or even having the misfortune of being diſliked by them, was crime enough to deſerve death [z]. This obliged many of the *Jews* to forſake *Jeruſalem* and take ſhelter under the *Romans*, though the gates and avenues of the city were ſo cloſely guarded, that it was extremely hazardous to retire to them, and
d as many as were caught doing ſo were put to immediate death. All this while *Veſpaſian*, who was at *Cæſarea*, remained a kind of idle ſpectator afar off of the diſmal condition of the *Jewiſh* nation. His officers, amazed at this ſo unuſual inaction, took the liberty to remind him, what pity it was he ſhould thus neglect the moſt favourable opportunity of making himſelf maſter of *Jeruſalem* and all *Paleſtine*. *Veſpaſian*, who had a longer head than they, ſoon made them ſenſible, that his continuing thus idle in *Cæſarea* was the moſt probable means of effecting the conqueſt they were ſpeaking of, with the leaſt difficulty and hazard of his own troops; ſince the *Jewiſh* ſtrength dwindled daily more and more by their inteſtine broils and maſſacres, whilſt his own men, after enjoying ſo long a refreſhment, would be the better able to cruſh
e them into ſubmiſſion or death [a] (C).

Veſpaſian *ſtays at* Cæſarea.

EVERY

[x] Lib. v. c. 1. [y] Ibid. [z] Ibid. in fin. [a] Ibid. c. 2.

(B) This brave and worthy perſon is by many chriſtian commentators ſuppoſed the ſame with the *Zechariah* the ſon of *Barachiah*, ſaid by our Saviour to have been murdered between the temple and the altar (29). It is indeed objected, that he ſpeaks there of him, as of a perſon long ſince put to death; but it is replied, that he ſpake prophetically, and, according to the prophetic ſtyle, made uſe of the preſent for the future. And it muſt be owned, that unleſs theſe two hiſtorians ſpeak of the ſame perſon, it will be difficult to find out the *Zechariah* mentioned in the goſpel; the laſt of thoſe juſt perſons, the ſhedding of whoſe blood was to fill up the meaſure of the *Jews* iniquities.

We ſhall not enter into the merit of the controverſy, but refer our readers to thoſe who have writ upon it, and which the reader will find in the margin (30).

(C) The event ſhewed that he reaſoned like a conſummate general; for thoſe cruelties did not only thin the enemy, but forced a vaſt many of the zealots away to the *Romans* by reaſon of ſome diſſenſions which began to reign among them, and in ſpight of the danger of being caught in the way.

Among their cruel executions of theſe, there was one *Niger*, a *Peraite* or native of *Perea*, a perſon of diſtinction, who had ſignalized himſelf in their former wars againſt the *Romans*; who, together with the brave *Gorion*, was ſeized, and dragged ſhamefully out of the city; where the former, finding his death inevitable, only begged that his body might be afterwards buried. But the mercileſs wretches refuſing to grant him even that, he addreſſed himſelf to heaven, and prayed, that the *Romans* might at length come, and wreak their direct vengeance on thoſe murderers. His words were looked upon as prophetical; but *Joſephus* mentions ſome other oracles, which had long ago foretold the total ruin of that nation, as well

(29) Matth. xxiii. 35. (30) *Vid. Grot. Hamm. Le Clerc, Beza, Tremel. L. de Dieu, & Fabric. Apocr. N. T. not in Protevang. Jacob.*

The zealots divided into two factions.

Every thing ſucceeded to his wiſh. The zealots, after having maſſacred or driven a away the oppoſite party, began to turn their bloody ſwords againſt each other. *John* of *Giſchala*, a wretch of unparalleled ambition, could not brook that any ſhould ſhare the command with him; and, in order to make himſelf abſolute, drew the moſt profligate of the zealots into his party. The other chiefs, who oppoſed him with no ſmall heat, made another faction, ſo that they were ever either ſkirmiſhing with each other, or plundering the poor remains of the people. Whilſt things went thus on from bad to worſe in the city, there aroſe a new gang of ſicarii in the country, who having ſeized the ſtrong fortreſs of *Maſſada*, made it their place of retreat. Theſe plundered, burned, and maſſacred every-where, and carried their plunder into that place.

Simon *head of the ſicarii.*

They had at their head one *Simon* the ſon of *Gorias*, a bold ambitious young man, a b native of *Gelaſa*, who, to increaſe his party, cauſed a proclamation to be diſperſed, in which he promiſed free liberty to all the ſlaves, and proportionable encouragements to all the freemen, that ſhould come over to him. This ſtratagem had the deſired effect; and he ſaw his party in a very little time ſwelled into a conſiderable army, and himſelf as reſpected and obeyed, as if he had been a monarch. Many *Jews* of diſtinction, as well as others of a meaner rank, were glad thus to put themſelves under his protection from the cruelty of the other parties [b].

Nero's *death. Year of the flood* 3066. *Of Chriſt* 73.

Whilst theſe things were tranſacting in *Judæa*, *Nero*, having been declared an enemy to *Rome* by the ſenate, left both it and the world to avoid the more ſhameful puniſhment decreed againſt him [c], as ſhall be further ſhewn in the *Roman* hiſtory. c *Veſpaſian*, who was yet ignorant of it, and did not give great heed to *Joſephus*'s prediction of his becoming emperor, was making great preparations againſt the revolted *Jews* and for the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, whilſt *Simon*, at the head of a good army, was making war againſt the zealots. Theſe laſt, having notice what great magazines of arms and ammunition *Simon* had got, in order to come and inveſt them, began to think it high time to try to diſperſe his forces by a vigorous ſally. They did ſo, and were defeated and put to flight; but *Simon*, not thinking himſelf ſtrong enough yet to beſiege *Jeruſalem*, went to invade *Idumea* with an army of twenty thouſand men.

Idumea *invaded by* Simon.

The *Idumeans* marched againſt him with twenty-five thouſand, which was all they could get in that ſhort time. A fierce battle enſued, which laſted from morning till d night, by which time it could ſcarcely be gueſſed which ſide had had the better. But

Betrayed to him.

Simon found means ſoon after to have that country betrayed to him by a treacherous *Idumean* (D), who having got the command of their forces, delivered them up to him, as had been agreed between them. *Simon* put all to fire and ſword, and, by the conqueſt of that province, became more dreadful than ever to the zealots; who from that time did not dare to come out againſt him, but contented themſelves with laying ambuſhes againſt him in all the paſſes, in one of which they took his wife priſoner. They were on the ſudden ſtrangely elated at their ſucceſs, not doubting but they ſhould now eaſily force him to lay down his arms, in order to get her releaſed to him. But it happened quite otherwiſe; for *Simon* no ſooner heard the news, than he e poſted with his army to the very gates of *Jeruſalem*, where he committed ſuch cruelties, and threatened the enemy into ſuch a fright, that they were glad to ſend him his wife again, after which he left them to go and ruin the ſad remains of *Idumea*. Theſe miſerable wretches, ſeeing the devaſtations and butcheries which he committed there, left the country to his mercy, and went to take ſhelter at *Jeruſalem*, and were purſued by his troops to the very walls of that metropolis [d].

Thus *Simon* without, and *John* within, ſeemed to ſtrive which ſhould outdo the other in cruelties and in the moſt unheard-of crimes; whilſt thoſe that fell into either hands

[b] Ibid. c. 3, & ſeq. [c] Sueton. in Neron. c. 40. Tacit. hiſt. l. i. [d] Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra, c. 7.

well as deſtruction of the city and temple. Whoever reads the eleventh and following chapters of *Zechariah*, will be apt enough to think, that the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian had an eye to them (31), among the many others we could name to the ſame purpoſe.

(D) This miſcreant, whoſe name was *James*, was one of the *Idumean* chiefs, and was ſent by the reſt to reconnoitre the enemy and know the number of their forces. He ſet out from the *Idumean* camp at *Oltura*, and privately agreed with *Simon* to deliver up the army and country to him, on condition he ſhould be treated with honour; which being promiſed, he returned to his camp, and there repreſented the enemy's army as vaſtly more numerous and ſtrong than it really was; by which means he eaſily obtained the command, and compaſſed his treacherous deſign (32).

(31) *Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra, in fin. cap.* 1. (32) *Bell. Jud. l.* 7. *c.* 7.

a hands were ſure to be butchered without mercy; inſomuch, that there was now no ſafe place either in city or country. *John* had hitherto tyranniſed within at the head of his blood-hounds with uncommon ſucceſs, when the *Idumeans*, who were left in the city and were of his party, not being longer able to bear his tyranny, revolted againſt him, killed a great number of his men, plundered his palace (E), and forced him to retire into the temple. In the mean time, the people, having taken a notion that he would ſally out in the night and ſet fire to the city, called a council, in which they pitched upon a remedy far worſe than the diſeaſe, which was to open the city gates, and let in *Simon* with his troops to oppoſe thoſe of *John* and his zealots. *Matthias*, the then high-prieſt, againſt whom theſe laſt had ſet up an obſcure prieſt into b that dignity, promoted the deſign, without troubling himſelf about the conſequences of it, and was ſent to acquaint *Simon* with it. *Simon* was accordingly admitted into the city, where his chief care now was to render his ſtrength as great, and authority as abſolute, as he could. To this end he looked indifferently on thoſe that had invited him in, and thoſe againſt whom he was called, and ſoon began to exert his cruelty againſt them equally, though the former had received him, with great honours and univerſal acclamations, as their future deliverer. But ingratitude and breach of faith were crimes of too light a nature to ſcare a wretch that had diſcarded all natural and civil virtues, to abandon himſelf to the moſt monſtrous vices. He made, however, a bold aſſault againſt *John* and his party; but being as ſtoutly repulſed, he contented c himſelf for the preſent with keeping them cloſely beſieged in the temple [c].

THE *Romans*, on the other hand, had not ſtood idle all this laſt year; but being in- Gadara *ſurrendered.* vited by the inhabitants of *Gadara*, one of the ſtrongeſt places on that ſide of *Jordan*, had ſent *Placidus* to take poſſeſſion of it. He was forced to fight his way through ſeveral ſtout bodies of the factious who oppoſed him. He killed about fifteen thouſand of them, as they were endeavouring to paſs that river, beſides a great number of others, whom he defeated at ſeveral encounters, and many more made priſoners. In a word, *Placidus* beſtirred himſelf ſo well, that he ſoon reduced all that part of *Judæa* which lies on the eaſt ſide of the *Jordan*, except the caſtle of *Macheron*. All this was done in the winter. In the beginning of the ſpring, *Veſpaſian*, marched out d of *Cæſarea*, and penetrated near half of *Idumea*, plundering and burning every Idumea place he came through, except ſuch as he thought expedient to leave with a *Roman* *waſted.* garriſon to keep the country in awe [f].

SOME months before this time, *Veſpaſian* received the news of *Nero*'s death, and of *Galba*'s being choſen his ſucceſſor; upon which he immediately diſpatched his ſon *Titus* to *Rome*, to compliment the new emperor, and to receive his orders concerning the reduction of *Judæa*. *Agrippa* deſired him to bear him company, but the winter not being quite over and their ſhips being of a large bulk, they ſailed ſo ſlowly, that they were got no farther than *Achaia*, when they received the news of *Galba*'s being murthered, after a ſeven months reign, and *Otho*'s being proclaimed in his room. e *Agrippa* reſolved to continue his voyage, but *Titus*, as by ſome divine impulſe, was now come back to rejoin his father at *Cæſarea*, whither he was returned after his *Idumean* expedition [g]. They left *Cæſarea* on the fifth of *June*, and led their army to- *Year of the flood* 3066. wards *Jeruſalem*, and took every place in their way thither, except *Herodion*, *Mache-* *Of Chriſt*, $\frac{73}{68}$. *ron*, and *Maſſada*, whilſt *Cerealis*, one of their chief generals, was laying waſte the upper *Idumea* with a conſiderable number of troops.

WHILST *Judæa* was thus miſerably torn with a foreign, and with their inteſtine wars, the *Roman* empire was in as bad a plight with their own. We ſhall not anticipate on the *Roman* hiſtory, ſo far as to enter into the particulars of the murder of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*. *Suetonius* [h] compares *Rome* to a veſſel toſſed about by f contrary winds, and ready at every moment to ſink, when *Veſpaſian* was happily Veſpaſian *choſen emperor.* choſen emperor, and reſtored a calm to the empire. *Joſephus* now reaped the benefit of

[a] Ibid. c. 9. [b] Ibid. cap. 3. [g] TACIT. SUETON. ubi ſupra. bell. Jud. ubi ſupra, c. 8, & ſeq. [h] In vit. Veſpaſ.

(E) This palace had, it ſeems, been built there by the princeſs *Grapta*, couſin to *Izates* king of *Adiabene*, of whom we have had occaſion to ſpeak in the laſt volume *

As for the horrid crimes and beſtialities of the zealots within, as well as of *Simon* without, they are of ſo ſhocking a nature, that we ſhall paſs them by in ſilence. Thoſe that can read them without horror, may ſee them in the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian (33).

* *Vol.* III. *p.* 849, *& ſeq.*

(33) *Bell. Jud. ibid. & ſeq. ad c.* 9.

of his former predictions, and that emperor recalling them to mind, thought it high a time now not only to give him his liberty, but recompense him for his faithfulness to him with many signal favours [i] (F). As soon as *Vespasian* had received the news that his election had been confirmed at *Rome*, he left the best of his troops with his son, with orders to go and besiege *Jerusalem* and to destroy it utterly; after which he prepared himself to return to the capital of his empire.

Josephus set at liberty.

Three factions in Jerusalem.

All this while the *Jewish* dissensions increased, and *Eleazar*, the son of another *Simon*, a person of the sacerdotal order and of great sense and courage, found means to form a new party, and to draw a considerable number of *John* of *Giscbala*'s men to him, under pretence, that this last was become so inhuman and tyrannic, that it was dangerous to let him lord it any longer over them. With this new party he seized on b the court of the priests, and confined *John* into that of the *Israelites*. *Eleazar* kept the avenues so well guarded, that none were admitted to come into that part of the temple, but those who came thither to offer sacrifices, and it was by these offerings chiefly that he maintained himself and his men. *John* by this means found himself hemmed by two powerful enemies, *Eleazar* above (G), and *Simon*, who was master of the city, below. He defended himself against the former by his engines (H), out of which he kept still throwing stones into his court; and when he sallied out against the latter, he set all on fire where-ever he could reach, by which he destroyed great quantities of corn and other provisions, with which they might otherwise have held out a siege several years. Thus were these three factions ever watching all advan- c

Their condition and advantages.

tages against each other. *Simon* had the greatest number of troops and a store of arms and provisions, his army consisting of ten thousand zealots and five thousand *Idumeans*; but he was the most disadvantageously situated of the three. *John* had the advantage over him in this last respect, but had but six thousand men, and was forced to get provisions for them by his constant sallies. He was superior to *Eleazar* in number of men; this last having but about two thousand four hundred. But he was more strongly situated, and was continually supplied with provisions, by the continual offerings which the people brought to the temple, and which they often abused by luxury and drunkenness [k].

This was the sad distracted state of *Jerusalem*, when *Titus* marched his army against d it. He had, besides the three legions which had served under his father, the fifth legion, which had been so sadly handled by the *Jews* in *Cestius*'s time, and now burned with a desire of revenge. Besides these, *Agrippa*, *Soemus*, and *Antiochus*, the two former of whom accompanied him in person, and some allied cities, had furnished him with twenty regiments of foot and eight of horse, besides vast multitudes of *Arabs*, and a choice number of persons of distinction from *Italy* and other places, who came to signalize themselves under his standards. *Titus* ordered the fifth legion to take the road of *Emmaus*, the tenth that of *Jericho*, the other two legions marched after

[i] Ubi supra, cap. 12.

[k] Bell Jud. l. vi. c. 1.

(F) *Vespasian* was then at *Berytus*, where vast numbers of embassadors came crouding to compliment him on his election, and to offer him the usual crowns and letters of submission. Here he held a grand council, wherein having highly extolled the courage of the *Jewish* chief, he related to them how he had foretold his coming to the empire even during *Nero*'s life.

Titus, who was there present and had conceived a great esteem for him, declared, that it would be an action worthy his goodness and justice to grant him his liberty, to knock off his fetters, and to restore him to the rank and condition which he enjoyed before his captivity; it being the custom of the *Romans* to break the bonds of those who had been unjustly detained in them. *Vespasian* approved his proposal, and caused it to be put in execution out of hand; and *Josephus* not only gained his liberty by it, but got the reputation of a prophet, and was in high credit in the *Roman* army ever after (34).

(G) We have formerly observed in our description of this stately building, that the innermost court was raised considerably above the rest, having a terrace and nineteen steps to ascend to the area of it *.

(H) *John* had luckily found a great quantity of large cedar trees, which king *Agrippa* had caused to be brought from *Lebanus* at a vast charge, to raise the temple twenty cubits higher than it was, or perhaps that part which we observed in the note last quoted to have been sunk that number of cubits through the weakness of the foundation; but his project was set aside by reason of the war.

John, having possession of this court, soon put this timber to other uses, and caused towers and other engines to be made with it, in order to besiege his competitor within; and indeed he ceased not harassing him, but whilst he was forced to defend himself against *Simon*, who besieged him from without. The flight of steps and terrace mentioned in the last note not permitting him to bring his towers near enough to the wall of the inner cincture, he was projecting to have removed them towards the western side, where the ground was all plain; but providence so ordered it, that *Titus* began the siege of the city before he could compass it, which made him set his project aside.

(34) *Bell. Jud. l.* vi. *c.* 2.

* *See before, pag.* 146. *sub not.*

a after him in the order, which the reader will find in the margin (I) [l]. It was now the beginning of *April* and near the feaſt of the paſſover, to which there was a greater reſort of *Jews* this year, than had ever been known, even from beyond the *Euphrates* (K).

Titus being advanced ſo near the city, went himſelf to reconnoitre its ſtrength and avenues, attended only with ſix hundred horſe; he ſeemed even to flatter himſelf, that, upon his firſt appearance, the peaceable part of the *Jews* would open the gates to him; but to his ſurprize, the factious made ſo ſudden and vigorous a ſally againſt him, that he found himſelf quite ſurrounded with enemies, in a narrow defile, his cavalry ſevered from him, ſo that he had no other way left to eſcape their fury, b but to make a deſperate puſh and break his way through them; which he at length, almoſt by a miracle, happily accompliſhed, even without receiving any wound, or loſing more than two of his men [m]. After this narrow eſcape, he cauſed his army to draw nearer to *Scopas*, within ſeven ſtades of the city, in order to beſiege it in form, whilſt the factious within were applauding themſelves for their late advantage, which they vainly interpreted as a good omen of their future ſucceſs. His legion, which had come by the way of *Jericho*, being arrived, he ordered it to incamp on the mount of olives, which was parted from the town on the eaſt by the brook *Cedron*, and where they were on the ſudden ſo furiouſly aſſaulted by the beſieged, that they were in danger of being cut all in pieces, had not *Titus* come timely to their reſcue (L).

Titus's *army*, *Year of the flood* 3066. *Of Chriſt* 73 *or* 68.

Jeruſalem *beſieged*.

c It was then that the three factions, ſeeing themſelves beſieged by ſo powerful an army and ſo brave a general, began to think of laying aſide all private feuds and join together in a vigorous defence againſt the common enemy. This union, however, proved but ſhort-lived; for on the fourteenth of *April*, which was uſhering in the paſſover, when *Eleazar* had opened the avenues of his court to the great concourſe that came thither to ſacrifice, *John* of *Giſchala* found means to ſlide in ſome of his men with ſwords

[l] Ibid. in fin. & cap. 2.

[m] Ibid. ad fin.

(I) *Joſephus*, who was an eye-witneſs of it, becauſe he was ſtill ordered to follow the emperor, gives it to us as follows *:

The auxiliaries marched firſt, and were followed by the pioneers, whoſe buſineſs was to level the ground as they went. After them came the general quarter-maſters, who marked out their incampments, and were followed by the baggage of the chiefs of the army under a ſufficient eſcort.

Titus came next, attended with his guard and a ſelect body of troops, followed by a body of horſe, who marched juſt before the warlike engines; and after theſe came the tribunes and chiefs of the cohorts, attended with a choſen number of troops. Then appeared the *Roman* eagle, ſurrounded with the enſigns of the ſeveral legions, and preceded by a number of trumpets ſounding, and followed by the mean body, which marched in rank and file ſix in a front. Laſtly, came the ſutlers, handicrafts, *&c.* attended with a ſtrong guard of ſoldiers, which cloſed the whole march. In this order they came to *Gophna*, which had a *Roman* gariſon, and on the next day to *Gibbeath-ſaul*, about thirty ſtades, or three miles and a half, from *Jeruſalem*.

(K) The chiefs of the *Jews* in *Paleſtine* had written, it ſeems, to invite all their brethren everywhere, not doubting but their preſence and great concourſe would contribute to quell the factions within, as well as oppoſe the *Romans* without; ſo that they came flocking to this ſolemnity from all parts of the world.

But it ſeems as if they were directed thither by the hand of providence to ſuffer the puniſhment of their ſins, the bulk of the nation being there, as it were, ſhut up in a priſon, to add to that of the deſtroying ſword, the dreadful plagues of famine and peſtilence, which ſhortly after devoured them. *Joſephus* reckons eleven hundred thouſand that died during the ſiege.

They neither wanted arms, warlike engines, men, or courage, or any thing but experience to make a brave defence; but this they made up by their invincible obſtinacy and deſpair. Their city was ſtrongly ſituate by nature, ſurrounded with three ſtout walls, and many a ſtately and ſtrong tower. The firſt or old wall, which by reaſon of its vaſt thickneſs was looked upon as impregnable, had ſixty of theſe towers, very loſty, firm, and ſtrong. The ſecond had fourteen, and the third eighty. The former of theſe, beſides its extraordinary height and thickneſs, was raiſed on a high and ſteep mountain, and had a valley beneath it of a prodigious depth. The other two were high and ſtrong in proportion. The circuit of the city was thirty-three ſtades, or four thouſand one hundred and twenty-five geometric paces, or near four of our miles.

Beſides theſe vaſt fortifications, there were ſeveral other caſtles of extraordinary ſtrength, ſuch as thoſe of *Hippicos*, *Phazael*, *Mariamne*, and *Antonia*; to ſay nothing of the royal, and ſome other ſtately and well-fortified palaces. The temple ſtill exceeded all the reſt in ſtrength, both for ſituation, its walls, towers, and other buildings, and was at leaſt equal to the beſt citadels then in being (35). Yet how inſufficient did all theſe, and the vaſt quantities of arms, ammunition, *&c.* prove, to ſave a nation, whom the divine juſtice had doomed to the moſt dreadful deſtruction! Well might *Titus*, after he had taken the city, and came to view the incredible ſtrength of it, cry out, *that God muſt have certainly fought for him, ſince no human power or ſtrength was equal to that which they had now overcome.*

(L) *Dio* adds to what we read in *Joſephus*, that *Titus* had many ſuch a bloody encounter with the beſieged under the walls, in which both ſides fought ſo valiantly, that it was not eaſy to ſay which had the better; but that the *Jews* were at length repulſed, and gave thereby an opportunity to the enemy to open the ſiege (36).

* *Ibid. c.* 1. *in fin.* (35) *See* Joſephus, *ibid. ch.* 6. (36) *lib.* lxvi. *Vid. & Tacit. hiſt. l.* v. *c.* 11.

swords hid under their cloaks among them, who immediately drew their weapons, a fell on *Eleazar*'s party and the rest of the people, filled the court of the priests with blood and horrid outcries, and took possession of the place. By this bloody and impious stratagem the three factions were reduced to two, *Eleazar*'s men being all either cut off, or after their flight were returned with their chief and had submitted themselves to *John*, who had now no enemy but *Simon* within the walls. From that time this last renewed his hostilities against him with greater vigour: he held now the whole temple, some of the out-parts of it, and the valley of *Cedron*. *Simon* had the whole city to range in, in some parts of which *John* had made such devastation, that they served them for a field of battle; from which they sallied unanimously against the common enemy, whenever occasion served, after which they returned to b their usual hostilities, turning their arms against each other, as if they had sworn to make their ruin more easy to the *Romans*. These in the mean time we e drawing still nearer to the walls, having with great labour and pains levelled all the ground between *Scopas* and them, by pulling down all the houses and hedges, cutting down the trees, and even cleaving the rocks that stood in their way, from *Scopas* to the tomb of *Herod* and *Bethara*, *alias the pool of serpents*; in which work so many hands were employed, that they finished it in four days [n].

John *and* Simon *join against the enemy, and then fight against each other.*

The siege began in form.

Whilst this work was doing, *Titus* sent the besieged some offers of peace; *Josephus* was pitched upon to be the messenger of them, but they were rejected with indig- nation. On the morrow they made a shew of accepting them, insomuch, that some c of the *Romans*, believing them in earnest, ventured, contrary to their general's order, to enter the city, and narrowly escaped with their lives. He sent a second time *Nicanor* and *Josephus* with fresh offers, and the former received a wound in his shoulder; upon which *Titus* resolved to begin the assault in good earnest (M), and ordered his men to raze the suburbs, to cut down all the trees, and use the materials to raise platforms against the wall. Every thing was now carried on with invincible ardour, the *Romans* began to play their engines against the city in good earnest, and it was by one of these that *Jesus* the son of *Ananus*, who had so long foretold the destruction of the *Jewish* nation, was killed [o].

Offers of peace rejected.

The *Jews* had likewise their machines upon the walls, which they plyed with un- d common fury: they had taken them lately from *Cestius*, when he retired so shamefully from them, but they were so ignorant in their use, that they made little execution with them, till they were better instructed by some *Roman* deserters. Till then their chief success was rather owing to their frequent sallies; but the *Roman* legions, which had all their towers and machines before them, made terrible havock. The least stones they threw were near a hundred weight, and these they could throw the length of two stades, or two hundred and fifty paces, and with such force, that having overthrown those that stood in the first rank, they could still do mischief on those that stood at some distance behind them. *Titus* had reared three towers fifty cubits high on the terrals above-mentioned; one of which happening to fall in the middle of the e night, did greatly alarm the *Roman* camp, which ran immediately to arms at the noise of it; but *Titus*, upon knowing the cause, dismissed them, and caused it to be set up again. These towers being platted with iron, the *Jews* tried in vain to set fire to them, and were at length forced to retire out of the reach of their shot; by which the battering rams were now at full liberty to play against the wall. A breach was soon made in it, at which the *Romans* entered, and the *Jews* abandoning this last inclosure, retired behind the next. This happened about the twenty-eighth of *April*, a fortnight after the beginning of the siege [p].

The first wall broken and entered.

John defended the temple and the castle of *Antonia*, and *Simon* the rest of the city. *Titus* marched close to the second wall, and plied his battering rams against it so furi- f ously, that one of the towers, which looked towards the north, gave a prodigious shake. The men that were in it made a signal to the *Romans*, as if they would surrender, and at the same time sent *Simon* word to be ready to give them a warm reception.

[n] Ibid. cap. 7. [o] Ibid. [p] Ibid. c. 8, & 9.

(M) The place which *Titus*, after having taken a full view round the city, chose to begin his attack, was towards the tomb of the high-priest *John*, both because it stood on the low ground, and because the outer wall was low and not defended on that side by the middlemost; so that when the breach was made on the former, it was easy to penetrate to the latter, and so come up to, and make themselves masters of, the upper city, and next of the temple, by means of the fortress *Antonia*.

a tion. *Titus* having ſmelt their ſtratagem, plied his work more furiouſly, whilſt the *Jews* that were in the tower ſet it on fire, and flung themſelves into the flames. The tower being fallen gave them an entrance into the ſecond incloſure, five days after the gaining of the firſt; and *Titus*, who was bent on ſaving the city, would not ſuffer any part of the wall or ſtreets to be demoliſhed, which left the breach and lanes ſo narrow, that when his men were furiouſly repulſed by *Simon*, they had not room enough to make a quick retreat, ſo that there was a number of them killed in it. This overſight was quickly rectified, and the attack renewed with ſuch vigour, that the place was carried four days after their firſt repulſe [q].

The ſecond wall taken.

Famine and peſtilence.

THE famine raging in a terrible manner in the city, was ſoon followed by a peſti-
b lence, and as theſe two dreadful judgments increaſed, ſo did the rage of the factious, who, by their inteſtine feuds, had deſtroyed ſuch quantities of proviſion, that they were forced to prey upon the people with the moſt unheard of cruelty. They forced their houſes, and if they found any victuals in them, they butchered them for not appriſeing them of it; and if they found nothing but bare walls, which was almoſt everywhere the caſe, they put them to the moſt ſevere tortures, under pretence that they had ſome proviſion concealed [r]. *I ſhould*, ſays *Joſephus*, *undertake an impoſſible taſk, were I to enter into a detail of all the cruelties of thoſe impious wretches; it will be ſufficient to ſay, that I do not think, that, ſince the creation, any city ever ſuffered ſuch dreadful calamities, or abounded with men ſo fertile in all kind of Wickedneſs* [s].

Titus, who knew their miſerable condition and was ſtill willing to ſpare them,
c gave them now four days to cool; during which he cauſed his army to be muſtered, and proviſions to be diſtributed to them in ſight of the *Jews*, who flocked upon the walls to ſee it; and it is thought, that even the moſt flagitious among the zealots were ſo frighted at the ſight of it, that they would have agreed to a ſurrender, could they have depended upon that pardon, which their black and horrid deeds made them quite deſpair of. *Joſephus* was ſent to ſpeak to them afreſh, and to exhort them not to ruin themſelves into an inevitable ruin, by obſtinately perſiſting in the defence of a place which could hold out but a very little while, and which the *Romans* looked upon already as their own. The reader may ſee his elaborate and pathetic ſpeech
d in the chapter laſt quoted, and which, he tells us, drew a flood of tears from him. His ſtubborn people, after many a bitter invective, fell a darting their arrows at him at which not at all diſcouraged, he went on with greater vehemence; but all the effect it wrought on them, was only, that it prevailed on great numbers to ſteal away privately to the *Romans*, whilſt the reſt became only the more deſperate and reſolute to hold out to the laſt, in ſpite of *Titus*'s merciful offers.

Joſephus's ſpeech to the beſieged.

To haſten therefore to their deſtined ruin, he cauſed the city to be ſurrounded
e with a ſtrong wall, to prevent their receiving any ſuccours or proviſion from abroad, or their eſcaping his reſentment by flight (N). There was now nothing to be ſeen through the ſtreets of *Jeruſalem*, but heaps of dead bodies rotting above-ground, walking ſkeletons, and dying wretches. As many as were caught by the *Romans* in their ſallies, *Titus* cauſed to be crucified in ſight of the town, to inject a terror on the reſt; but the zealots gave it out, that they were thoſe that fled to him for protection, which when *Titus* underſtood, he ſent a priſoner with his hands cut off to undeceive and aſſure them, that he ſpared all that voluntarily came over to him; which encouraged great numbers to accept his offers, though the avenues were cloſely guarded by the factious, who put all to death who were caught going on that errand [t]. A greater miſchief than that was, that even thoſe, who eſcaped ſafe to the *Romans* camp were miſerably butchered by the ſoldiers, from a notion which theſe had taken, that they had ſwallowed great quantities of gold: inſomuch, that two thouſand of them were
f ripped up in one night to come at their ſuppoſed treaſure [u]. When *Titus* was appriſed of this barbarity he would have condemned all thoſe butchering wretches to death; but they proved ſo numerous, that he was forced to ſpare them, and contented himſelf with ſending a proclamation through his camp, that as many as ſhould be ſuſpected thenceforward of that horrid villainy, ſhould be put to immediate death; yet did not this

The city immured.

Horrid butcheries within and without.

[q] Ibid. cap. 10. [r] cap. 11. [s] Ibid. in fin. [t] Ibid. c. 12, & ſeq. [u] cap. 15.

(N) This wall, which was near forty ſtades, or five miles in circuit, was yet carried on with ſuch ſpeed and by ſo many hands, that it was finiſhed in three days; by which one may gueſs at the ardour of the beſiegers to make themſelves maſter of the city (37).

(37) *Ibid. c.* 13.

this deter many of them from it, only they did it more privately than before; so greedy were they of that bewitching metal. All this while the defection increased, more through the inhumanity of the faction within, who made the miseries and dying groans of their starving brethren the subject of their cruel mirth, and carried their barbarity even to the sheathing of their swords in sport on those poor wretches, under pretence of trying their sharpness.

False prophets set up.

WHEN they found therefore, that neither their guards nor severities could prevent the people's flight, they had recourse to another stratagem equally impious and cruel; which was to hire a pack of vile pretenders to prophecy, to go about and encourage the despairing remains of the people to expect a speedy and miraculous deliverance; and this imposture proved a greater expedient with that infatuated nation, than their other precautions. We shall not so far disgust our readers, as to mention what miserable shifts these poor wretches made use of to prolong the sad remains of a life, which ought to have been more loathsome under such circumstances, than the filthy and unnatural aliments they picked up to support it [w]. It was upon this sad and pinching juncture (O), that an unhappy mother was reduced to the extremity of butchering and eating her own child. This lady, whose name was *Miriam* or *Mary*, had taken refuge with a vast number of others in this accursed city from the beginning of the war. As the famine increased, the factious zealots, who, as we observed before, lived now altogether upon the plunder of the helpless, had often forced into her house, and carried off such provisions as she had been able to procure. She had often tried either by prayers to prevail on them, or by the bitterest curses to provoke them, to put an end to her miserable life; but those inhuman monsters still thought it too great a mercy to be granted to her. Filled at length with fury and despair, she snatches her sucking child from her bosom, cuts his throat, and broils him; and having satiated her present hunger, she hid the rest. The smell of it soon drew those voracious carrions again to her house; they threatned to put her to the most excruciating tortures, if she did not discover her provisions to them; upon which she goes and fetches them the sad relicts of her mangled infant, and sets it before them, bids them eat heartily, and not be squeamish, since she, the once tender mother of it, had made no scruple to butcher, dress, and make a meal of it. At the sight of this horrid dish those bloody hell-hounds, who never had till then felt the least spark of remorse or humanity, were seized with such sudden dread, that they went off trembling out of the house, and left the astonished mother in full possession of her dismal fare [x].

A mother eats her own child.

Titus swears the ruin of the city.

WHEN this news were spread through the city, the horror and consternation was as universal as it was inexpressible. It was then, that they began to think themselves forsaken by the divine providence, and to expect the most terrible effects of his anger against the poor remains of their nation; insomuch that they began to envy those that had perished before them, and to wish their turn might come before the sad expected catastrophe. Their fears were but too just; since *Titus*, at the very first hearing of this inhuman deed, swore the total extirpation of the city and people. Since, said he, they have so often refused my proffers of pardon, and have preferred war to peace, rebellion to obedience, and famine, such a dreadful one especially, to plenty, I am determined to bury that cursed metropolis under its ruins, that the sun may never shoot his beams on a city, where the mothers feed on the flesh of their children, and the fathers, no less guilty than they, chose to drive them to such extremities, rather than lay down their arms. In the like manner did that good-natured general expostulate with the Deity for the other cruelties which he saw and heard were committed in that wretched metropolis, especially at the sight of such vast numbers of dead bodies, which, for want of burying room, they were forced to throw down from their walls into

[w] Ibid. l. vii. c. 7. [x] cap. 8.

(O) Nothing could be more dreadful than the famishing condition they were now reduced to. The poor, having nothing to trust to but the *Romans* mercy, or a speedy death, ran all hazards to get out of the city; and if, in their flight and wandering out for herbs, or any other sustenance, they fell into the hands of any of *Titus*'s parties, sent about to guard the avenues, they were unmercifully scourged, and crucified, if they made the least resistance.

The rich within the walls were now forced, tho' in the privatest manner, to give half, or all they were worth, for a measure of wheat, and the middling sort for one of barley. This they were forced to convey into some private places in their houses, and to feed upon it as it was, without daring to pound or grind it, much less, to boil or bake it, lest the noise or smell should draw the rapacious zealots to come and tear it from them. Not that these were reduced to any real want of provisions, but they had a double end in this barbarous plunder, viz. the starving what they cruelly styled all useless persons and the keeping their own stores in reserve.

into the adjacent vallies; taking heaven to witneſs, that he was innocent of all thoſe
a horrid calamities which that infatuated nation had brought upon themſelves, and might have prevented by a timely ſubmiſſion [y] (P).

THIS dreadful action happened about the end of *July*, by which time the *Romans*, having purſued their attacks with freſh vigour, made themſelves maſters of the fortreſs *Antonia*; which obliged the *Jews* to ſet fire to thoſe ſtately galleries which joined it to the temple, leſt they ſhould afford an eaſy paſſage to the beſiegers into this laſt [z]. *Fort Antonia taken.*

About the ſame time *Titus* with much difficulty got materials (Q) for raiſing new mounds and terraces, in order to haſten the ſiege, and ſave, if poſſible, the ſad remains of that once glorious city and nation; but his pity proved ſtill worſe and
b worſe beſtowed on thoſe obſtinate wretches, who only became the more furious and deſperate by it. *Titus* at length cauſed fire to be ſet to the gates, after having had a very bloody encounter, in which his men were repulſed with loſs. The *Jews* were ſo terrified at it, that they ſuffered themſelves to be devoured by the flames without putting a helping hand, either to extinguiſh them or ſave themſelves [a]. About the ſame time *Matthias* the high-prieſt, who had encouraged the people to introduce *Simon* into the city, met with a requital worthy of that monſter of cruelty, being firſt tortured, and then condemned to death, together with three of his ſons, the fourth having happily conveyed himſelf out of reach. The pretence was, their holding correſpondence with the *Romans*, and the reverend old pontiff only begged as the
c laſt favour, that he might be put to death before his ſons, but was denied both that and common burial. *Ananias* with about ſeventeen perſons more of rank and merit, was put to death after them [b]; beſides many more, for having been caught weeping for their deceaſed friends. All this while *Joſephus* did not ceaſe exhorting them to ſurrender, to repreſent to them the dreadful conſequences of an obſtinate reſiſtance, and to aſſure them, that it was out of his mere compaſſion to them that he thus hazarded his own life to ſave theirs: he received one day ſuch a wound in his head by a ſtone from the battlements, as laid him for dead on the ground. The *Jews* ſallied out immediately to have ſeized on his body, but the *Romans* proved too quick and ſtrong for them, and carried him off [c] (R). *Gates ſet on fire.* *Matthias put to death.* *Joſephus ſwooned.*

d By this time the two factions within, but eſpecially that of *John*, having plundered rich and poor of all they had, fell foul alſo on the treaſury of the temple, whence *John* took a great quantity of golden utenſils he found there, together with thoſe magnificent gifts that had been preſented to that ſacred place by the *Jewiſh* kings, by *Auguſtus*, *Livia*, and many other foreign princes, and melted them all to his own uſe. The repoſitories of the ſacred oil, which was to maintain the lamps, and of the wine, which was reſerved to accompany the uſual ſacrifices, were likewiſe ſeized upon, and turned into common uſe, and the laſt of this to ſuch exceſs, as to make himſelf and his party drunk with *The temple plundered.*

[y] Ibid. in fin. [z] Ibid. cap. 5, & ſeq. [a] cap. 9. [b] cap. 15. [c] Ibid.

(P) We have thus epitomized at one view what *Joſephus* has ſcattered in ſeveral chapters of this and the foregoing book, of the dreadful effects of this famine, that it might not for the future interrupt the thread of the ſiege, and deſtruction of the city, temple, and nation, which we ſhall now haſten to bring to a concluſion.

All that needs be added to make up the ſad account of this calamity is, that even thoſe, who, at the hazard of their lives, got ſafe to the *Romans* and were well received of them, did for the generality meet with their deaths in the plenty of proviſions which they found there. Many of them expired with the meat in their mouths; others fell into dropſies and other diſtempers, or quite loſt the uſe of their limbs.

(Q) The greateſt part of thoſe that had ſerved hitherto for the ſiege, were either conſumed, or rendered unfit for ſervice. The ſuburbs and adjacent parts of *Jeruſalem*, which abounded with the moſt beautiful gardens, orchards, and greateſt variety of fruit and other trees, had been already ſtripped of all their ornaments to ſerve to the ſiege, and were now reduced into a wilderneſs. *Titus* therefore could not carry on his works with the ſame ſpeed and vigour, becauſe he was forced to ſend his men for freſh timber and other materials, at a great diſtance, even ſo far as ninety ſtades, or between eleven and twelve miles off.

(R) *Joſephus*, by his own account, ſeems to have led but a ſad life between the *Romans* and his own countrymen. Theſe looked upon him as a vile apoſtate, a traytor to his God and country: had impriſoned his (the *Greek* ſays, father, but the ſequel ſhews it to have been his) mother, and made her ſuffer many hardſhips; and would have ſpared no cruelties againſt him, if they could have caught him in their hands.

On the other ſide, the *Roman* officers looked upon him as a faithleſs wretch, who, under pretence of going to exhort the beſieged to ſurrender, did what he could to encourage them to hold out to the laſt extremity; inſomuch, that ſeveral of them did not ſcruple to accuſe him before *Titus* of this double dealing; but happily for him, the general had conceived too good an opinion of him to harbour any ſuch ſuſpicion, and ſtill vindicated him againſt his accuſers (38).

(38) *In vita ſua.*

with it. All this while, not only the zealots, but many of the people, were still under such an infatuation, that though the fortress *Antonia* was lost, as we have hinted already, and nothing left but the temple, which the *Romans* were making ready to batter down, yet they could not persuade themselves, that God would suffer that holy place to be taken by heathens, and were still expecting some sudden and miraculous deliverance. Even that vile monster *John*, who commanded there, either seemed confident of it, or else endeavoured to make them think him so. For when *Josephus* was sent for the last time to upbraid his obstinately exposing that sacred building, and the miserable remains of God's people, to sudden and sure destruction, he only answered him with the bitterest invectives, adding, that he was defending the Lord's vineyard, which he was sure could not be taken by any human force. *Josephus* did in vain remind him of the many ways by which he had polluted both city and temple, and in particular of the seas of blood which he caused to be shed in both those sacred places, and which, he assured him from the old prophecies, were a certain sign and fore-runner of their speedy surrender and destruction (S). *John* remained as inflexible, as if all the prophets had assured him of a deliverance, which shews the sad effects of a judicial infatuation. However, a great number of the people were so moved by *Josephus*'s discourse, that they fled presently after to the *Romans*, and amongst them some persons of rank and figure, particularly *Joseph* the son of *Cabbi* and *Jesus* the son of *Dammeus*, who had been both high-priests. *Titus* gave them a gracious reception, and sent them to *Gophna*, a place situated between *Samaria* and *Lydda*, till the conclusion of the war; but he was forced to send for them back, and contradict a report, which the factious had cunningly spread, of their having been put to death [d].

The besieged still infatuated.

Josephus's *speech to them.*

At length *Titus*, foreseeing the inevitable ruin of that stately edifice, which he was still extremely desirous to save, vouchsafed even himself to speak to them, and to persuade them to surrender. But the factious, looking upon this condescension as the effects of his fear, rather than generosity, only grew the more furious upon it, and forced him at last to come to those extremities, which he had hitherto endeavoured to avoid. That his army, which was to attack the temple, might have the freer passage towards it through the castle *Antonia*, he caused a considerable part of the wall to be pulled down and levelled, which proved so very strong, that it took him up seven whole days, by which time they were far advanced in the month of *July*.

The daily sacrifice interrupted.

IT was on the seventeenth day of that month, as all *Josephus*'s copies have it (T), that the daily sacrifice ceased for the first time, since its restoration by the brave *Maccabitish* chief, mentioned in a former section †, there being no proper person left in the temple to offer them up. *Titus* caused the factious to be severely upbraided for it, exhorted *John* to set up who he would to perform that office, rather than suffer the service of God to be set aside; and then challenged him and his party to come out of the temple and fight on a more proper ground, and thereby save that sacred edifice from the fury of the *Roman* troops [e]. When nothing could prevail on them, they began to set again on fire the gallery, that yielded a communication between the temple and the castle *Antonia*. The *Jews*, as we have hinted before, had already burnt

[d] Cap. 16. † Sect. III. p. 61, c. [e] Ibid. l. vii, c. 4,

(S) He alluded probably to the eleventh and following chapters of *Zechary*, of which we have given some hint a little higher; or it may be perhaps that he had an eye to the doom which Christ had pronounced against that murdering and apostate city, of which he saw the far greater part already accomplished enough to assure him of the rest. For, as we have elsewhere observed, it is scarcely to be supposed, but that such a man as *Josephus* had more than once conversed with some christians, who might have apprised him of it, or, as an historian, he might have read it in some one of the gospels.

(T) A modern critic supposes an error to be in that date, and that it was originally written the seventh or tenth of that month (39). But besides, that it is seventeen in all copies of *Josephus*, the *Jews* have kept their fast in memory of this cessation on that very day ever since (40).

This daily sacrifice called by the *Jews* תָּמִיד *Thamid*, by the *Greeks* ἀδιάλειπτος, and by the *Latins juge*, consisted of two lambs, the one of which was offered in the morning towards sun-rising, after the burning of the sacred incense, and the other in the evening, or, as the *Hebrew* hath it, between the two evenings, that is, between three in the afternoon and sun-setting. It was a burnt-offering, and was therefore set on a slow fire, that it might be the longer in burning. We have spoken of it in a former volume †, to which we refer.

All that we need to add is, that if the *Jews* have appointed their fasts right, the ceasing of it here was on the same day on which *Moses* broke the two tables, the city of *Jerusalem* was destroyed, the book of the law burnt by *Aphsathomos* (*Epistemon*) and the statue of *Jupiter* set up in the temple, as the reader may see in the three authors last quoted.

(39) *Tillemont. not. in ruin Jud.* 35.

(40) *Vid. Mebillath, Tabanith, c.* 12. *part. ult. Maimon. Helcath, Tabanith, c.* 5. *Buxt. Synag. Jud. c.* 30.

† *See Vol. I. p.* 623, b, c. 629, a, & (N).

burnt about twenty cubits of it in length; but this second blaze, which was likewise
a encouraged by the beſieged, conſumed about fourteen more; after which they beat down what remained ſtanding. On the twenty-ſeventh of *July*, the *Jews*, having filled part of the weſtern portico with combuſtible matter, made a kind of a flight, upon which ſome of the forwardeſt of the *Romans* having ſcaled up to the top, theſe ſet fire to it, which flamed with ſuch ſudden fury, that many of them were conſumed in it, and the reſt, venturing to jump down from the battlements, were cruſhed to death. *Artorius* was the only one that eſcaped by a ſtratagem (U) [f]. *Romans out-witted.*

On the very next day, *Titus* having ſet fire to the north gallery, which incloſed the outer court of the temple, from fort *Antonia* to the valley of *Cedron*, got an eaſy *Fire ſet to the temple gates.*
b admittance into it, and forced the beſieged into that of the prieſts. He tried in vain ſix days to batter down one of the galleries of that precinct with an *Helepolis* (W); he was forced to mount his battering rams on the terrace, which was raiſed by this time; and yet the ſtrength of this wall was ſuch, that it eluded the force of theſe alſo, though others of his troops were buſy in ſapping it. When they found that neither rams nor ſapping could gain ground, they bethought themſelves of ſcaling, but were vigorouſly repulſed, and with the loſs of ſome colours and a number of men. When *Titus* therefore found that his deſire of ſaving that building was like to coſt ſo many lives, he ſet fire to the gates, which, being plated with ſilver, burnt all that night, whilſt the metal dropped down in the melting. The flame ſoon communi-
c cated itſelf to the porticos and galleries, which the beſieged beheld without offering to ſtop it, but contented themſelves with ſending whole vollies of impotent curſes againſt the *Romans*. This was done on the eighth of *Auguſt*, and on the next day, *Titus*, having given orders to extinguiſh the fire, called a council, to determine whe- Titus *calls a council.*
ther the remainder of the temple (X) ſhould be ſaved or demoliſhed. That general was ſtill for the former, and moſt of the reſt declared for the latter, and alledged, that it was no longer a temple, but a ſcene of war and ſlaughter, and that the *Jews* would never be at reſt, as long as any part of it was left ſtanding; but when they found *Titus* ſtifly bent on preſerving ſo noble an edifice, againſt which he told them he could have no quarrel, they all came over to his mind. The next day, *Auguſt* the 10th, was
d therefore determined for a general aſſault, and the night before the *Jews* made two deſperate ſallies on the *Romans*, in the laſt of which, theſe, being timely ſuccoured by *Titus*, beat them back into their incloſure [g].

But whether this laſt *Jewiſh* effort exaſperated the beſiegers, or which is more *The temple ſet on fire.*
likely, as *Joſephus* thinks, puſhed by the hand of providence, one of the *Roman* ſoldiers of his own accord, took up a blazing firebrand, and, getting on his comrade's ſhoulders, threw it into one of the apartments that ſurrounded the ſanctuary, through a window, and immediately ſet the whole north-ſide on a flame up to the third ſtory, in the ſecond year of *Veſpaſian*, the twenty-firſt of king *Agrippa*, and on the ſame fatal day and month in which it had been formerly burnt by *Nebuchadnezzar* [h].
e *Titus*, who was gone to reſt himſelf a-while in his pavilion, was awaked at the noiſe, Titus *enters into the ſanctuary.*
and ran immediately to give orders to have the fiire extinguiſhed. He called, prayed, threatened, and even caned his men in vain; the confuſion was ſo great, and the ſoldiers ſo obſtinately bent upon deſtroying all that was left, that he was neither heard nor minded. Thoſe that flocked thither from the camp, inſtead of obeying his orders, were buſy, either in killing the *Jews*, or in increaſing the flames. When *Titus* obſerved, that all his endeavours were vain, he entered into the ſanctuary and the moſt holy place, in which he found ſtill ſuch rich and ſumptuous utenſils and other riches, as even exceeded all that had been told him of it. Out of the former he ſaved the golden candleſtick, the table of ſhew-bread, the altar of perfumes, all of pure

[f] Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 6. [g] Ibid. c. 9, & 10. [h] Conf. 2 Kings xxv. & Joseph. ubi ſupra, c. 9. in fin.

(U) This ſoldier obſerving one of his companions below, named *Lucius*, promiſed to make him his heir, if he would catch him in his fall. He did ſo, and ſaved *Artorius*, but was himſelf cruſhed by his weight (41).

(W) This was a kind of battering engine, its name ſignifies *a town-taker*. We have deſcribed it in a former volume *.

(X) That is, the ſanctuary and moſt holy place, with all the chambers, galleries, &c. thereto belonging, as the reader may ſee them deſcribed in a former ſection. Among thoſe who were for deſtroying it was *Tiberius Alexander*, probably the ſame apoſtate *Jew*, who had been prætor of *Judæa*, and was now commander of the *Roman* legions.

(41) *Bell. ibid. lib.* vii. *c.* vi.

* *Vol.* III. *p.* 140, a. 142, (B).

pure gold, and the book or volume of the law, wrapped up in a rich gold tiſſue; a but in the latter, he found no ut nſils, becauſe, in all probability, they had not made a freſh ark, ſince that of *Solomon* had been loſt. Upon his coming out of that ſacred place, ſome other ſoldiers ſet fire to it, and obliged thoſe who had ſtayed behind to come out; they all fell foul on the plunder of it, tearing even the gold plating off the gates and timber work, and carried off all the coſtly utenſils, robes, &c. they found in it, inſomuch, that there was not one of them that did not inrich himſelf by it [i].

A horrid maſſacre.

A HORRID maſſacre followed ſoon after, in which a great many thouſands periſhed, ſome by the flames, others by the fall from the battlements, and a greater number by the enemy's ſword, which deſtroyed all it met with, without diſtinction of age, b ſex, or quality. Among them were upwards of ſix thouſand perſons, who had been ſeduced thither by a falſe prophet, who promiſed them, that they ſhould find a ſpeedy and miraculous relief there on that very day. Some of them remained five whole days on the top of the walls, and afterwards threw themſelves at the general's mercy; but were anſwered, that they had out-ſtayed the time, and were led to execution (Y). They carried their fury to the burning of all the treaſure-houſes of the place, though they were full of the richeſt furnitures, plate, veſtments, and other things of value, which had been laid up in thoſe places for ſecurity. In a word, they did not ceaſe burning and butchering, till they had deſtroyed all, except two of the temple gates and that part of the court which was deſtined for the women †. In memory of this 5 deſtruction, and of that of *Nebuchadnezzar*, they keep a ſolemn faſt on the ninth of the month *Ab*, anſwering in part to our *Auguſt*, which laſts full twenty-four hours, during which time they neither eat, drink, or uſe the leaſt refreſhment; but the ſtricteſt of them keep themſelves barefoot, in prayers and tears, from ſun-ſetting to the next ſun-ſet [k].

The factious ſuit rejected.

IN the mean time the ſeditious having made ſuch a vigorous puſh, that they eſcaped the fury of the *Romans*, at leaſt for the preſent, and retired into the city, they found all the avenues of it ſo well guarded every-where, that there was no poſſibility left for them to get out; which obliged them to ſecure themſelves as well as they could on the ſouth-ſide of it, from whence *Simon* and *John* of *Giſchala* ſent to deſire a parley d with *Titus*. They were anſwered, that though they had been the cauſe of all this blood-ſhed and ruin, yet they ſhould have their lives ſpared, if they laid down their arms, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. To that they replied, that they had engaged themſelves by the moſt ſolemn oaths never to ſurrender, and therefore only begged leave to retire into the mountains with their wives and children; which inſolence did ſo exaſperate the *Roman* general, that he cauſed a herald to bid them ſtand to their defence; for that not one of them ſhould be ſpared, ſince they had rejected his laſt offers of pardon. Immediately after this, he abandoned the city to the fury of his ſoldiers, who fell forthwith on plundering it, ſetting fire every-where, and murdering all that fell into their hands (Z); whilſt the factious that were left went e and fortified themſelves in the royal palace, where they killed eight thouſand *Jews*, who had taken refuge there [l].

In

[i] Ibid. & ſeq. † De hac vid. ſect. v. p. 146. [k] Vid. Mehilath, Tahanith, ſub Menſ. Ab Maimon, Buxtorf, & al. ſup. citat. [l] Bell. ubi ſupra, c. 13.

(Y) Probably to be crucified; for *Joſephus* tells us there, that in his return from *Tekoah*, he obſerved a number of them faſtened each to a croſs, and ſtill alive; among whom were three of his acquaintance, whoſe lives he obtained of *Titus*, and ordered them immediately to be taken down, and their wounds to be put under the care of able ſurgeons. He adds, that only one of them outlived it, the other two died under their phyſicians hands.

(Z) *Joſephus* tells us (42), however, that he ſpared the family of *Izates*, king of *Adiabene*, of whom we have already ſpoke, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, who came and ſurrendered themſelves to his mercy, but he kept them ſtill priſoners.

He likewiſe diſmiſſed above forty thouſand of the inferior ſort, who came and implored his pardon, and gave them leave to go and ſettle where they would. The truth is, that they had already gorged themſelves with ſo much blood, that the ſtreams which ran along the ſtreets did even put the fire out. And as for the priſoners, they were ſo very numerous already, that they could not find buyers for them, tho' they offered them at the loweſt prices (43); ſo that one would have thought it high time for a prince of that excellent character to have wreaked his fury only on the factious zealots, and to have ſpared the reſt. But in all this he was acting more like a ſcourge ſent from above, againſt a rebellious nation, than according to his own natural inclination; and it is what he rightly acknowledged, when his army congratulated him on this arduous and glorious conqueſt *.

(42) *In vita ſua.* (43) *Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra, c.* 15. * *Vid. Philoſtrat. in vit. Apollon. l.* vi. *c.* 14.

The high city taken.

In the mean time great preparations were making for a vigorous attack on the
a upper city, eſpecially on the royal palace; and this took them up from the twentieth of *Auguſt* to the ſeventh of *September*, during which time great numbers came and made their ſubmiſſion to *Titus*, among whom were the forty thouſand citizens mentioned in the laſt note, ſome of the *Edomites*, and two prieſts, who, upon promiſe of being ſpared, diſcovered to him a private place in the wall of the temple, where they found two candleſticks, ſome tables, cups, and other veſſels of maſſive gold, with many precious ſtones, rich garments, and other coſtly things. By this time the warlike engines plied ſo furiouſly on the factious, that they were taken with a ſudden panic, and inſtead of fleeing into the towers of *Hippicos*, *Phaſael*, or *Mariamne*, which *Year of the flood* 3068.
b were yet untaken, and ſo ſtrong, that nothing but famine could have reduced them; they run like madmen towards *Siloah*, with a deſign to have attacked the wall of cir- *Of Chriſt* 73 *or* 70.
cumvallation, and to have eſcaped out of the city; but being there repulſed, they
were forced to go and hide themſelves in the public ſinks and common ſewers, ſome *The number and diſpoſal of the priſoners.*
one way, and ſome another. All the reſt the *Romans* could catch were put to the ſword, and the city was ſet on fire. This was on the eighth of *September*, when the city was taken and entered by *Titus*. He would have put an end to the maſſacre, but his men killed all, except the moſt vigorous, whom they ſhut up in the *porch of the women*, mentioned a little higher. *Fronto*, who had the care of them, reſerved the youngeſt and moſt beautiful for *Titus*'s triumph, and ſent all that were above ſeventeen years of age into *Egypt*, to be employed in ſome public works there; and
c a great number of others were ſent into ſeveral cities of *Syria* and other provinces, to be expoſed on the public theatres, to exhibit fights, or be devoured by wild beaſts [m]. The number of theſe priſoners amounted to ninety-ſeven thouſand, beſides about eleven thouſand more of others, who were either ſtarved through neglect, or ſtarved themſelves through ſullenneſs and deſpair (A).

We have already had occaſion to mention the number of the ſlain, as well as of the priſoners, according to *Joſephus*. *Suetonius* and *Cornelius Nepos* do indeed make the former a great deal leſs; they reckon but ſix hundred thouſand of them in all; but conſidering the diſtance of time and place in which they wrote, it will be eaſily
d granted, that they could not be ſo well acquainted with it as *Joſephus*, who was a *Jew* and an eye-witneſs. Whether this laſt has exaggerated it in compliment to *Titus* and the *Romans*, we will not pretend to ſay. A curious author has ſince taken the pains to make a freſh computation out of him of all that periſhed in the ſeveral places, throughout that kingdom and out of it, from the beginning to the concluſion of the war †; in which we believe our readers will be glad to ſee the whole amount of the ſeveral bloody articles, as it were, at one view. They are as follows:

At *Jeruſalem*, by *Florus*'s order	630	Jews *killed, in*
By the inhabitants of *Cæſarea* in hatred to the *Jews*	20,000	*and out of*
e At *Scythopolis* in *Syria*	30,000	Judæa.
By the inhabitants of *Aſcalon* in *Paleſtine*	2,500	
By thoſe of *Ptolemais*	2,000	
At *Alexandria* in *Egypt* under *Tiberius Alexander*, an apoſtate *Jew*	50,000	
At *Damaſcus*	10,000	
At the taking of *Joppa*	8,400	
In the mountain of *Cabulo*	2,000	
In a fight at *Aſcalon*	10,000	
In an ambuſh	8,000	
At the taking of *Apheck*	15,000	
f Upon mount *Garizzim*	11,600	
Drowned at *Joppa* by a ſudden ſtorm	4,200	
Slain at *Tarichæa*	6,500	
Slain or killed themſelves at *Gamala*, where none were ſaved but two ſiſters	9,000	
Killed in their flight from *Giſchala*	2,000	
At the ſiege of *Jotapa*, where *Joſephus* commanded	30,000	

Of

[m] Ibid. c. 16, & 17. † Justus Lipsius de Conſtantia, lib. ii. c. 21.

(A) *Joſephus* was by this time in ſuch high favour with *Titus*, that he obtained the liberty of ſeveral of his friends and relations, and in particular of his brother *Matthias*, without any ranſom. That emperor had likewiſe given him leave to ſave what he thought fit out of the ruins of the city and temple, but he contented himſelf with the volume of the ſacred writings.

Of the *Gadarenes*, beſides vaſt numbers that drowned themſelves	13,000 a
In the villages of *Idumæa*	10,000
At *Geraſium*	1,000
At *Macheron*	1,700
In the deſart of *Jardes*	3000
Slew themſelves at *Maſſada*	960
In *Cyrene* by the governor *Catulus*, of which we ſhall ſpeak by and by	3000
Periſhed at *Jeruſalem* by ſword, famine, peſtilence, and during the ſiege	1100,000
According to this account the whole amounts to	1337,490

Beſides a vaſt multitude that died in the caves, woods, wilderneſſes, common-ſewers, b in baniſhment, and many other ways, of whom no computation could be made; and ten thouſand that were ſlain at *Jotapa*, more than our author has reckoned. For *Joſephus* mentions expreſly forty thouſand, but he only thirty thouſand.

To theſe, if we add the ninety-ſeven thouſand priſoners, doomed in all appearance to a captivity infinitely worſe than death, and the eleven thouſand, which, as we hinted above, periſhed either through the neglect of their keepers, or their own ſullen deſpair, the amount will be above one million four hundred and forty-five thouſand. What ſtill more aggravates this deſtruction is, that the far greateſt part of them were ſtrangers, that is, were *Jews*, who, as we obſerved a little higher, were written to, and invited from remote parts of the world, even from beyond the river *Euphrates*, c by their brethren at *Jeruſalem*, to come and aſſiſt them in the defence of their religion and liberties; their country, city, and temple; inſtead of which they met with the moſt dreadful deaths there, and ſhared in the common ruin. Thus did the divine providence order it, that they, who, by their ſtrenuous oppoſition of the goſpel in all the parts of their diſperſion, had ſhared in the guilt of the crucifiers of its divine author, ſhould be involved in their puniſhment.

Titus, as we have ſeen, acknowledged more than once the hand of providence, both in his extraordinary ſucceſs againſt them, and in the invincible obſtinacy with which they, to the laſt, preferred their total deſtruction to his oft repeated proffers of mercy. *Joſephus* hath ſcarce a chapter in which he doth not aſcribe all theſe dreadful c calamities, and the final ruin of his nation, city, and temple, to an over-ruling power, to the offended deity, or to the ſins of the people: but no-where more pathetically than in that chapter, in which, beſides the old prophecies, he ſums up a number of dreadful warnings ſent before-hand, not ſo much to reduce them to obedience, as to let them diſcern the almighty hand, that was now pouring down the moſt dreadful phials of his anger againſt them. We have already taken notice of that extraordinary country-fellow *Ananus*, who had kept pronouncing woe and deſtruction to them, during ſeven whole years. It will not be amiſs to cloſe this ſad cataſtrophe with ſome other ſignal ones, out of the ſame *Jewiſh* hiſtorian, which were no leſs remarkable than dreadful.

Strange prodigies.

OF this claſs was that ſtrange comet, which hung over *Jeruſalem* one whole year, in the ſhape of a ſword: the extraordinary light that was ſeen round the altar at the ninth hour of the night, upon the celebrating of the paſchal feaſt, and which was looked upon by the ignorant as a good omen, but by the wiſer ſort as a forerunner of a dreadful war: a cow delivered of a lamb, as ſhe was led to the altar to be ſacrificed: the eaſtern gate of the temple made of ſolid braſs, and ſo heavy, that it required twenty pair of ſtout hands to open and ſhut it and was flung open in the middle of the night, though faſtened with ſtrong bolts and bars: the air before ſunſet filled with chariots and armed men, which paſſed all over that country, and for the truth of which *Joſephus* appeals to ſeveral living witneſſes, who beheld the dreadful ſight; and laſtly the voice, which, after a kind of rumbling noiſe, was diſtinctly heard by the prieſts, who were going to officiate on the feaſt of pentecoſt, and uttered theſe words articulately, *Let us depart*; *let us depart* *. In ſpight of all which, the *Jews*, as we have ſeen, continued as hardened as ever, and liſtened only to thoſe lying prophets, who flattered them with the hopes of a ſudden and miraculous deliverer. But to return to the ſiege:

Simon and John taken.

WHILST the ſoldiers were ſtill buſy in burning the remains of the city, and viſiting all the ſinks, jakes, and common ſewers, where they found and killed numbers of other poor creatures who had hid themſelves, *Simon* and *John*, the two grand rebels,

* Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra, c. 12.

a rebels, were found and brought to *Titus*, who ordered them to be reſerved for his triumph. *John*, being pinched with hunger, came out firſt, and having begged his life, obtained it, but was condemned to perpetual impriſonment. *Simon*, whoſe retreat was better ſtored, held out till towards the end of *October*, when neceſſity forced him out. He appeared on the ſudden on the ruins of the temple, in a white robe and a purple cloak. The *Romans* were at firſt ſurpriſed at him; but underſtanding ſoon after who he was, *Terentius Rufus*, who was left commander, ſeized on him, and ſent him to *Cæſarea*, whither *Titus* was got by this time, and from whence he was conveyed with his bloody collegues to *Rome*, to adorn the conqueror's triumph [n].

As ſoon as the *Romans* had ended their deſtructive work of burning and maſſacring, *The city raxed to the ground.*

b *Titus* ſet them on to demoliſh the city, with all its noble ſtructures, fortifications, palaces, towers, walls, and other ornaments and fortifications, down to the level of the ground, according to Chriſt's expreſs prediction. He left nothing ſtanding but a piece of the weſtern wall, and the three towers of *Hippicos*, *Phaſael*, and *Mariamne*, the former to ſerve as a rampart to his tenth legion, which he left there, and the three latter to give future ages ſome idea of the ſtrength of the whole city, and of the ſkill and valour of its conqueror. His orders were ſo punctually executed, that, except thoſe few buildings above-mentioned, there was not ſo much as any remains left, that could ſerve as an index, that that ground had been once inhabited (B). Inſomuch, that when he came to paſs through it, in his way from *Cæſarea* to *Alex-*

c *andria*, in order to embarque for *Rome*, he could not refrain himſelf from ſhedding plenty of tears at the ſight of ſo dreadful a devaſtation, and curſing the wretches who had forced him to be the author of it [o].

It is not our buſineſs to follow that emperor to his capital, or to deſcribe the magnificence of his triumph, the greateſt which that city ever ſaw: that will be beſt done in the enſuing *Roman* hiſtory. All that is proper to be ſaid on that head here is, that *John* and *Simon*, at the head of ſeven hundred of the handſomeſt *Jewiſh* captives, were made to adorn the triumphal chair; after which *Simon*, having been dragged through the ſtreets, with a rope about his neck, and ſeverely ſcourged, was put to death with ſome other *Jewiſh* leaders, and *John* was ſent into perpetual impriſonment (C) [p]. Titus's *triumph.*

d *Titus* had left three caſtles ſtill untaken, namely thoſe of *Herodion* and *Maſſada* on this, and that of *Macheron* on the other ſide of *Jordan*. The firſt of them was ſoon after taken by capitulation by *Lucilius Baſſus*, who had been appointed lieutenant of *Judæa*. He went preſently after at the head of a good number of troops to beſiege that of *Macheron*, which was a very ſtrong place, and likely to have held out a long time. But a lucky accident, which the reader may ſee in the margin (D), obliged the beſieged to Simon *and* John's *fate.*

[n] Ibid. & ſeq. [o] cap. 18, & ſeq. [p] cap. 24.

(B) The *Jewiſh* tradition adds, that *Titus* cauſed the plow to be driven over it; which ceremony, according to the *Roman* law, condemned the ground to perpetual deſolation. But that, as well as *Joſephus*'s account, ſeems exaggerated, ſince there is great reaſon to believe, there were ſtill many conſiderable ruins to be ſeen even in the emperor *Adrian*'s time, as we may have occaſion to ſhew in the *Roman* hiſtory.

(C) *Titus*'s triumph was further adorned with a great number of trophies brought from *Judea*; among the principal of which were thoſe which had been taken out of the ſanctuary, ſuch as the golden table of ſhew-bread, which weighed ſeveral talents; the ſeven branch candleſtic, a rich and curious piece of art; the roll or volume of the law, covered with a coſtly gold cloth, which was carried the laſt of the three, as the moſt venerable of all the trophies. The two former *Titus* cauſed to be placed in the temple of *Peace*, which his father had built; the latter, together with ſeveral curious and coſtly veils of the temple and other rich furniture, he conveyed into his own palace (45).

There are ſtill ſome coins extant of that emperor, ſtamped with a trophy and triumphant chariot, and of his father, with the image of a woman ſitting ſorrowful under a palm-tree, with the inſcription of *Judæa Capta*; with ſome others coined in the twenty-firſt year of king *Agrippa*, with theſe words in *Greek*, Veſpaſian *emperor, and* Cæſar. Judæa *was taken in the twenty-firſt of* Agrippa.

To theſe medals we may add ſome fragments in baſs-relief, repreſenting *Veſpaſian* and his ſon *Titus*'s triumph, and on which is ſtill to be diſtinguiſhed the ſeven-branch candleſtic, with other ſacred utenſils; ſome have pretended alſo to diſcover the ark in it; but we have already ſeen, that there was no ſuch thing in the moſt holy place; and it is moſt likely to be only the table of the ſhew-bread, which was not altogether unlike it; but the misfortune is, that time has ſo defaced this noble monument, that is is not eaſy to diſcover any thing in it with any certainty, except the candleſtic above-mentioned.

(D) There was in that caſtle a young nobleman highly eſteemed for his valour, who, after having given the beſiegers a ſtout repulſe in a ſally, unfortunately ſtrayed out of the gates to ſpeak to the people on the wall by way of bravado. An *Egyptian* then in the *Roman* army, came ſwiftly behind him unperceived, took him up in his arms, and carried him off.

When *Baſſus* had got the noble youth in his power, he cauſed him to be ſtripped naked and ſeverely ſcourged, in the view of the beſieged, who filled imme-

(45) *Bell. Jud. l.* vii. *c.* 24.

to ſurrender, upon condition that they ſhould have liberty to retire whither they pleaſed; a which being readily granted to them, they went and joined ſome of their revolted brethren, who had ſheltered themſelves in the foreſt of *Jardes*. Hither *Baſſus* came, and attacked them, and, after a deſperate combat on both ſides, totally defeated them, with *Judas* their chief, who had ſaved himſelf out of *Jeruſalem*, through one of the aqueducts of that city [q].

Death having prevented *Baſſus* from putting an end to the war, *Flavius Silva*, his ſucceſſor, aſſembled all his forces to attack *Maſſada*, now the only remaining forb treſs in the rebels hands. The place was prodigiouſly ſtrong both by art and nature, well ſtored with all proviſions, and defended with a good number of ſicarii and aſſaſſins; at the head of whom was one *Eleazar*, the grandſon of *Judas* the *Gaulonite*, often mentioned in this and a former ſection. *Silva* having in vain tried his engines and battering rams againſt it, bethought himſelf of ſurrounding it with a high and ſtrong wall, and then ordered fire to be ſet to the gates. The wind favouring him, puſhed the flame ſo fiercely againſt the *Jews*, that *Eleazar*, in a kind of deſpair, perſuaded them firſt to kill all their wives and children, and next to chuſe ten men by lot who ſhould kill all the reſt; and laſtly, one out of the ſurviving ten to diſpatch them and himſelf, which was accordingly executed out of hand; only this laſt man was ordered to ſet fire to the place before he finiſhed this bloody tragedy. On the next morning the *Romans*, who were preparing to ſcale the place, were ſtrangely ſurprized c to ſee and hear nothing move; upon which they made ſuch a hideous outcry, that two women, who had concealed themſelves from the maſſacre in ſome aqueduct, came out, and told them the tragical end of the beſieged, which put an end to that dreadful war [r]. *Veſpaſian* ordered the *Jewiſh* lands to be ſold to his own uſe (E), and all the *Jews* within the *Roman* empire to pay the uſual tribute of half a ſhekel, or two drachms, to his treaſury, which they were before obliged to pay to that of the ſanctuary [s].

The temple and holy city thus deſtroyed and levelled with the ground, and the whole nation either miſerably buried under its ruins, or diſperſed into other countries, might, one would think, have opened the eyes of the poor remains of that once favoured people, and cruſhed at once all hopes and expectation of any other deliverer, but him whom they had rejected and crucified. Many of them did indeed do ſo, but the far greater part remained in their infatuated ſtate, and, according to Chriſt's own prediction, have been diſperſed ever ſince over all the world, to atteſt his truth and their own obdurate blindneſs, till the happy time comes when the veil ſhall be taken off their eyes. When that will be, is one of thoſe ſecrets which God has been pleaſed to leave as yet unrevealed; and which it would be vain and preſumptuous to ſearch too curiouſly after. *Euſebius* adds to their ſad cataſtrophe, that, after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, *Veſpaſian* cauſed all the remaining ſprouts of the houſe of *Judah* to be cut off [t], to deprive them at once of all hopes of a deliverer or future Meſſiah. Notwithſtanding which, the zealots made ſeveral attempts to regain their power, firſt in *Egypt*, where it coſt ſome their heads, and cauſed their temple at *Alexandria*, mentioned in a former ſection †, to be quite ſhut up (F) [u]. Next in *Cyrene* of *Libya*, where one of

[q] Cap. 25. [r] Cap. 28. [s] Ibid. c. 26. in fin. [t] Eccleſ. hiſt. l. iii. c. 12. † See pag. 79, e, & (T). [u] Bell. ubi ſupra, c. 30. ad fin.

immediately the air with their cries. *Baſſus* perceiving them ſo moved at the ſight, cauſed a croſs to be erected, and gave them to underſtand, that he would crucify him, unleſs they prevented it by a timely ſurrender. The ſtratagem had the deſired effect; and the *Jews*, not being proof againſt ſo doleful a ſpectacle, choſe to capitulate, and ſoon after ſurrendered the place, on the conditions above-mentioned (46).

(E) He only reſerved the town of *Emmaus*, which he beſtowed on eight hundred of his beſt veterans, to plant a new colony there, and from that time that place took the name of *Nicopolis* (47).

(F) Theſe wretches, which were undoubtedly the relics of the *Gaulonitiſh* faction, ſince even their children ſuffered the ſevereſt torments, rather than acknowledge *Cæſar* for their lord (48), met at firſt with a kind reception from their brethren of *Alexandria*. But they quickly became obnoxious to them by ſowing their leaven of ſedition. To prevent the ill effects of which, they were delivered up to the *Romans*, and ſix hundred of them put to death.

Veſpaſian being appriſed of it, and fearing leſt their *Alexandrian* temple ſhould afford them a freſh pretence of aſſembling themſelves, and raiſing ſome new ſedition in *Egypt*, ſent orders to *Lupus* his governor there to demoliſh it. But he contented himſelf with ſhutting it up. *Paulinus*, who ſucceeded him ſoon after, ſtripped it of all its ornaments and rich furniture, and cauſed the gates of it to be quite ſhut up, to prevent any further worſhip being offered up in it (49).

(46) *Cap.* 25. *ad fin.* (47) *Cap.* 26. (48) *Ibid. cap.* 29. (49) *Cap.* 33. *ad fin.*

a of them, named *Jonathan*, ſet up for a prophet, and perſuaded about two thouſand of his brethren there to follow him into the deſart, where he promiſed to ſhew them wonders, and where *Catullus*, the then governor, cauſed them to be purſued and defeated (G) [w].

FROM that time the *Jewiſh* nation has been diſperſed through, deſpiſed and hated by, all the world, hath gone from one age to another through a ſeries of the greateſt miſeries and perſecutions. We have innumerable inſtances of crowned heads, and even commonwealths, who have ſpared neither the ſevereſt edicts, nor the cruelleſt butcheries againſt them. In a word, *Pagans* and *Mahometans*, as well as *Chriſtians*, tho' ſo oppoſite in other things, have yet, as it were, joined their efforts in vain, to extir-
b minate that unhappy people, whom the divine providence hath nevertheleſs upheld under all thoſe diſadvantages by a kind of miraculous power, and no doubt for a more glorious purpoſe; inſomuch, that, according to a late learned hiſtorian, there are ſtill above three millions of them diſperſed through almoſt every nation and kingdom of the world, and ſtill impatiently ſighing after that glorious time, when God ſhall reſtore them to their priſtine ſtate. But this and ſome other particulars relating to their diſperſions, writings, and the like, will be fully ſeen in the appendix at the end of this volume.

AFTER the reduction of *Jeruſalem* and *Judæa*, *Agrippa* and his ſiſter retired to *Rome*, probably with *Titus*, who was exceſſive fond of both, but eſpecially of *Bere-*
nice. We have ſeen through the courſe of this laſt war how ſerviceable the brother had been to that general, accompanying him in perſon, and aſſiſting him with men and ammunition, for which we are told *Titus* got his kingdom inlarged by the emperor, and procured him prætorian honours. But his extraordinary friendſhip for that prince flowed chiefly from his ſpecial fondneſs for his ſiſter, who now lived with him in his palace, and ruled every thing as if ſhe had been his real wife. We have hinted ſome former reports publicly ſpread concerning her inceſtuous intrigues with her brother, and for which ſhe had given but too good a foundation. *Titus* could hardly be ignorant of it; but her beauty had ſo captivated him, that he overlooked every thing elſe; inſomuch, that he had promiſed her marriage, and would in all probability have kept it, had he not found that the *Romans* were wholly averſe to it, partly on account of her being a *Jeweſs*, and partly on that of her royal deſcent. To pave himſelf therefore the way to the empire, he was forced to diſcard her, *invitus invitam* [x], as *Sueto-*
nius expreſſes it. What became of her afterwards, is not worth inquiring. As for *Agrippa*, he was the laſt of the *Herodian* race that bore the royal title, and is ſuppoſed to have died at *Rome* about the ſeventieth year of his age, and in the ninetieth of *Jeſus Chriſt* [y]. *Joſephus* has this remarkable ſaying on the *Herodian* line, that they all failed within a hundred years [z], though they were at firſt ſo numerous, as we have ſeen them in the genealogy of *Herod the Great*.

THIS was the end of the *Herodian* family, and of the *Jewiſh* nation and polity, and is ſo much the more remarkable, conſidering, that the ſuccinct account we have of it is written by a *Jew* of ſuch extraordinary character, and that the deſtruction of the city and people, eſpecially of their temple, is found upon the whole ſo exactly conformable to the prophecies of Chriſt, denounced againſt them ſo long before. One might have expected, that this ſhould have opened their eyes, to acknowledge theſe as well as the many others we have mentioned in the courſe of this and the laſt ſection, which prove him the Meſſiah, ſince they had ſeen their ſacrifices, ceremonial law, their

[w] Ibid. c. 31. paſſ. [x] Vid. SUETON. in vit. Tit. & Xiphil. ex Dione. JUSTUS TIBERIUS apud Phot. bibl. cod. 33. [y] Tillemont, Ruin des Juifs, Art. 83, & not. 41. [z] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7.

(G) *Jonathan* was taken preſently after, and brought to *Catullus*, before whom he accuſed many of the richeſt *Jews* of having inſtigated him into this impoſture, and whom that greedy governor cauſed to be put to death to the number of three thouſand, and confiſcated all their wealth.

He afterwards obliged that wretch to prefer the ſame indictment againſt thoſe that were at *Rome*, among whom was *Joſephus* the hiſtorian, whom he accuſed to have furniſhed him with arms and money. *Veſpaſian* made ſuch a ſtrict inquiry into the matter, that he eaſily found out the cheat, cauſed *Jonathan* to be cruelly whipped, and then burnt alive, and acquitted the perſons accuſed.

Catullus, though deep in the guilt, was yet pardoned by that emperor; but providence did not ſuffer him to go unpuniſhed; for he was ſoon after ſeized with a panic phrenſy, which made him fancy himſelf ſurrounded with the dreadful ſpectres of thoſe whom he had unjuſtly put to death. He was at length ſeized with an inward intolerable heat, which conſumed his very entrails, and he died in that miſerable condition unpitied (50).

(50) *Cap.* 51

their temple, their royal ſtock of *Judah*, &c. which they till then thought were to laſt for ever, buried, as it were, under the ruin of their metropolis. Inſtead of which, their chief aim and ſtudy has been to find ſalvos againſt theſe pregnant proofs againſt them; to depart from the expoſitions of their ancients, give a new ſenſe to the prophets, and to invent new ſceptres for their royal tribe in ſome unknown parts of the world, in a word, to oppoſe every thing that we urge againſt them, as we ſhall ſhew in the appendix.

In the mean time, it will not be amiſs to take notice, that the *Jews* are no leſs at variance with *Joſephus*, than the chriſtians have admired him. St. *Jerom*, among other praiſes he gives him, calls him *the Livy of the Jews* [a]. *Photius* and others have been equally laviſh of their incenſe; and *Euſebius* adds to the reſt, that he had a ſtatue reared to him in conſideration of his writings [b]. We ſhall not repeat what we have often obſerved of his partiality to his nation and ſacerdotal order, both in this chapter and our firſt volume. But his countrymen had trumped up another *Joſephus*, known by the name of *Bengorion*, whoſe hiſtory is compiled out of the *Ruſinian* verſion of the true *Joſephus*; for he doth not ſeem to have ſeen the original, and has ſtuffed it with the moſt abſurd falſhoods and contradictions to him; and yet the *Jews* give him the largeſt encomiums. In particular *Rabby Than*, who has publiſhed his hiſtory, is not aſhamed to affirm, that all he wrote was juſt and true, without the leaſt falſehood; that his writings come nearer to thoſe of the prophets, than thoſe of any other *Jewiſh* author; that the hand of God was upon him, whilſt he compiled his work, with ſome other commendations, which amount almoſt to blaſphemy [c]. That fabulous author is ſo well known to the learned, that we ſhall ſpend no time in expoſing him. The readers may ſee enough of them in that mutilated edition which *Munſter* has given us of it; though he has concealed a great number of them. But thoſe that have ſeen the full editions that have come out ſince, will find them ſo full of them, that he will readily own, nothing but the greateſt degree of infatuation and perverſeneſs could induce the *Jews* to prefer him to the true one, who, letting aſide his partiality above-mentioned, hath all the marks of a judicious and exact hiſtorian.

[a] De vir. illuſt. c. 13.

[b] Hiſt. eccleſ. l. iii. c. 13.

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CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The History of the Parthians, *from* Arſaces, *to the recovery of the kingdom by the* Perſians.

Parthia described.

a PARTHIA, properly ſo called, was bounded on the eaſt by *Aria*; on the ſouth by *Carmania Deſerta*; on the weſt by *Media*; and on the north by *Hyrcania*. *Ptolemy* divides it into five diſtricts or provinces, *viz.* *Caminſine* or *Camiſene*, *Parthyene*, *Choroane*, *Aiticene*, and *Tabiene*. The ancient geographers enumerate a great many cities in *Parthia*; but thoſe of moſt note were, *Calliope*, *Iſſatis*, *Europum*, known alſo by the names of *Ragæ*, *Europos*, and *Arſace*, *Apamea*, *Heraclea*, *Crenoxia*, *Charax*, *Artacana*, *Aſpa*, *Marriche*, *Rhagæa*, and *Hecatompylos*. The latter was the metropolis of *Parthia*, and the place where the firſt kings of that country reſided; for after they had made themſelves maſters of *Aſſyria*, they abandoned *Hecatompylos*, paſſing the winter at *Cteſiphon*, and the ſummer at *Ecbatan*, or in *Hyrcania*.

b The city of *Cteſiphon* ſtood on the *Tigris*, a little below *Seleucia*, and on the oppoſite bank, in the province of *Chalonitis*, which was the moſt ſoutherly of all *Aſſyria*. This city was founded, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus* [a], by one *Vardanes*, and embelliſhed and fortified by *Pacorus*. Who *Vardanes* was, we know not; but *Valeſius* takes *Pacorus* here ſpoke of to have been the ſon of *Orodes*, whom *Ventidius* defeated. *Polybius* [b], *Tacitus* [c], *Herodotus* [d], and *Strabo* [e] ſpeak of *Cteſiphon* as the metropolis of the whole *Parthian* empire; whereas *Hecatompylos* was only the metropolis of *Parthia* properly ſo called, but nevertheleſs a place of great note, and about nine miles in compaſs. It had a hundred gates, whence it borrowed the name of *Hecatompylos*, as *Polybius* informs us [f]. Moſt of our modern travellers are of opinion,

c that it ſtood on the very ſpot where the preſent city of *Iſpahan* ſtands. *Parthia* is at preſent known by the name of *Airach* or *Erach*, and may be called the royal province of *Perſia*, ſince the king always reſides in it. The chief cities it contains at preſent are, *Caſbin* or *Caſwin*, built on the ruins of the ancient *Arſace*; *Sawa* or *Sava*, *Kom*, *Hamadan*, *Kaſhan*, and *Iſpahan*, which *Holſtenius* [g] takes to be the ancient *Aſta*, contradicting therein moſt of our modern geographers and travellers. The air of *Parthia* was anciently, and is ſtill, very clear and healthy; but the ſoil barren, and not yielding wherewithal to maintain the inhabitants, who were once very numerous, and therefore obliged to tranſplant themſelves into other countries. Upon the death of *Alexander the Great*, it was almoſt intirely neglected, and left as an appen-

d dant to *Media*, none of that prince's commanders caring for the government of ſo poor and barren a province. But we ſhall ſee this ſmall and obſcure province make a great figure in hiſtory, eclipſe all the kingdoms of the eaſt, and become formidable to the *Romans* themſelves, while they were at the height of their glory. But we muſt not here confound *Parthia*, or, as others call it, *Parthyæa* and *Parthyene*, with what the ancients underſtand by the *Parthian* empire. The former was comprized within the narrow bounds which we have deſcribed above; whereas the latter was of a vaſt extent, being bounded on the eaſt by *Indus*; on the weſt by the *Tigris*; on the ſouth by the *Red-ſea*; and on the north by mount *Caucaſus* [h]; ſo that it com-

e prehended *Arachoſia*, *Parthia*, *Aſſyria*, *Perſis*, and *Media*. Theſe wide-ſpreading dominions, were, according to *Pliny* [i], divided by the *Parthian* monarchs into eighteen kingdoms, which they diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *upper* and *lower* kingdoms. The former were eleven, extending from the confines of *Armenia* and the *Caſpian* ſea to the borders of *Scythia*. The other ſeven comprehended the remaining provinces ſubject to the crown of *Parthia*, and were known by the name of the *lower kingdoms*.

Inhabitants.

Some writers are of opinion, that this country was firſt peopled by the *Phetri* or *Petri*, often mentioned in ſcripture [k], and will have the *Parthians* to be deſcended from *Phetruſim* the ſon of *Mizraim*. This may perhaps be true with relation to the firſt

[a] Ammian. Marcell. l. xxiii. c. 20. [b] Polyb. l. v. c. 45. [c] Tacit. l. vi c. 42. [d] Herodian. l. iii. c. 9. [e] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 512. [f] Polyb. l. x. c. 25. [g] Holsten. in Orth. Vide Oros. l. i. c. 2. [i] Plin. l. vi. c. 25. [k] Isai. c. xi. Jerem. c xliv. Ezech. c xxix.

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Parthia described.

a PARTHIA, properly ſo called, was bounded on the eaſt by *Aria*; on the ſouth by *Carmania Deſerta*; on the weſt by *Media*; and on the north by *Hyrcania*. *Ptolemy* divides it into five diſtricts or provinces, *viz. Caminſine* or *Camiſene*, *Parthyene*, *Choroane*, *Atticene*, and *Tabiene*. The ancient geographers enumerate a great many cities in *Parthia*; but thoſe of moſt note were, *Calliope*, *Iſſatis*, *Europum*, known alſo by the names of *Ragæ*, *Europos*, and *Arſace*, *Apamea*, *Heraclea*, *Crenoxia*, *Charax*, *Artacana*, *Aſpa*, *Marriche*, *Rhagæa*, and *Hecatompylos*. The latter was the metropolis of *Parthia*, and the place where the firſt kings of that country reſided; for after they had made themſelves maſters of *Aſſyria*, they abandoned *Hecatompylos*, paſſing the winter at *Cteſiphon*, and the ſummer at *Ecbatan*, or in *Hyrcania*.

b The city of *Cteſiphon* ſtood on the *Tigris*, a little below *Seleucia*, and on the oppoſite bank, in the province of *Chalonitis*, which was the moſt ſoutherly of all *Aſſyria*. This city was founded, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus* [a], by one *Vardanes*, and embelliſhed and fortified by *Pacorus*. Who *Vardanes* was, we know not; but *Valeſius* takes *Pacorus* here ſpoke of to have been the ſon of *Orodes*, whom *Ventidius* defeated. *Polybius* [b], *Tacitus* [c], *Herodotus* [d], and *Strabo* [e] ſpeak of *Cteſiphon* as the metropolis of the whole *Parthian* empire; whereas *Hecatompylos* was only the metropolis of *Parthia* properly ſo called, but nevertheleſs a place of great note, and about nine miles in compaſs. It had a hundred gates, whence it borrowed the name of *Hecatompylos*, as *Polybius* informs us [f]. Moſt of our modern travellers are of opinion,

c that it ſtood on the very ſpot where the preſent city of *Iſpahan* ſtands. *Parthia* is at preſent known by the name of *Arach* or *Erach*, and may be called the royal province of *Perſia*, ſince the king always reſides in it. The chief cities it contains at preſent are, *Caſbin* or *Caſwin*, built on the ruins of the ancient *Arſace*; *Sawa* or *Sava*, *Kom*, *Hamadan*, *Kaſban*, and *Iſpahan*, which *Holſtenius* [g] takes to be the ancient *Aſpa*, contradicting therein moſt of our modern geographers and travellers. The air of *Parthia* was anciently, and is ſtill, very clear and healthy; but the ſoil barren, and not yielding wherewithal to maintain the inhabitants, who were once very numerous, and therefore obliged to tranſplant themſelves into other countries. Upon the death of *Alexander the Great*, it was almoſt intirely neglected, and left as an appen-

d dant to *Media*, none of that prince's commanders caring for the government of ſo poor and barren a province. But we ſhall ſee this ſmall and obſcure province make a great figure in hiſtory, eclipſe all the kingdoms of the eaſt, and become formidable to the *Romans* themſelves, while they were at the height of their glory. But we muſt not here confound *Parthia*, or, as others call it, *Parthyæa* and *Parthyene*, with what the ancients underſtand by the *Parthian* empire. The former was comprized within the narrow bounds which we have deſcribed above; whereas the latter was of a vaſt extent, being bounded on the eaſt by *Indus*; on the weſt by the *Tigris*; on the ſouth by the *Red-ſea*; and on the north by mount *Caucaſus* [h]; ſo that it com-

e prehended *Arachoſia*, *Parthia*, *Aſſyria*, *Perſis*, and *Media*. Theſe wide-ſpreading dominions, were, according to *Pliny* [i], divided by the *Parthian* monarchs into eighteen kingdoms, which they diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *upper* and *lower* kingdoms. The former were eleven, extending from the confines of *Armenia* and the *Caſpian* ſea to the borders of *Scythia*. The other ſeven comprehended the remaining provinces ſubject to the crown of *Parthia*, and were known by the name of the *lower kingdoms*.

Inhabitants.

SOME writers are of opinion, that this country was firſt peopled by the *Phetri* or *Pithri*, often mentioned in ſcripture [k], and will have the *Parthians* to be deſcended from *Phetruſim* the ſon of *Mizraim*. This may perhaps be true with relation to the firſt

[a] AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxiii. c. 20. [b] POLYB. l. v. c. 45. [c] TACIT. l. vi. c. 42. [d] HERODOT. l. iii. c. 9. [e] STRABO, l. xvi. p. 512. [f] POLYB. l. x. c. 25. [g] HOLSTEN. in Orth. [h] Vide OROS. l. i. c. 2. [i] PLIN. l. vi. c. 25. [k] ISAI. c. xi. JEREM. c. xliv. EZECH. c. xxix.

firſt inhabitants of *Parthia*; but thoſe *Parthians*, who are ſo famous in hiſtory, were, without all doubt, originally *Scythians*, as we are told by all the ancients who ſpeak of them. 'Tis true, there is a great diſagreement among authors as to the particular nation or tribe to which they belonged, ſome taking them to be originally *Daæ*; others to be *Getæ*, *Maſſagetæ*, or *European Scythians*. *Strabo* tells us, that *Arſaces*, the founder of this kingdom, was by birth a *Scythian*, and king of the *Daæ* or *Dahæ*. *Curtius* ſays, that the *Scythians*, known by the name of *Parthians*, came out of *Europe* [l]. *Jornandes* will have them to be originally *Goths* or *Getæ*; for theſe, according to him, are one and the ſame people [m]. They were, according to *Juſtin*, driven out of their own country, and, finding no other place to ſettle in, obliged to take up with this barren and inhoſpitable region. They called themſelves, on their firſt ſettling here, *Parthians*, that is, in the old *Scythian* language, *exiles*; and hence came the name of *Parthia*.

Manners, cuſtoms, &c. of the Parthians.

The *Parthians* were a couragious and warlike people, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory, and not undeſervedly eſteemed the beſt horſemen and archers in the world. They were accuſtomed from their infancy, ſays *Dionyſius* [n], to the warlike and manly exerciſes of managing a horſe and handling a bow; and in both excelled all other nations. They had an art or method peculiar to themſelves, of diſcharging their arrows with incredible addreſs, dexterity and order, while they were retireing full ſpeed, which gained them many victories, and rendered their retreat far more formidable to the enemy than their onſet (A). To their great ſkill in archery alluded the conſul *Craſſus*, when being told by an aſtrologer, that his expedition againſt the *Parthians* would prove unſucceſsful, by reaſon of the ominous aſpect of the conſtellation *Scorpio*, the *Roman* returned anſwer, That he feared not *Scorpio*, but *Sagittarius*. To theſe exerciſes of horſemanſhip and archery the air and nature greatly contributed; for the dry air, as *Dion* obſerves, ſeaſoned their bows; and their large plains afforded them ſufficient room for the training up of their horſes. From the age of twenty to fifty, they were all, without exception, obliged to ſerve in war, to attend the muſters, learn the military exerciſes, and be ready, at a very ſhort warning to take the field [o]. Perſons of any rank or diſtinction among them never appeared in public a-foot, but always on horſeback and armed with ſcymetars [p]; which cuſtom ſeemed ſtrange to the *Romans*, who uſed to lay down their arms when they quitted the *ſagum* or military habit [q]. In war they did not uſe trumpets like other nations, but large hollow veſſels of braſs, covered with ſkins, ſuch as our kettle-drums, which, being beat with hammers, yielded a very warlike ſound [r] (B). They are ſaid to have been very ſpare in their diet [s], their country not affording any ſuperfluities; but at the ſame time to have been great lovers of wine, and much addicted to all manner of lewdneſs, not reſpecting even their ſiſters or mothers, whom they were allowed to marry, and as many wives beſides as they pleaſed, nothing being deemed more honourable

[l] Curt. l. vii. [m] Jornand. de reb. Goth. l. xv. [n] Dionys. in poem. de ſitu orb. [o] Strabo, l. xv. [p] Juſtin. l. xii. [q] Ovid. Triſt. l. v. [r] Plut. in Craſſo. [s] Juſtin. l. xii. c. 3 & 9.

(A) This art, peculiar to the *Parthians*, of diſcharging their arrows with great dexterity, while they were retiring full ſpeed, is much ſpoke of by the *Latin* writers, eſpecially the poets.

Fidentemque fuga Parthum, verſoque ſagittis (1).
Et verſis animoſum equis
Parthum dicere (2).
Ut celer averſis utere Parthus equis (3).
Quid tibi nunc mitti ſolitæ poſt terga ſagittæ,
Quid loca, quid rapidi profuit uſus equi (4)?
Nil opus eſt equis,
Nil armis, & inertibus
Telis, quæ procul ingerit
Parthus, cum ſimulat fugas (5).
Vidit & averſis equitis ſagittas,
Terga fallacis metuenda Parthi (6):
Rupis Achæmeniæ ſcopulis, ubi verſa ſequentum
Pectoribus figit ſpicula pugna fugax (7), &c.

(B) *Lucretius* tells us, that the *Parthians* carried lions about with them in war, which, in the beginning of the engagement, they uſed to let loſe againſt the enemy.

Et validos Parthi præ ſe miſere leones
Cum ductoribus armatis, ſæviſque magiſtris,
Qui moderarier his poſſent, vincliſque tenere:
Nequicquam; quoniam permixta cæde calentes
Turbabant ſævi nullo diſcrimine turmas,
Terrificas capitum quatientes undique criſtas (8).

But herein the poet deſerves no more credit, than ſome too credulous hiſtorians mentioned by *Lucian*, who, miſtaking the dragons which the *Parthians* carried in their colours for real dragons, wrote, that the king of *Parthia* was always attended in war with a great number of dragons, which made a dreadful havock among the enemies troops (9).

(1) *Virgil. georg. l.* iii. (2) *Horat. l.* i. *carm. od.* 19. (3) *Ovid. l* iii. *de arte.* (4) *Idem faſt.* v. (5) *Senec. in Thyeſt.* (6) *Idem in Oedip.* (7) *Bott. l.* v. (8) *Lucret. l.* v. (9) *Lucian. in lib. de conſcrip. hiſtor.*

nourable among them than to have a numerous iſſue [t]. They intirely neglected a- a
griculture, navigation, trade, and all other callings, being wholly taken up in learning the arts of war, which alone were of any repute among them [u].

THEIR religion was much the ſame with that of the *Perſians*; they worſhipped *Religion.* the ſun under the name of *Mithras* [w]; believed, that thoſe who fell in battle enjoyed a perpetual and uninterrupted happineſs, a tenet well ſuited to the genius of a warlike nation; and in moſt other points of religion intirely agreed with the *Perſians*, of whole religion we have ſpoke at length in the hiſtory of *Perſia*. They were moſt religious obſervers of their word, thinking it highly diſhonourable not to perform their engagements, or to deceive thoſe who had truſted them on their parole [x], whereof we ſhall give a glaring inſtance in the reign of *Artabanus*.

As to their government, it was, as is well known, monarchical, and abſolute in *Government.* b
the higheſt degree, no tyrants having ever required a more ſervile and blind ſubmiſſion from thoſe who had the misfortune to live under them. They treated their ſubjects, ſays *Herodotus* [y], as the meaneſt of ſlaves and ſcarce as men, while they put themſelves on a level with the immortal gods. Their uſual title was, *the king of kings*, *the great monarch*, *the brother of the ſun and moon*, &c. Theſe haughty titles they not only aſſumed in all the laws and edicts they enacted, but in their letters to other princes. Thus *Vologeſes* II. in writing to the emperor *Veſpaſian*, uſed the following ſuperſcription: Arſaces, *king of kings*, *to* Flavius Veſpaſian. The emperor could not help ſmiling when he read it; and, to ſhew how little he valued ſuch pompous and high ſounding titles, he anſwered him in his own ſtrain thus: Flavius Veſpaſian *to* Arſaces *king of kings*, giving the *Parthian* the titles he had aſſumed, but deſpiſing them himſelf. The ſame haughty ſtile *Phrahates* IV. uſed in writing to *Auguſtus*; and *Phrahates* III. ſent embaſſadors to *Pompey*, on purpoſe to expoſtulate with him for omitting in his letter to him the title of *king of kings*, and giving him only that of *king*. Their whole conduct was anſwerable to the ſublime and lofty titles they aſſumed; for, not ſatisfied with the reſpect paid to other crowned heads, they obliged all thoſe whom they vouchſafed to ſee, to kiſs the threſhold on their firſt entering the royal palace, to proſtrate themſelves before them with their faces on the ground, and acknowledge their majeſty with ſome offering, as if they appeared, to uſe the expreſſion of *Dion*, before the great *Jupiter* (C) [z].

WE can give no particular account of the ſtate of *Parthia* before *Arſaces* I. the works of *Apollodorus*, *Artemiſius*, *Creperius*, *Calpurnianus*, *Quadratus*, *Rhianus*, and *Seleucus Emiſenus*, who wrote of the *Parthian* affairs and are quoted by *Strabo* [a], *Athenæus* [b], *Lucian* [c], *Stephanus*, and *Suidas*, not having reached our times. All we know of them is, that they were firſt ſubject to the *Medes*, afterwards to the *Perſians*, and laſtly to *Alexander the Great*, upon whoſe death *Parthia* fell to the ſhare of *Seleucus Nicator*, whoſe ſucceſſors held it till the reign of *Antiochus Theus*, when *Arſaces*, ſhaking off the *Macedonian* yoke, ſet up for himſelf and founded a new kingdom, which, in proceſs of time, became by far the moſt powerful in the eaſt, and was held by his ſucceſſors for the ſpace of four hundred and ſeventy-five years; at the end of which the empire was transferred anew from the *Parthians* to the *Perſians*, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

Arſaces I, the founder of the *Parthian* monarchy, was, according to ſome writers, of the race of the *Achemenidæ*; according to others, by birth a *Parthian*. *Strabo* ſays, that he was king of the *Dahæ* before the revolt of *Parthia*; and *Georgius Syncellus*, that he was a nobleman of *Bactria*. We have related elſewhere [d] on what provocation

Kings of Parthia. Arſaces I. *Year of the flood* 2699 *Before Chriſt* 300.

[t] Idem, l. xvi. AGATH. l. ii. PHILO de ſpecial. legib. p. 778. TERTUL. in Apologet. [u] DIONYS. ubi ſupra. [w] STRABO, l. xv. SUID. HESYCH. DIONYS. AREOPAGIT. epiſt. 7. ad Polycarp. CYRIL. Catech. 7. [x] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xviii. c. ult. [y] HERODIAN. l. iv. c. 3. [z] DIO, l. iv. JUSTIN. l. xvi. STRABO, l. xv. [a] Idem, l. ii, & xv. [b] ATHEN. l. xv. c. 12. [c] LUCIAN. de conſcrib. hiſtor. [d] Vol. III. p. 525.

(C) To this *Martial* alludes in the following epigram:

Fruſtra blanditiæ venitis ad me, &c.
Ad Parthos procul ite pileatos,
Et turpes, humileſque, ſuppliceſque,
Prætorum ſola baſiate regum (10).

And *Virgil*:

Præterea regem non ſic Ægyptus, & ingens
Lydia nec populi Parthorum, aut Medus Hydaſpes
Obſervant, &c. (11).

(10) *Mart. l. x. epig.* 71. (11) *Virgil. georg. l.* iv.

vocation he ſolicited the *Parthians* to revolt from *Antiochus Theus*, and what ſucceſs attended him in his wars with *Seleucus Callinicus*, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Antiochus Theus* [e], whom he not only defeated, but took priſoner, and from that time aſſumed the title of king, having founded, and by that victory firmly eſtabliſhed, an empire in the eaſt, which in proceſs of time counter-balanced the over-grown power of the *Romans* in the weſt. He reduced *Hyrcania* and ſome other neighbouring provinces, and was at laſt killed in a battle againſt *Ariarathes* IV. king of *Cappadocia* [f]. From him all thoſe, who reigned of the ſame race, took the name of *Arſaces*, as the kings of *Egypt* did that of *Ptolemy*, and the *Roman* emperors that of *Cæſar*.

Arſaces II. HE was ſucceeded by his ſon *Arſaces*, who entering *Media*, made himſelf maſter of that country, while *Antiochus the Great* was engaged in a war with *Ptolemy Euergetes* king of *Egypt*. But *Antiochus* was no ſooner diſengaged from that war, than he marched with all his forces againſt *Arſaces*, drove him quite out of *Media*, and, entering *Parthia*, obliged him to retire into *Hyrcania*, whence he ſoon after returned with an army of an hundred thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe. With theſe he put a ſtop to *Antiochus*'s further progreſs; ſo that the *Syrian*, finding he could not overpower ſo valiant an enemy, began to give ear to the overtures which were made him for putting an end to ſo troubleſome a war; and a treaty being ſet on foot, it was agreed, that *Arſaces* ſhould hold *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*, on condition of his aſſiſting *Antiochus* to recover the other provinces which had revolted [g], as we have related at length in the hiſtory of *Syria* [h].

Priapatius. *Priapatius*, the ſon of *Arſaces* II. ſucceeded his father; but all we know of him is, that he reigned fifteen years, and left three ſons behind him, *viz.* *Phrahates*, *Mithridates*, and *Artabanus*.

Phrahates. The crown he bequeathed to *Phrahates* his eldeſt ſon, who overcame the *Mardi*, one of the moſt warlike nations of the eaſt, and never conquered before the reign of *Alexander*, who, with much ado, reduced them, as well as the other nations inhabiting *Media* [i]. *Phrahates* left a numerous iſſue; but having more at heart the welfare of his kingdom than the advantage of his children, he

Mithridates I. left the crown to his brother *Mithridates*, on account of his extraordinary merit; for he had given many inſtances of an uncommon wiſdom, probity, and courage. He reduced the countries of the *Bactrians*, *Perſians*, *Medes*, and *Elymæans*, and overran in a manner all the eaſt, extending his dominions into *India*, beyond the boundaries of *Alexander*'s conqueſts. *Demetrius Nicator*, who then reigned in *Syria*, endeavoured to recover the provinces of the eaſt, which *Mithridates* had taken; but his army was intirely cut off, and himſelf taken priſoner, as we have elſewhere related at length [k]. After this victory, *Mithridates* got poſſeſſion of all *Babylonia* and *Meſopotamia*; ſo that he was now maſter of all the provinces lying between the *Euphrates* on the weſt, and the *Ganges* on the eaſt [l]. He entertained his royal captive with great humanity, allowed him a maintenance ſuitable to his rank, and, ſending him into *Hyrcania* to reſide there, gave him *Rhodagune*, one of his ſiſters, in marriage [m]. However, he kept him ſtill in captivity, tho' with as much freedom as was conſiſtent with the ſtate of a captive; and at his death, which happened in the thirty-ſeventh year of his reign, left him in this condition to his ſon *Phrahates*, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom [n]. The reign of *Mithridates* is looked upon by authors as the epoch of the *Parthian* grandeur; for under him that empire was by far the moſt powerful and moſt extenſive in the eaſt, all the countries that lie between the *Euphrates* and mount *Caucaſus* receiving law from him, and moſt of the princes of *Aſia* being either ſubdued by him, or obliged to enter into an alliance with him on his own terms. He was a prince of great courage and reſolution, and at the ſame time had a ſweetneſs of temper, which rendered him amiable to all who approached him. As he conquered many nations, he is ſaid to have carefully examined their various conſtitutions, and, out of the whole collection, to have formed a body of excellent laws for the regulation of the empire; ſo that he was both a great warrior and wiſe law-giver [o].

Phrahates II. *Phrahates* II. had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of the throne, when *Antiochus Sidetes*, king of *Syria*, marched againſt him at the head of a numerous army, under pretence of delivering his brother *Demetrius*, who was ſtill kept in captivity. *Phrahates* marched out

[e] Ibid. p. 529. [f] JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 5, &c. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Vide Vol. III. p. 541. [i] JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 5. [k] Vide Vol. III. p. 605, 606. [l] JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 6. OROS. l. v. c. 4. JUSTIN. ibid. & l. xxxviii. c. 9. [m] Idem, l. xxxviii. c. 9. & l. xlii. c. 1. [n] DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 361.

out against him, but was overcome in three ſucceſſive battles, ſtripped of *Meſopotamia*, *Babylonia*, and all the other countries which his father had reduced, and confined within the narrow limits of the firſt *Parthian* kingdom. However, he had the good luck at laſt to retrieve his affairs, and cut off *Antiochus* with his whole army, in the manner we have related at length in the hiſtory of *Syria* [p]. *Phrahates*, flushed with this victory, reſolved to invade *Syria*; but while he was making the neceſſary preparations for this enterprize, he found himſelf engaged in a war at home with the *Scythians* his neighbours. He had called them to his aſſiſtance againſt *Antiochus*; but that prince being overcome, and his army intirely defeated before their arrival, he refuſed to pay them the ſum which had been promiſed them. Hereupon the *Scythians*, falling upon the country which they were come to defend, committed every-where moſt dreadful ravages [q]. *Phrahates*, having thus drawn upon himſelf a war with the *Scythians*, in order to ſtrengthen his army againſt ſo brave and powerful an enemy, took into his ſervice all the *Greek* mercenaries, who, having followed *Antiochus* king of *Syria* in his *Parthian* expedition, had been taken priſoners in the late overthrow of that prince. As theſe *Greeks* had been treated by the *Parthians* with great haughtineſs and cruelty during their captivity, they no ſooner got arms into their hands, but they reſolved to be revenged on them; and accordingly, in the firſt engagement, they went all in a body over to the *Scythians*, and, in conjunction with them, falling upon the *Parthians*, cut their army to pieces, killed their king, and laid waſte their country [r]. After this, both the *Greeks* and *Scythians* returned to their own countries; and, on their departure, *Artabanus*, the third ſon of *Pampatius* and uncle to the deceaſed king, took poſſeſſion of the crown, which he held a very ſhort time, being killed a few days after in battle by the *Thogarians*, another nation of the *Scythian* race [s]. Artabanus I.

Artabanus was ſucceeded by his ſon *Pacorus* I. who, hearing of the great exploits of the *Romans*, ſent embaſſadors to *Sylla*, who was then in *Cappadocia*, to deſire the friendſhip and alliance of ſo powerful a people. The *Parthians*, tho' the moſt warlike and wealthy nation in *Aſia*, were at that time ſcarce known at *Rome*. *Sylla* therefore was overjoyed to hear, that their king had reſolved to ſend embaſſadors to him, and looked upon it as one of the moſt fortunate occurrences of his life, that he ſhould be the firſt *Roman*, to whom ſo great and gallant a nation ſhould apply for an alliance with the people of *Rome*. He was then only prætor, and had been ſent by the ſenate to reſtore *Ariobarzanes*, king of *Cappadocia*, to the throne, whence he had been driven by *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*. However, to dazzle the eyes of the embaſſadors with an air of grandeur, he took great ſtate upon him in the audience he gave them; for in the place where he received them he ordered three ſeats to be put; one in the middle for himſelf, that on the right hand for king *Ariobarzanes*, and the other on the left for *Oromazes*, the chief of the embaſſy. This compliance of the *Parthian* embaſſador coſt him his life, *Pacorus* having cauſed him to be beheaded on his return, for debaſing the majeſty of the *Parthian* monarchy, by giving place to a *Roman* prætor [t]. However, *Pacorus* afterwards ſent embaſſadors to *Lucullus*, to renew the alliance he had concluded with *Sylla*. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Phrahates* III. who taking under his protection *Tigranes*, the ſon of *Tigranes the Great*, king of *Armenia*, gave him his daughter in marriage, and invading *Armenia* laid ſiege to *Artaxata*, with a deſign to drive the father from the throne, and place the ſon on it in his room. But, on the approach of *Pompey*, he thought fit to withdraw, and, by a ſolemn embaſſy, to renew the alliance which his father had concluded, firſt with *Sylla*, and afterwards with *Lucullus* [u]. He was, not long after, murdered by his own children, *Mithridates* and *Orodes*, in the twelfth year of his reign. Upon his death, *Orodes*, who was the elder brother, took poſſeſſion of the throne; but was ſoon driven out by *Mithridates*, who, making himſelf odious to the *Parthians* by his cruelties, was, in his turn, obliged to abandon the kingdom, and ſhelter himſelf with *Gabinius* governor of *Syria*. On his flight *Orodes* was replaced on the throne, by means of one *Surenas*, who, next to the king, held the firſt place of honour and power in the kingdom, and had always adhered to the intereſt of *Orodes*. *Gabinius* was eaſily prevailed upon to undertake the reſtoring of *Mithridates*; for as his heart was intirely bent upon gain, he wanted only a pretence to invade *Parthia*, knowing that Pacorus I. Phrahates III. Orodes. Mithridates II.

[p] Vol. III. p. 608, 609. [q] Justin. l. xlii. c. 1. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Plut. in Syll. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 24. [u] Dion, l. xxxvi. p. 22. Liv. epit. l. 100.

that it was at that time a wealthy nation. Accordingly he ſet out on his march, taking *Mithridates* along with him for his guide; but after he had paſſed the *Euphrates*, being accoſted by *Ptolemy Auletes* king of *Egypt*, who offered him ten thouſand talents, on condition he reſtored him to his kingdom, the corrupt governor, dropping his former enterprize, repaſſed the *Euphrates*, and marched directly into *Egypt*, leaving *Mithridates* to ſhift for himſelf. The *Parthian*, ſeeing himſelf thus abandoned by *Gabinius*, raiſed what troops he could, and, returning into *Babylonia*, ſeized *Seleucia*, where he was cloſely beſieged by *Orodes*, and in a ſhort time reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that he was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. *Orodes* no ſooner got him into his power, but, conſidering him as an enemy, and not as a brother, he cauſed him to be put to death, and was himſelf an eye-witneſs of that cruel execution[w]. We muſt not confound, as *Juſtin* has done, this *Mithridates* with *Mithridates* II. of whom we have ſpoke above, it being plain from *Plutarch*, *Dion*, *Florus*, *Xiphilinus*, and from the very prologue of the forty-ſecond book of *Trogus Pompeius*, whom *Juſtin* has epitomized, that *Mithridates* II. and *Mithridates* the brother of *Orodes*, were two different princes. The former, by his many conqueſts and noble exploits, acquired the ſurname of *Great*; whereas the latter did nothing worth mentioning.

Mithridates *put to death by his brother* Orodes.

Orodes, by the death of his brother, became ſole maſter of the whole *Parthian* empire; but did not long enjoy it in peace, a violent ſtorm breaking out at a time, and from a quarter he leaſt expected it. *M. Licinius Craſſus* had been lately created conſul at *Rome* the ſecond time with *Pompey*; and, in the partition of the provinces, had obtained, in virtue of a law made by *C. Trebonius* tribune of the people, *Syria*, with the neighbouring provinces. To *Pompey* the two *Spains* were aſſigned, with all the provinces of *Africa*. By the *Trebonian* law they were both impowered to hold their provinces for the ſpace of five years, to raiſe what forces they ſhould think proper, and to make peace or war with whom they pleaſed, according to their own judgment, without having recourſe to the ſenate or people of *Rome*, as all other governors had ever before been obliged to do[x]. *Craſſus* was, according to *Plutarch*[y], a man of known valour and great experience in war, and had, on many occaſions, given ſignal proofs of both in the armies of *Sylla*, under whom he had learnt the military art. He was likewiſe an eloquent orator, well verſed in hiſtory, acquainted with *Ariſtotle*'s philoſophy, and deemed one of the beſt antiquaries of his time. His obliging behaviour, his wonderful addreſs and affability, prejudiced people at firſt in his favour, and gained upon their affections; but his inſatiable avarice made all his good qualities in a manner overlooked; for tho' he was born of a rich family and heir to a great eſtate, yet he let no means of increaſing his revenues eſcape him, and often uſed ſuch as were wholly unworthy his birth and rank, being of opinion, as he himſelf declared, that no citizen was to be accounted a rich man, till he was able to maintain an army at his own expence. As he had therefore uſed all his intereſt to obtain the province of *Syria*, ſo he was overjoyed when it was conferred upon him for ſuch a term of years, and with ſo unbounded a power and authority, being reſolved to carry the war into *Parthia*, in hopes of enriching himſelf with the ſpoils of that nation, which was deemed very rich, as never having been ſubdued by any foreign enemy. He was ſo tranſported with joy at the thoughts of the immenſe treaſures, which he took for granted, he was to bring with him from *Parthia*, that he could not forbear talking of his intended expedition in a manner unworthy of his age and character, even with perſons whom he ſcarce knew. He did not confine his view to *Syria* alone, or *Parthia*, but flattered himſelf with atchieving ſuch things, as ſhould eclipſe the great exploits of *Lucullus*, *Pompey*, and *Sylla* himſelf, whoſe names had ſpread terror over all the nations of the eaſt. He fancied himſelf already on the banks of the *Indus* and the *Ganges*, and over-ran in his thoughts *Bactria*, *India*, and the moſt remote provinces of *Aſia*, beyond the boundaries of *Alexander*'s conqueſts. Intoxicated with theſe hopes, he began, towards the end of his conſulſhip, to make his levies, and form the legions, which were to attend him into *Syria*. But ſome of the tribunes of the people, diſapproving his deſign of making war upon the *Parthians*, who had entered into an alliance with *Rome*, and religiouſly obſerved their engagements, did all that lay in their power to reverſe the *plebiſcitum* or decree of the people, paſſed at the inſtigation of *Trebonius*, who was now out of office. *Atcius Capito*, one of

M Licinius Craſſus *reſolves to make war on the* Parthians.

[w] DION, l. xxxix. APPIAN. in Parthic. p. 134, 140, 141, & in Syriac. p. 120. JUSTIN l. xlii. c. 4.
[x] LIV. l. cv. PLUT. in Craſſo, Pomp. & Cat. Min. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. p. 437, 438. DIO, l. xxxix. [y] PLUT. in Craſſo.

Is opposed in vain by Capito, *tribune of the people.*

a of the tribunes, having ſtirred up the people, by repreſenting to them how baſe and ſham ful a thing it was to diſturb the tranquillity of a peaceable nation, who had done the *Romans* no injury, would have arreſted *Craſſus*, tho' conſul, if eight other tribunes had not oppoſed the violence of their collegue, and reſcued *Craſſus* out of the hands of the officer who had ſeized him. When the conſul, after performing, as uſual, his vows in the capitol, was ready to ſet out for his province, *Ateius* aſſembled the people, prepared to obſtruct his departure; which *Craſſus* being alarmed at, deſired *Pompey* to accompany him to the gates of the city; which he did accordingly, keeping in awe by his preſence, as he was greatly revered by the people, thoſe who had moſt zealouſly oppoſed the conſul's expedition. *Ateius*, ſeeing he could not b prevent the departure of *Craſſus*, haſtened to the gate of the city through which he was to paſs; and there having ordered a fire to be kindled, as ſoon as *Craſſus* appeared, he threw ſome perfumes into it, and, invoking the infernal gods, uttered a thouſand imprecations againſt *Craſſus*, which made all thoſe, who heard them, tremble with horror [z]. Tho' *Craſſus* took no notice of theſe curſes, yet the ſuperſtitious *Romans* aſcribed to them all the misfortunes and calamities which befel him, and thoſe who attended him in this fatal expedition (D); whereas they were owing, as we ſhall ſee anon, to a quite different cauſe. —

Sets out from Rome. *Year of the flood* 2944. *Before Chriſt* 55.

Craſſus having, with the aſſiſtance of *Pompey*, got ſafe out of *Rome*, purſued his march to *Brunduſium*; where he immediately embarqued his men on board ſeveral c tranſports, and, notwithſtanding the wind blew then very high, ſet ſail for *Aſia*, and, with much ado, reached the ports of *Galatia*, having loſt many ſhips in his paſſage. Soon after his landing he had an interview with *Dejotarus* king of *Galatia*, who, tho' ſtricken in years, was at that time employed in building a new city. *Craſſus*, thinking this an unſeaſonable undertaking, ſaid pleaſantly, *You begin, O king, full late to build a city at the twelfth hour of the day.* The twelfth hour was, with the *Romans*, the laſt of the day. As *Craſſus* was upwards of ſixty, and looked older than he was, *Dejotarus* replied, *And you, O general, are not too early in your expedition againſt the* Parthians [a].

Plunders the temple of Jeruſalem.

From *Galatia Craſſus* purſued his march into *Syria*, the province allotted to him; and being there informed, that immenſe treaſures were lodged in the temple of *Jeru-*d *ſalem*, which *Pompey* had not ventured to touch, he marched thither with part of his army, in order to ſeize them. *Eleazar*, one of the prieſts and at that time keeper of the ſacred treaſure, had under his charge, beſides many other things of an ineſtimable value, a rafter of maſſy gold, weighing three thouſand *Hebrew* pounds, or ſeven hundred and fifty common pounds. This, for the better ſecuring of it, he had incloſed into a beam made hollow for that purpoſe, and placed the beam over the entrance from the holy place into the holy of holies, hanging from it the veil which parted thoſe two places. *Eleazar*, who was appriſed of the motive of *Craſſus*'s march to *Jeruſalem*, to ſave the other ornaments of the temple and the riches which were depoſited there by private perſons, diſcovered the golden rafter to *Craſ-*e *ſus*, and ſuffered him to take it away, after having made him ſolemnly promiſe with an oath, that he would meddle with nothing elſe. But *Craſſus* no ſooner received it, than, forgetting his oath, he ſeized on the two thouſand talents which *Pompey* had left there untouched; and rummaging the temple, plundered it of every thing elſe which he thought worth taking away, to the value of eight thouſand talents more; ſo that the whole booty, which he ſacrilegiouſly took from thence, amounted to ten thouſand talents [b]; that is, to two millions and upwards of our money. *Joſephus*, who

[z] Dio & Plut. ibid. Flor. l. iii. c. 11. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 46. Appian. bell. civil. p. 438. [a] Plut. ibid. [b] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12.

(D) *Florus* tells us, that *Craſſus*, on his ſetting out from *Rome*, was curſed by *Metellus* tribune of the people (12); and *Velleius Paterculus* (13), *Appian* (14), and *Dion* (15), that he was curſed by all the tribunes, but eſpecially by *Ateius*, who ſignalized himſelf on that occaſion.

——*Craſſumque in bella ſecutæ*
Sacra tribunitiæ movêrunt prælia diræ,

ſays *Lucan* (16). *Craſſus*, the night before he ſet out for his province, ſupped with *Cicero*, in the gardens of his ſon-in-law *Craſſippes* (17). From thence *Cicero* removed to *Tuſculanum*, and *Craſſus* haſtened to *Brunduſium* in his military habit, being reſolved, in ſpite of the tribunes, to make war on the *Parthians* (18).

(12) *Flor. l.* iii. *c.* 11. (13) *Vell. Paterc. l.* ii. *c.* 46. (14) *Appian. de bell. civil. l.* ii. *p.* 438. (15) *Dio, l.* xlix. (16) *Lucan. l.* iii. (17) *Cic. epiſt. familiar. l.* i. *epiſt.* 9. (18) *Idem, l.* iv. *ad Attic. epiſt.* 12. *& l.* ii. *de divinat.*

who relates this, thinking it would ſcarce be credited by other nations, alledges the authority of *Strabo* and other writers to prove, that immenſe treaſures had been depoſited in the temple, by the *Jews* of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Cyrenaica*[c]; but the hiſtorical writings of *Strabo*, which he quotes, have not reached our times.

Begins hoſtilities with the Parthians.

Craſſus, thinking himſelf now ſufficiently furniſhed for his intended expedition, marched to the *Euphrates*, and having croſſed that river on a bridge of boats, which he threw over it, entered the *Parthian* territories, and began hoſtilities, without any other motive than his inſatiable avarice, and an eager deſire of inriching himſelf with the plunder of a country, which was generally eſteemed very rich. The *Romans* had, by *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey*, made peace, and entered into alliances with the nation he thus invaded, and no complaints of any infraction or injuries had ever been heard, which might give juſt reaſon for a war; ſo that the *Parthians*, expecting nothing leſs than ſuch an invaſion, and having made no preparations for their defence,

And ſeizes great part of Meſopotamia.

were eaſily driven out of all *Meſopotamia*. The city of *Zenodotia*, which *Stephanus* places near *Nicephorium*, was the only place that made any oppoſition. *Apollonius*, who was governor, or rather tyrant, as *Dio* calls him, of that city, ſent deputies to *Craſſus*, acquainting him, that he was willing to ſurrender up the place to him; but as ſoon as the detachment ſent to take poſſeſſion of it had entered the gate, he ſurrounded them, and cut them in pieces. But both he and the inhabitants paid dear for their treachery; for *Craſſus* having immediately inveſted the city with his whole army, and taken it by aſſault, reduced the inhabitants to ſlavery, confiſcated their goods, and ſold their perſons to the beſt bidder. For this conqueſt and an inconſiderable advantage gained over one *Talymenus Ilaces*, or *Syllaces*, governor of *Meſopotamia*, who, having engaged the *Romans* with a ſmall body of horſe, was overcome and wounded, *Craſſus* ſuffered himſelf to be ſaluted by the ſoldiery with the title of *imperator*, which was uſually given after ſome ſignal victory. This turned to his diſgrace, the whole army laughing at his vanity, and expecting little from a general who was thus elated with the leaſt ſucceſs[d]. The other cities made no reſiſtance; ſo that he over-ran all *Meſopotamia*, and might, if he had taken advantage of the conſternation the *Parthians* were in, have penetrated as far as *Seleucia* and *Ctheſiphon*, and made himſelf maſter of *Babylonia* as well as *Meſopotamia*; but, inſtead of purſuing the career he had begun, in the beginning of the autumn he repaſſed the *Euphrates*, and, leaving only ſeven thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe to garriſon the places he had taken, put his army into winter-quarters in the cities of *Syria*. This was undoubtedly the greateſt fault *Craſſus* committed in his *Parthian* expedition, after that of his undertaking it upon moſt unjuſt motives; for his haſty retreat gave the enemy time to recover from the terror which his arms had ſpread all over the eaſt, and to raiſe an army againſt the enſuing year, which the *Romans* could not withſtand. On his return into *Syria*, he was joined by his ſon, at the head of a thouſand choſen horſe. This young *Roman* had ſerved under *Cæſar* in *Gaul*, in quality of his lieutenant, and had been honoured with ſeveral military crowns, which generals uſed to beſtow on ſuch as diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour. When *Cæſar* underſtood that his father had begun the war with the *Parthians*, he gave him leave to go into the eaſt and ſerve under him; and indeed *Cæſar* had all along preſſed *Craſſus* to break with the *Parthians*, to force his way into *Bactria*, and from thence into *India*, knowing, that the farther that general, of whoſe power he was jealous, penetrated into the eaſtern countries, the more able he himſelf ſhould be put in execution his deſign of ſubverting the republic; but the unfortunate young *Craſſus* came into *Aſia*, only to be a witneſs of his father's ill conduct and to partake of his misfortunes[e].

His extortions in Syria.

IN *Syria Craſſus* ſpent his time, more like a publican than a general, being wholly taken up with examining into the revenues of that province, and improving them by the moſt ſhameful methods, in order to amaſs new treaſures. The plunder of the temple of *Jeruſalem* was not the only ſacrilege he was guilty of; he robbed in like manner all the temples of *Syria*, appropriating to his own uſe their rich ornaments and furniture. The temple of the *Syrian* goddeſs, named *Atargatis*, at *Hierapolis*, which ſome writers call *Bambyces*, others *Edeſſa*, and the *Syrians Magog*, was famous all over the eaſt, on account of the immenſe treaſures laid up there, as being the collection of many years. Theſe the avaricious proconſul ſeized; and leſt any of the rich

[c] Idem ibid. [d] DIO, l. xl. PLUT. ubi ſupra. [e] PLUT. & DIO, ibid.

a rich vaſes and ornaments ſhould be embezzled, he ſpent a great deal of his time in ſeeing the money counted, and the gold and ſilver veſſels weighed before him [f]. Having thus ranſacked all the temples and ſacred places within the limits of his province, which *Gabinius* himſelf, his predeceſſor, had ſpared, he began to load the *Syrians* with ſuch taxes as reduced them to beggary. He commanded all the cities of his province to furniſh him each with a certain number of men, and then diſcharged them for a ſum of money. No one could obtain juſtice without a large bribe, nor redeem themſelves from the inſolence of the ſoldiers, without advancing a large ſum to the general. In ſhort, there was not any means of amaſſing money, how unjuſt or oppreſſive ſoever, which he did not uſe, as if he had been ſent, not to govern, but b to plunder, the province. In the mean time, the military diſcipline was entirely neglected, the ſoldiers lived in their quarters without any order, and the whole army gave themſelves up to idleneſs, debauchery, and all manner of effeminate pleaſures. We are told, that as *Craſſus* was going out of the temple of *Hierapolis*, which he had plundered, his ſon, who walked before, ſtumbled at the threſhold, and falling pulled down his father with him. This was interpreted by the ſoothſayers as a very bad omen; but the intire neglect of military diſcipline was the ſureſt preſage of the misfortunes, which afterwards befel both his ſon and the whole army.

Craſſus having thus ſpent the winter, early in the ſpring drew together his troops out of their ſeveral quarters, in order to purſue the war which he had begun with the c *Parthians*. As *Orodes* their king was a very warlike prince, he had, during the winter, aſſembled a numerous army; but, before he entered with it upon action, he ſent embaſſadors to the *Roman* general, to know for what reaſon he made war upon him. The embaſſadors arrived in *Syria* while *Craſſus* was aſſembling his troops, and being introduced to him, firſt put him in mind of the alliance which the *Parthians* had concluded with *Sylla* and *Pompey*, and then told him, that if he was ſent againſt the *Parthians* by the people of *Rome*, they did not pretend he ſhould diſobey his orders, ſince in that caſe a war muſt enſue, which could not be terminated but by the final ruin of one of the empires; but if *Craſſus*, as they had been informed, had undertaken this war, contrary to the inclinations of the people of *Rome*, to ſatiate his d private intereſt, that the king their maſter, pitying his old age, would ſuffer the *Romans* he had left in *Meſopotamia*, where they were rather beſieged than in gariſon, to retire unmoleſted. *Craſſus*, without alledging any pretence for his invading the *Parthian* dominions, anſwered this ſpeech with a rodomontade, ſaying, *that they ſhould have his anſwer at* Seleucia. Hereupon the chief of the embaſſadors, by name *Vageſes* or *Vabiſes*, ſmiling and ſhewing him the palm of his hand, ſaid, *You ſhall ſooner, O* Craſſus, *ſee hair grow here, than be maſter of* Seleucia; and, without adding a word more, retired, and acquainted his maſter, that he muſt prepare for war [g].

His interview with the Parthian *embaſſadors.*

Orodes finding, on the return of his embaſſadors, that the proconſul was bent on a war, immediately took the field, and, dividing his troops into two bodies, marched c in perſon with one to the frontiers of *Armenia*, to make a diverſion there, the king of that country having raiſed a conſiderable army to reinforce the *Romans*. The other he ſent into *Meſopotamia*, under the command of the brave *Surena*, or *Surenas*. This general, if we may depend on the character *Plutarch* gives us of him [h], had all the qualifications that form a conſummate hero. He was deſcended from one of the moſt ancient and illuſtrious families of *Parthia*, and had derived from his anceſtors the right of putting the crown on the king's head at his coronation: To this illuſtrious birth he is ſaid to have joined an extraordinary wiſdom and diſcretion, tho' he was but thirty years of age, and to have ſurpaſſed in valour and proweſs all men of his time. His valour kept the princes and nations of *Aſia* in awe, and prevented their f entering into a confederacy againſt the formidable power of *Parthia*. *Orodes* was indebted to him, as we have hinted above for his crown. The taking of *Seleucia*, when held by *Mithridates*, was chiefly owing to him; for he was the firſt who mounted the ramparts of that capital, ſtruck terror into the enemy's troops, and made them fly before him. His ſtature was majeſtic, his air graceful, and his behaviour towards all extremely obliging. In wealth, power, and authority, he was, next to the king, the firſt man in the kingdom. His equipage, when he travelled, conſiſted of a thouſand camels to carry his baggage, two hundred chariots for the ſervice of his wives and concubines, a thouſand horſemen completely armed for his guard, and beſides a great

The character of Surenas *the* Parthian *general.*

[f] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 748. Plin. l. v. c. 23. Plut. & Dion ibid. [g] Flor. l. iii. c. 11. Plut. Dio, ibid. [h] Plut. in Craſſo.

great number of light-armed troops, which with his domeſtics, amounted to ten a thouſand more. He is ſaid to have united the luxury of an *Aſiatic* with the intrepidity of a conqueror; for he carried with him whatever could contribute to his pleaſures, and at the ſame time was ready to expoſe himſelf to the greateſt dangers, being always at the head of the troops he commanded in the moſt perillous and deſperate enterprizes. Tho' his courage was ſuch as to brave death in a breach or battle, yet he was not aſhamed to paint his face and perfume his hair, after the manner of the effeminate *Medes*; whereas the *Parthians* marched againſt their enemy with their hair in diſorder, and making as hideous a figure as they could, to ſtrike the more terror[1].

Surenas *retakes moſt of the cities of* Meſopotamia.

But, to reſume the thread of our hiſtory, *Orodes* having divided his army into two bodies, *Surenas* marched with that which was under his command into *Meſopotamia*, where he ſoon retook moſt of the cities which *Craſſus* had made himſelf maſter of the year before. Hereupon ſeveral *Roman* ſoldiers, who gariſoned the other places, making their eſcape out of *Meſopotamia* fled to *Craſſus*, and filled his camp with a terrible report of the number, power, and ſtrength of the enemy. They told their fellow ſoldiers, that the *Parthian* troops were very numerous, brave, and well-diſciplined; that it was impoſſible to overtake them when they fled, or eſcape them when they purſued; that their defenſive arms were proof againſt the *Roman* darts, and their offenſive weapons ſo ſharp, that no buckler was fence againſt them, *&c.* *Craſſus* looked upon this account only as the effect of a panic and cowardly fear; but the common ſoldiers, and many of the chief officers, were ſo diſheartened at it, that the quæſtor *Caius Caſſius*, the ſame who afterwards conſpired againſt *Cæſar*, and moſt of the legionary tribunes, adviſed *Craſſus* to ſuſpend his march, and deliberate with more leiſure on the enterprize, before he proceeded farther in it. But *Craſſus* obſtinately perſiſted in his former reſolution, contrary to the opinion of all his officers, being confirmed therein by the arrival of *Artabazes* king of *Armenia*, who brought with him ſix thouſand horſe, which were only his guard, and promiſed to ſend to the proconſul ten thouſand cuiraſſiers and thirty thouſand foot, whenever he ſhould ſtand in need of them. At the ſame he adviſed him by no means to march his army through the plains of *Meſopotamia*, but to take his rout over the mountains of *Armenia*. The reaſons with which he ſupported this advice were, that as *Armenia* was a mountainous country, the *Parthian* horſe, in which the main ſtrength of their army conſiſted, would prove there intirely uſeleſs; and beſides, that if he took this rout, his army ſhould be plentifully ſupplied with all neceſſaries: whereas, if he marched by the way of *Meſopotamia*, he would be perpetually haraſſed by the *Parthian* horſe, and often be obliged to lead his army through ſandy deſarts, where he would be diſtreſſed for want of water and all other proviſions. This was the beſt advice that could be given him, and the reaſons for it were unanſwerable; but *Craſſus*, deſpiſing all that was ſaid to him, told *Artabazes*, that as he had left many valiant *Romans* to gariſon the towns, which he had made himſelf maſter of the laſt year in *Meſopotamia*, he was obliged to take that rout, leſt they ſhould be abandoned to the mercy of the enemy; but as to the auxiliaries the king of *Armenia* had offered him, he willingly accepted them, and deſired *Artabazes* to ſend them to him with all poſſible expedition. Thus *Craſſus*, hearkening to no advice but what tended to his ruin, ſet out on his march for *Meſopotamia*. *Dion Caſſius*, a judicious hiſtorian and at the ſame time an experienced warrior, obſerves here, that the *Romans* under the command of *Craſſus* were on all occaſions, either ignorant of what was neceſſarily to be done, or in no condition to execute it; and adds, that one would have thought they had been blinded and perſecuted by ſome divinity, ſince they could neither make uſe of their minds nor bodies. This divinity was, no doubt, the true God, tho' unknown to *Dion*, who thus revenged the robbing and profaning of his holy temple at *Jeruſalem*.

Craſſus *deſpiſes the advice of the king of* Armenia.

Enters Meſopotamia, *contrary to the advice of all his officers.*

The proconſul, being greatly encouraged by the proſpect of the reinforcement promiſed him by the king of *Armenia*, began his march, and, contrary to the advice of his chief officers, advanced to the frontiers of *Meſopotamia*. He had under his command ſeven legions, four thouſand horſe, and a great many auxiliaries, the whole army amounting to forty thouſand men and upwards. With theſe he paſſed the *Euphrates*, near the city of *Zeugma*, in the province of *Comagene* (E), and again entered

[1] Plut. ibid. & Appian in Parthic.

(E) *Strabo* and *Pliny* place the city of *Zeugma* in *Comagene*, a province of *Syria*, and tell us, that it was ſo called from a bridge built here over the *Euphrates*, the word Ζευγμα in the *Greek* tongue ſignifying

a entered *Mesopotamia*. *Plutarch*, *Dion Cassius*, and *Julius Obsequens* speak of many prodigies, by which the gods declared before-hand, that they did not approve of this expedition, and gave him warning of the ill-success that would attend it. While the troops were passing the *Euphrates*, the sky was all on a sudden overcast, and so dreadful a storm arose, that the soldiers were filled with fear and consternation. The incessant claps of thunder, the flashes of lightning that followed one another, and the violent wind which blew in the soldiers faces, seemed to have been sent by the gods, on purpose to put a stop to their march. Part of the bridge was broke down by the wind and lightning, while the army was passing. The horse which *Crassus* used to ride in battle, fell into the river, and was drowned with the groom who led him.
b The golden eagle, which was the chief standard of the army, is said to have turned about of itself on the staff on which it was fixed. Many other standards were, by the violence of the wind, blown into the river and lost. While *Crassus* was offering the usual sacrifices for the purifying of the troops, he let fall the entrails of the victim, which the priests had, according to custom, put into his hands. From this event the soldiery drew bad presages; but the general, deriding their superstition, told them, That they had no occasion to be afraid, for his arms should not slip out of his hands in the same manner[k].

THE army having thus crossed the *Euphrates* and entered the enemy's country, *Cassius* advised the proconsul to advance to some of the towns in which he had left
c garisons, and there rest and refresh his troops, till he had got certain intelligence of the number, strength, and power of the enemy; but, if he did not approve of this counsel, he thought the best thing he could do was to march along the *Euphrates* to *Seleucia*; for, by keeping close to that river, he would avoid being surrounded by the *Parthians*, and at the same time be plentifully supplied, by means of his ships, with all necessary provisions. *Crassus* seemed to approve of this advice, and was ready to come into it, when *Abgarus* king of *Edessa*, of whom we have spoke in the end of the preceding volume, arrived at the *Roman* camp, and prevailed upon the proconsul to follow a quite different plan. *Abgarus*, as he had formerly served under *Pompey*, was well known in the *Roman* army, and looked upon by the soldiery as a
d friend; but in reality was a traitor, and sent by *Surenas*, with whom he kept a private correspondence, on purpose to bring about the destruction of *Crassus*; and this part he acted so well, that the ruin of the *Roman* army was chiefly owing to him. In the first interview he had with the *Roman* general, he told him, that he wanted wings and feet more than arms against a nation that was ready, on his approach, to withdraw with their most valuable effects into *Scythia* and *Hyrcania*; that they had not courage enough to look the *Romans* in the face; that the name of *Crassus* had already spread a general terror among their troops, and that there wanted no more for the obtaining of a complete victory, than to march directly up to them and give them battle. He offered himself for a guide to lead them the shortest way to the enemy;
e and *Crassus*, blinded with his flattering speeches, gave intirely into the snare, and followed the traitor, who had so strongly insinuated himself in his favour, that he would hearken to no-body but him. Under the conduct of this crafty and treacherous guide, they first entered into a vast green plain, divided by many rivulets; and their march proved very easy cross this delicious country: but the farther they advanced, the worse the roads grew, insomuch, that they were obliged at last to climb up mountains and rocks, which brought them to a dry and sandy plain, where they could neither find food to satisfy their hunger, nor water to quench their thirst. Then *Abgarus* began to be suspected by the tribunes and other officers, who earnestly pressed their general to follow him no longer, but to retreat to the mountains. At the same time
f an express arrived from *Artabazes*, acquainting *Crassus*, that *Orodes* had invaded his kingdom at the head of a mighty army, and that he was obliged to keep his forces at home for the defence of his own dominions. The same messenger advised the proconsul, in his master's name, to avoid by all means the barren plains, where his troops would

Betrayed by Abgarus *king of* Edessa.

The painful march of the Roman *Army.*

[k] PLUT. & DION. ibid.

signifying *a bridge*. This bridge was, according to *Dion Cassius* and *Stephanus*, the work of *Alexander the Great*. But it is not at all probable, that *Alexander* should have gone so far as *Comagene* to cross the *Euphrates*; and besides, *Arrian* tells us, that he led his army over that river at *Thapsacus*, after having repaired a bridge there, which had been destroyed by the *Persians*, in order to prevent him from entering *Mesopotamia*.

would periſh with hunger, and to take to the mountains and approach *Armenia*, that they might join their forces againſt the common enemy; but all was to no purpoſe, for *Craſſus*, inſtead of giving ear either to the wiſe counſels of his own officers, or of a king, who was a ſincere and hearty friend to the *Romans*, blindly and obſtinately followed the advice of the treacherous *Abgarus*, or rather his own ill fate; nay, he flew into a violent paſſion againſt the meſſenger ſent him by *Artabazes*, for the treacherous advice he had given him [1]. *Caſſius* could not hear this mad anſwer without the greateſt indignation; but *Abgarus* endeavoured to ſoften him, by promiſing to lead the army very ſoon into a delicious and fruitful country beyond the deſarts, which would make them amends for the fatigue they had undergone. As to *Craſſus*, he gave no other anſwer to the complaints of his troops, than that they could not expect to meet with the delights of *Campania*, in the moſt remote parts of the world.

THUS they continued their march for ſome days croſs a deſart, the very ſight of which was ſufficient to throw them into the utmoſt deſpair; for they could not perceive, either near them, or at a diſtance, the leaſt tree, plant, or brook, not ſo much as a hill, or a ſingle blade of graſs; nothing was to be ſeen all around them, but huge heaps of burning ſand. The *Romans* had ſcarce got through this deſart, when word was brought them by their ſcouts, that a numerous army of *Parthians* was advancing full march to attack them; for *Abgarus*, under pretence of going out on parties, had often conferred with *Surenas*, and concerted meaſures with him for deſtroying the *Roman* army. Upon this advice, which occaſioned great confuſion in the camp, the *Romans* being quite exhauſted and tired out with their long and troubleſome march, *Craſſus* drew up his men in battalia, following at firſt the advice of *Caſſius*, who was for extending the infantry as wide as poſſible, that they might take up the more ground, and by that means prevent the enemy from ſurrounding them; but *Abgarus* aſſuring the proconſul, that the *Parthian* forces were not ſo numerous as was repreſented, he changed this diſpoſition, and believing only the man who betrayed him, drew up his troops in a ſquare, which faced every way, and had on each ſide twelve cohorts in front. Near each cohort he placed a troop of horſe to ſupport them, that they might charge with the greater ſecurity and boldneſs. Thus the whole army looked more like one phalanx, than troops drawn up in *manipuli*, with ſpaces between them, after the *Roman* manner. The general himſelf commanded in the centre, his ſon in the left wing, and *Caſſius* in the right. In this order they advanced to the banks of a ſmall river called the *Baliſſus*, the ſight of which was very pleaſing to the ſoldiers, who were much harraſſed with drought and exceſſive heat. Moſt of the officers were for encamping on the banks of this river, or rather rivulet, to give the troops time to refreſh themſelves after the fatigues of ſo long and painful a march, and in the mean time to procure certain intelligence of the number and diſpoſition of the *Parthian* army; but *Craſſus*, ſuffering himſelf to be hurried on by the inconſiderate ardour of his ſon and the horſe he commanded, only allowed the legions to take a meal ſtanding; and before this could be done by all, he ordered them to advance, not ſlowly and halting now and then, after the *Roman* manner, but as faſt as they could move, till they came in ſight of the enemy, who, contrary, to their expectation, did not appear either ſo numerous or ſo terrible as they had been repreſented. But this was a ſtratagem of *Surenas*, who had concealed his men in convenient places, ordering them to cover their arms, leſt their brightneſs ſhould betray them, and ſtarting up at the firſt ſignal attack the enemy on all ſides. The ſtratagem had the deſired effect; for *Surenas* no ſooner gave the ſignal, than the *Parthians*, riſing as it were out of the ground, with dreadful cries and a moſt frightful noiſe, advanced againſt the *Romans*, who were greatly ſurprized and diſmayed at that ſight, and much more ſo, when the *Parthians*, throwing off the covering of their arms, appeared in ſhining cuiraſſes and helmets of burniſhed ſteel, finely mounted on horſes, covered all over with armour of the ſame metal. At their head appeared young *Surenas* in a rich dreſs, and was the firſt who charged the enemy, endeavouring with his pike-men to break through the firſt ranks of the *Roman* army; but finding it too cloſe and impenetrable, the cohorts ſupporting each other, he fell back and retired in a ſeeming confuſion; but the *Romans* were much ſurprized, when they ſaw themſelves ſuddenly ſurrounded on all ſides, and galled with continual ſhowers of arrows.

The imprudent conduct of Craſſus.

The Roman *army attacked by the* Parthians.

Craſſus

[1] PLUT. DION. ibid. APPIAN. in Parthic.

a *Craſſus* ordered his light-armed foot and archers to advance and charge the enemy; but they were ſoon repulſed, and forced to cover themſelves behind the heavy-armed foot. Then the *Parthian* horſe advancing near the *Romans*, diſcharged ſhowers of arrows upon them, every one of which did execution, the legionaries being drawn up in ſuch cloſe order, that it was impoſſible for the enemy to miſs their aim. As their arrows were of an extraordinary weight, and diſcharged with incredible force and impetuoſity, nothing was proof againſt them. The two kings advanced in good order to repulſe them, but to no effect; for the *Parthians* ſhot their arrows with as great dexterity when their backs were turned, as when they faced the enemy; ſo that the *Romans*, whether they kept their ground, or purſued their flying enemy, were b equally annoyed with their fatal arrows.

The Romans *galled by the arrows of the* Parthians.

THE *Romans*, as long as they had any hopes that the *Parthians*, after having ſpent their arrows, would either betake themſelves to flight, or engage them hand to hand, ſtood their ground with great reſolution and intrepidity; but when they obſerved that there were a great many camels in their rear loaded with arrows, and that thoſe who emptied their quivers wheeled about to fill them anew, they began to loſe courage, and loudly to complain of their general for ſuffering them thus to ſtand ſtill, and ſerve only as a butt to the enemy's arrows, which, they well ſaw, would not be exhauſted till they were all killed to a man. Hereupon *Craſſus* ordered his ſon to advance at all adventures, and attack the enemy with thirteen hundred horſe, five c hundred archers, and eight cohorts. But the *Parthians* no ſooner ſaw this choice body, for it was the flower of the army, marching up againſt them, but they wheeled about, and betook themſelves, according to their cuſtom to flight. Hereupon young *Craſſus*, crying out as loud as he could, *They fly before us*, puſhed on full ſpeed after them, not doubting but he ſhould gain a compleat victory; but when he was a great diſtance from the main body of the *Roman* army, he perceived his miſtake, for thoſe, who before had fled, facing about, charged him with incredible fury. Young *Craſſus* ordered his troops to halt, hoping that the enemy, upon ſeeing their ſmall number, would not be afraid to come to a cloſe fight; but herein he was likewiſe greatly diſappointed, for the *Parthians*, contenting themſelves to oppoſe his d front with their heavy-armed horſe, ſurrounded him on all ſides, and, keeping at a diſtance, diſcharged inceſſant ſhowers of arrows upon the unfortunate *Romans*, thus ſurrounded and pent up. The *Parthian* cavalry, in wheeling about, raiſed ſo thick a duſt, that the *Romans* could ſcarce ſee one another, much leſs the enemy; nevertheleſs they found themſelves wounded with arrows, tho' they could not perceive whence they came. In a ſhort time the place where they ſtood was all ſtrown with dead bodies. Some of the unhappy *Romans* finding their entrails tore, and many overcome by the exquiſite torments they ſuffered, rolled themſelves on the ſand with the arrows in their bodies, and expired in that manner. Others endeavouring to tear out by force the bearded points of the arrows, only made their wounds the larger, e and increaſed their pain. Moſt of them died in this manner, and thoſe who outlived their companions, were no more in a condition to act; for when young *Craſſus* exhorted them to march up to the enemy, ſome ſhewed him their wounded bodies, others their hands nailed to their bucklers, and ſome their feet pierced through and pinned to the ground; ſo that it was equally impoſſible for them either to attack the enemy, or defend themſelves. The young commander therefore, leaving his infantry to the mercy of the enemy, advanced at the head of the cavalry againſt their heavy-armed horſe. The thouſand *Gauls*, whom he had brought with him from the weſt, charged the enemy with incredible boldneſs and vigour; but their lances did little execution on men armed with cuiraſſes, and horſes covered with tried armour. f However, they behaved with great reſolution; for ſome of them taking hold of the enemies ſpears and cloſing with them, threw them off their horſes on the ground, where they lay without being able to ſtir, by reaſon of the great weight of their armour; others diſmounting crept under the enemies horſes, and thruſting their ſwords into their bellies, made them throw their riders. Thus the brave *Gauls* fought tho' greatly haraſſed with heat and thirſt, which they were not accuſtomed to bear, till the moſt of their horſes were killed, and their commander dangerouſly wounded. They then thought it adviſeable to retire to their infantry, which they no ſooner joined, than the *Parthians* inveſted them anew, making a moſt dreadful havock of them with their arrows. In this deſperate condition, *Craſſus* ſpying a riſing g ground at a ſmall diſtance, led the remains of his detatchment thither, with a deſign

Young Craſſus *advances againſt the enemy.*

Is reduced to great ſtraits;

to defend himself in the beſt manner he could, till ſuccours ſhould be ſent him from a
his father. The *Parthians* purſued him, and, having ſurrounded him in his new poſt, continued ſhowering arrows upon his men, till moſt of them were either killed or diſabled, without being able to make uſe of their arms, or give the enemy proofs of their valour.

Young *Craſſus* had two *Greeks* with him, who had ſettled in the city of *Carrhæ*. Theſe, touched with compaſſion in ſeeing ſo brave a man reduced to ſuch ſtraits, preſſed him to retire with them to the neighbouring city of *Iſchnes*, which had declared for the *Romans*; but the young *Roman* rejected their propoſal with indignation, telling them, that he would rather die a thouſand times, than abandon ſo many valiant men, who ſacrificed their lives for his ſake. Having returned this anſwer to his two b
Greek friends, he embraced and diſmiſſed them, giving them leave to retire and ſhift for themſelves in the beſt manner they could. As for himſelf, having now loſt all hopes of being relieved, and ſeeing moſt of his men and friends killed round him, he gave way to his grief, and not being able to make uſe of his arm, which was ſhot through with a large barbed arrow, he preſented his ſide to one of his attendants, and
His death. ordered him to put an end to his unhappy life. His example was followed by *Cenſorinus*, a Roman officer, by *Megabacchus* an experienced and brave officer, and by moſt of the horſe that ſerved under him. Five hundred common ſoldiers were taken priſoners, and all the reſt cut in pieces.

The *Parthians*, having thus cut off or taken the whole detachment commanded c
by young *Craſſus*, marched immediately againſt his father, who, upon the firſt advice that the enemy fled before his ſon and was cloſely purſued by him, had taken heart, the more becauſe thoſe, who had remained to make head againſt him, ſeemed to abate much of their ardour, the greateſt part of them having marched with the reſt againſt his ſon. Wherefore having encouraged his troops, he had retired to a hill in his rear, to wait there till his ſon returned from the purſuit. Young *Craſſus* had diſpatched frequent expreſſes to his father, to acquaint him with the danger he was in; but they had fallen into the the enemies hands, and been by them put to the ſword. Only the laſt, who had eſcaped with great difficulty, arrived ſafe, and informed him that his ſon was loſt, if he did not ſend him an immediate and powerful reinforcement. This news threw *Craſſus* into the utmoſt conſternation; a thouſand affecting thoughts roſe in his mind, and diſturbed his reaſon to ſuch a degree, that he ſcarce knew what he was doing. However, the deſire he had of ſaving his ſon and ſo many brave *Romans*, who were under his command, made him immediately decamp and march to their aſſiſtance; but he was not gone far, before he was met by the *Parthians*, who, with loud ſhouts and ſongs of victory, gave, at a great diſtance the unhappy father notice of his misfortune. They had cut off young *Craſſus*'s
The victorious Parthians arrive and falls upon Craſſus. head, and, having fixed it on the point of a lance, were advancing full ſpeed to fall on the rear. As they drew near, *Craſſus* was ſtruck with that diſmal and affecting ſight, but on this occaſion behaved like a hero; for tho' he was under the deepeſt concern, he had the preſence of mind to ſtifle his grief, for fear of diſcouraging the army, and to encourage the diſmayed troops, *This misfortune is entirely mine; the loſs of one man can't affect the victory: let us charge, let us fight like* Romans; *if you have any compaſſion for a father who has juſt now loſt a ſon, whoſe valour you admired, let it appear in your reſentment againſt theſe inſulting barbarians.* Thus *Craſſus* ſtrove to revive his troops; but his efforts were unſucceſsful: their courage was quite ſunk, and proceeded from the faint and languiſhing ſhout which they raiſed, according to cuſtom before the action. When the ſignal was given, the *Parthians* keeping to their uſual way of fighting, diſcharged clouds of arrows on the legionaries, without coming near them, which did ſuch dreadful execution, that many of the *Romans*, to avoid the arrows, which occaſioned a long and painful death, threw themſelves like men in deſpair, on the enemy's heavy-armed horſe, ſeeking from their ſpears a more quick and eaſy kind of death. Thus the *Parthians* continued paying them inceſ-
Deſperate reſolution of the Romans. ſantly with their arrows till night, when they left the field of battle, crying out, that they would allow the father one night to lament the death of his ſon.

This was a melancholy night for the *Romans*. *Craſſus* kept himſelf concealed from the ſoldiery, lying not in the generals tent, but in the open air, and on the bare ground, with his head wrapped up in his *paludamentum* or military cloke, and was, in that forlorn condition, ſays *Plutarch*, a great example to the vulgar of the inſtability of fortune; to the wiſe a ſtill greater of the pernicious effects of avarice, temerity,

temerity, and ambition. *Octavius*, one of his lieutenants, and *Cassius*, approached him, and endeavoured to raise him up and console him; but seeing him quite sunk under the weight of his affliction and deaf to all comfort, they summoned a council of war, composed of all the chief officers, wherein it was unanimously resolved, that they should decamp before break of day, and retire, without sound of trumpet, to the neighbouring city of *Carrhæ*, which was held by a *Roman* garison. Agreeable to this resolution, they began their march as soon as the council broke up; which produced dreadful outcries among the sick and wounded, who, perceiving that they were to be abandoned to the mercy of the enemy, filled the camp with their complaints and lamentations; but their cries and tears, tho' very affecting, did not stop the march of the others, which indeed was very slow, to give the stragglers time to come up. There were only three hundred light horse, under the command of one *Egnatius*, who pursued their march without stopping. These arriving at *Carrhæ* about midnight, *Egnatius*, calling to the centinels on the walls, desired them to acquaint *Coponius* governour of the place, that *Crassus* had fought a great battle with the *Parthians*; and, without saying a word more or letting them know who he was, continued his march with all possible expedition to the bridge of *Zeugma*, which he passed, and by that means saved his troops, but was much blamed for abandoning his general.

Crassus *gets to* Carrhæ.

HOWEVER, the message he sent to *Coponius* was of great service to *Crassus*; for that commander, wisely conjecturing, from the manner in which the unknown person delivered him that message, that some misfortune had befallen *Crassus*, immediately ordered his garison to stand to their arms, and marching out met *Crassus*, and conducted him and his army into the city; for the *Parthians*, tho' informed of his flight, did not dare to pursue him, observing therein the superstitious custom which obtained among them and the *Persians*, not to fight in the night; but, when it was day, they attacked the *Roman* camp, and having put all the wounded, to the number of four thousand, to the sword, dispersed their cavalry all over the plain in pursuit of the fugitives. One of *Crassus*'s lieutenants, named *Vargunteius*, having separated in the night from the main body of the army, with four cohorts, missed his way and was overtaken by the enemy, at who e approach he withdrew to a neighbouring hill, where he defended himself with great valour, till all his men were killed, except thirty, who made their way through the enemy sword in hand, and got safe to *Carrhæ*; but *Vargunteius* himself lost his life on this occasion.

IN the mean time *Surenas*, not knowing whether *Crassus* and *Cassius* had retired to *Carrhæ*, or taken a different rout, in order to be informed of the truth and take his measures accordingly, dispatched a messenger, who spoke the *Roman* language, to the city of *Carrhæ*, injoined him to approach the walls, and acquaint *Crassus* himself or *Cassius*, that the *Parthian* general was inclined to enter into a treaty with them, and demanded a conference. Both the proconsul and his quæstor *Cassius* spoke from the walls with the messenger, and accepting the proposal with great joy, desired that the time and place for an interview might be immediately agreed upon. The messenger withdrew, promising to return quickly with an answer from *Surenas*; but that general no sooner understood that *Crassus* and *Cassius* were in *Carrhæ*, than he marched thither with his whole army, and, having invested the place, acquainted the *Romans*, that, if they expected any favourable terms, they must deliver up *Crassus* and *Cassius* to him in chains. Hereupon a council of the chief officers being summoned, it was thought expedient to retire from *Carrhæ* that very night, and seek for another asylum. It was of the utmost importance, that none of the inhabitants of *Carrhæ*, should be acquainted with their design till the time of its execution; but *Crassus*, whose whole conduct evidently shews that he was blinded, as *Dion Cassius* observes, by some divinity, imparted the whole matter in confidence to one *Andromachus*, chusing him for his guide, and relying injudiciously on the fidelity of a man whom he scarce knew. *Andromachus* immediately acquainted *Surenas* with the design of the *Romans*, promising at the same time, as the *Parthians* did not engage in the night, to manage matters so, that they should not get out of his reach before daybreak. Pursuant to his promise, he led them through many windings and turnings, till he brought them into deep marshy grounds, where the infantry were up to the knees in mire. Then *Cassius*, suspecting that their guide had led them into those bogs with no good design, refused to follow him any longer, and returning to *Carrhæ*, took

[r] PLUT. & APPIAN. ibid. EUTROP. l. vi. OROS. l. vi. c. 13.

Cassius *gets safe into* Syria.

took his rout towards *Syria*, which he reached with five hundred horse. *Octavius* with five thousand men under his command, being conducted by trusty guides, gained the mountains, called, by *Plutarch* and *Appian*, *Sinnaci*, and there intrenched himself before break of day. As for *Crassus*, he was still entangled in the marshe, when *Surenas*, at the rising of the sun, overtook him, and invested him with his cavalry.

Crassus, *betrayed by his guide, is overtaken by the enemy.*

The proconsul had with him four cohorts and a small body of horse; and with these he gained, in spite of all opposition, the summit of another hill within two furlongs of *Octavius*, who, seeing the danger that threatened his general, flew to his assistance, first with a small number of his men, but was soon followed by all the rest, who, being ashamed of their cowardice, quitted their post, tho' very safe, and, charging the *Parthians* with great fury, disengaged *Crassus*, and obliged the enemy to abandon the hill. Upon the retreat of the enemy, they formed themselves into a hollow square, and, placing *Crassus* in the middle, made a kind of rampart round him with their bucklers, resolutely protesting, that none of the enemy's arrows should touch their general's body, till they were all killed fighting in his defence. *Surenas*, loth to let so fine a prey escape, surrounded the hill, as if he designed to make a new attack; but finding his *Parthians* very backward, and not doubting but the *Romans*, when night came on, would pursue their march and get out of his reach, had recourse again to artifice, and declared before some prisoners, whom he soon after set at liberty, that he was inclined to treat with the proconsul of a peace, and that it was better to come to a reconciliation with *Rome*, than to sow the seeds of an eternal war, by shedding the blood of one of her generals. Agreeable to this declaration,

Invited by Surenas *to an interview.*

Surenas, as soon as the prisoners were released, advanced towards the hill, where the *Romans* were posted, attended only by some of his officers, and, with his bow unbent and open arms, invited *Crassus* to an interview. So sudden a change seemed very suspicious to the proconsul, who therefore declined the interview, till he was forced by his own soldiers to intrust his life with an enemy, whose treachery they had all experienced; for the legionaries, flocking round him, not only abused him in an outrageous manner, but even menaced him, if he did not accept of the proposals made him by the *Parthian* general. Seeing therefore that his troops were ready to mutiny, he began to advance, without arms or guards, towards the enemy, after having called the gods and his officers to witness the violence his troops offered him, and intreated all who were present, but especially *Octavius* and *Petronius*, two of the chief commanders, for the honour of *Rome* their common mother, not to mention, after his death, the shameful behaviour of the *Roman* legionaries. *Octavius* and *Petronius* could not resolve to let him go alone, but attended him down the hill, as did likewise some legionaries keeping at a distance. *Crassus* was met at the foot of the hill by two *Greeks*, who, dismounting from their horses, saluted him with great respect, and desired him in the *Greek* tongue to send some of his attendants, who might satisfy him, that *Surenas*, and those who were with him, came without arms. Hereupon *Crassus* sent two brothers of the *Roscian* family; but *Surenas* having caused them to be seized, advanced to the foot of the hill mounted on a fine horse, and attended by the chief officers of his army. *Crassus*, who waited for the return of his two messengers, was surprised to see himself prevented by *Surenas* in person, when he least expected it. The *Parthian* general, perceiving as he approached *Crassus*, that he was on foot, cried out in a seeming surprise, *What do I see? a* Roman *general on foot, and we on horseback! Let a horse be brought for him immediately. You need not be surprised*, replied *Crassus*, *we are come only to an interview, each after the custom of his country. Very well*, answered *Surenas*, *there shall be henceforth a lasting peace between king* Orodes *and the people of* Rome; *but we must sign the articles of it on the banks of the* Euphrates; *for you* Romans *do not always remember your conventions.* *Crassus* would have sent for a horse; but a very stately one, with a golden bit and richly caparisoned, was brought to him by a *Parthian*; which *Surenas* presenting to him, *Accept this horse from my hands*, said he, *which I give you in the name of my master king* Orodes. He had scarce uttered these words, when some of the king's officers, taking *Crassus* by the middle, set him up upon the horse, which they began to whip with great violence before them, in order to make him quicken his pace. *Octavius*, offended at this insult, took the horse by the bridle; *Petronius*, and the few *Romans* who were present, seconded him, and flocking all around *Crassus*, stopped his horse. The *Parthians* endeavoured to repulse them and cleared the way for the proconsul; whereupon they began to justle and push one another with great tumult and disorder. At last

Insulted by the Parthians.

Octavius,

a *Octavius*, drawing his ſword, killed one of the king's grooms; but at the ſame time another coming behind *Octavius*, with one blow laid him dead at his feet. Both parties fought with great reſolution, the *Parthians* ſtriving to carry off *Craſſus*, and the *Romans* to reſcue him out of their hands. In this ſcuffle moſt of the *Romans*, who came to the conference, were killed, and among the reſt *Craſſus* himſelf; but whether by a *Roman* or a *Parthian* is uncertain. Some writers tell us, that he fell by the hand of one *Promonæthros* or *Manarthes*, a *Parthian*; but others, with *Livy* [n], *Florus* [o], and *Sextus Rufus* [p], leave it in doubt, whether he was killed by his own men, to prevent his falling alive into the enemy's hands, or by the *Parthians*. However that be, his head and right hand were immediately cut off, in order to be ſent to b *Orodes* in *Armenia*, and his mangled body left unburied, to be devoured by the wild beaſts. Upon his death, the reſt of the army either ſurrendered to the enemy, or, diſperſing in the night, were purſued and put to the ſword. The *Romans* loſt in this campaign at leaſt thirty thouſand men, of which twenty thouſand were killed, and ten thouſand taken priſoners. The latter continued in captivity among the *Parthians*, and contracting ignominious marriages, to the ſhame of *Rome*, as *Horace* emphatically expreſſes it (F), grew old on the lands and under the ſtandards of the barbarians. The ſtandards of the vanquiſhed legions were carried to *Seleucia*, and there ſhewn for many years as ſights; and from this time the *Romans* looked upon the war with the *Parthians* as the moſt important of all their wars, the revenging of c the death of *Craſſus* and the recovering of their enſigns being ever after the chief object of their application; but how they ſucceeded herein, we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory. This battle is called by the *Latin* authors the battle of *Carrhæ*, becauſe it was fought at a ſmall diſtance from that city, and was, without all doubt, the moſt terrible blow, after the battle of *Cannæ*, which the *Romans* ever received.

Surenas, having thus intirely defeated the *Roman* army, ſet out on his march to *Seleucia*, ſpreading a report, that *Craſſus* was ſtill alive, that he intended to ſhew him to the numerous inhabitants of that great metropolis. His deſign was to entertain them with a comical ſcene, which he projected on his march. There was among the *Roman* captives one *Caius Paccianus*, who greatly reſembled the proconſul *Craſ-*d *ſus*. This man *Surenas* cauſed to be dreſſed after the *Parthian* manner, and having placed him on a ſtately horſe, made him enter *Seleucia* at the head of the army, with twelve lictors carrying before him their faſces and axes. The guards of this mock conſul were mounted on camels, each of them having an empty purſe hanging at his girdle. The bloody heads of ſeveral *Roman* ſoldiers, ſtuck on ſpears, ſerved for trophies, and revived in the minds of the citizens of *Seleucia* the joy, which the firſt news of the late victory had occaſioned in that city. This odd train was followed by a company of lewd women, who with looſe ſongs ſtigmatized the memory and character of *Craſſus*. When the ſhew was over, *Surenas* produced, in the preſence of the ſenate of *Seleucia*, a collection of laſcivious tales, then known by the title of the e *Mileſian fables*, which a *Parthian* ſoldier had found in rifling the baggage of a young *Roman*, whom *Plutarch* calls *Ruſtius*. The general took occaſion from thence to inveigh againſt the debauchery of the *Romans*, who put ſuch infamous books into the hands of their youth, and corrupted their minds with lewd fables, inſtead of forming their bodies for the exerciſe of war [q].

And killed.

His whole army deſtroyed.

When the battle of *Carrhæ* was fought, king *Orodes* was, as we have hinted above, in *Armenia*, where he had concluded a peace with *Artabazes*; for the king of *Armenia*, on the return of the expreſſes he had ſent to *Craſſus*, perceiving by the falſe meaſures he had taken, that the army under his command muſt have been infallibly loſt, had entered into a treaty of friendſhip with the *Parthian*, and cemented it by f giving one of his daughters in marriage to *Pacorus* the ſon of *Orodes*. While the two kings were ſolemnizing their new alliance with expenſive and public feaſts, *Styllaces* or

[n] Liv. l. cvi. [o] Flor. l. iii. c. 11. [p] Sext. Ruf. in brev. [q] Plut. ibid.

(F) The words of *Horace* are:

Mileſne Craſſi conjuge barbara
Turpis maritus vixit? & hoſtium
(Proh Curia inverſique mores!)
Conſenuit ſocerorum in armis
Sub rege Medo Marſus & Appulus,
Anciliorum, nominis, & togæ
Oblitus, æternæque Veſtæ,
Incolumi Jove & urbe Roma (19) [r]

(19) *Horat. carm. l.* iii. *od.* 5.

The head of Craſſus *ſent to* Orodes.

or *Syllaces*, a *Parthian* officer, whom *Surenas* had ſent with the news of his late victory, and the head of *Craſſus* as a proof of it, arrived in the capital of *Armenia*. The two kings were at table, and *Jaſon*, a tragedian of *Trallis*, was ſinging ſome ſongs out of the *Bacchis* of *Euripides*, when the meſſenger was introduced, and preſented *Orodes* with the head of *Craſſus*, ſaying, Surenas *ſends you the head of the* Roman *general, who has been cut in pieces with his whole army*. The tranſports of joy which *Orodes* felt, at this ſight and theſe words, are not to be expreſſed. The lords of both kingdoms, who attended their ſovereigns, raiſed loud and repeated ſhouts of joy; and *Syllaces* was ordered to give a more particular and diſtinct account of that memorable action: which when he had done, *Orodes* commanded melted gold to be poured into *Craſſus*'s mouth, reproaching him thereby with avarice, which had been always his predominant paſſion [r].

Surenas *put to death.*

Surenas did not long enjoy the pleaſure of his victory; for *Orodes*, growing jealous of his glory and great authority among the *Parthians*, cauſed him to be put to death ſoon after [s], placing *Pacorus*, his favourite ſon, at the head of the army in his room. The young prince, agreeable to his father's directions, marched into *Syria*, which the *Parthians* expected to find without defence, after the late defeat of the *Roman* army; but *Caſſius*, the only general officer who ſurvived the defeat of *Craſſus*, meeting them on the frontiers, at the head of five hundred horſe, who had eſcaped with him out of *Meſopotamia*, and ſome *Aſiatic* levies, gave them ſo warm a reception, that they thought it adviſeable to retreat to their own territories, and there raiſe more forces for a ſecond invaſion. Accordingly they repaſſed the *Euphrates*, and, having ſpent the winter in making new preparations, early in the ſpring they croſſed the *Euphrates* anew, and re-entered *Syria* with a very numerous army, under the conduct of *Orſaces*, an old and experienced commander; for *Pacorus* the king's ſon, being then but fifteen years of age, had only the name of general. *Orſaces* reduced without oppoſition, ſuch places as lay in his way; and being maſter of all the country between the *Euphrates* and the city of *Antioch*, cloſely beſieged that metropolis, *Caſſius* having ſhut himſelf up in it, as not having ſufficient forces to keep the field and make head againſt ſo powerful an enemy. In the mean *Cicero*, to whom the province of *Cilicia* had been aſſigned, being informed by *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*, that *Caſſius* was beſieged in *Antioch* by the *Parthians*, and that the king of *Armenia* was ready to fall upon *Cappadocia*, drew together what forces he could, and with them marched to the eaſtern borders of his province lying next to *Armenia*, with a deſign to prevent the *Armenians* from invading *Cappadocia*, and to be at the the ſame time near at hand to aſſiſt *Caſſius*, in caſe the *Parthians* ſhould purſue the ſiege of *Antioch* with vigour. He likewiſe ſent another body of troops to mount *Amanus* with the ſame view, which falling in with a great party of *Parthian* horſe, that had entered *Cilicia* through the ſtreights of that mountain, cut them off all to a man. The news of this defeat and of *Cicero*'s approach to *Antioch* greatly encouraged *Caſſius* and his men to make a vigorous defence, and ſo diſheartened the *Parthians*, that, deſpairing to carry the place, they raiſed the ſiege, and marching to *Antigonia*, another city in that neighbourhood, attempted to reduce it; but as they were quite unacquainted with the manner of managing ſieges, their chief force conſiſting in cavalry, they were attended with no better ſucceſs there, and were ſoon obliged to retire. *Caſſius*, who was apprized of the rout they would take, drew them into an ambuſcade, in which great numbers of them were cut off, with *Orſaces* their leader. Thoſe who had the good luck to eſcape repaſſed the *Euphrates* with *Pacorus*; but returned again with new forces towards the end of the ſummer, and wintered in *Cyrrheſtica*, a northern province of *Syria* [t].

The Parthians *invade* Syria.

But are driven out with great loſs by Cicero *and* Caſſius.

Return, and beſiege Antioch.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon was proper for action, the *Parthians* took the field, and marching to *Antioch*, beſieged that city a ſecond time, and *M. Calpurnius Bibulus* with all his forces in it; for the province of *Syria* had been allotted to him, and *Caſſius*, who had defended it before without any legal commiſſion, was now returned to *Rome*. As *Bibulus* was no warrior, he did not ſo much as make one ſally, but kept his troops within the walls, ſuffering the enemy to carry on their works without the leaſt moleſtation. He would not even acquaint *Cicero*, who was ſtill in *Cilicia*, with the danger he was in; nay, he was heard to ſay, that he had rather be reduced to

[r] Flor. l. iii. c. 11. Sext. Ruf. in brev. Dio. Cass. l. xl. [s] Dio. Cass. ibid. [t] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12. & de bell. Jud. l. i. c. 6. Dio. Cass. l. xl. Plut. in Cicer. & Cic. ad familiar. l. iii. epiſt. 2. & l. xv. epiſt. 1, 2, 3, 4. & l. v. ad Attic. epiſt. 18, 20.

to the utmoſt extremity, than ſeem to ſtand in need of his aſſiſtance. However, his lieutenants wrote both to *Cicero* and to *Thermus* prætor of *Aſia*, ſoliciting them to haſten to their relief; but, before their arrival, *Bibulus* effected by craft what he dared not attempt by force; for having by his emiſſaries encouraged *Ordonopantes*, a nobleman of *Parthia*, who had been diſguſted by *Orodes*, to raiſe a rebellion in the heart of the kingdom, the army before *Antioch* was recalled to ſuppreſs it; by which means the ſiege of *Antioch* was raiſed, and all *Syria* delivered from the danger it was in of falling under the power of the *Parthians* [u]. *The ſiege raiſed.*

We find no further mention made of the *Parthians* from this time to the breaking out of the civil war between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, when the latter ſent embaſſadors to ſolicit ſuccours from *Orodes*; which that prince was willing to grant, on condition that *Syria* was delivered up to him; but *Pompey* refuſing to comply with his demand, he not only denied him the ſuccours he required, but, after the battle of *Pharſalia*, put in irons *Lucius Hirtius*, whom *Pompey* had ſent to him to implore his aſſiſtance anew, or at leaſt to obtain for him leave to ſhelter himſelf in the *Parthian* dominions [w]. But, for all this, *Cæſar* had no ſooner got the better of *Pompey*'s party, and ſettled his affairs at *Rome*, than he began to make great preparations, with a deſign to invade *Parthia*, and revenge the defeat and death of *Craſſus* at *Carrhæ*; but when all things were ready for his expedition, *Cæſar* was killed, and the *Parthians* by his death delivered from a war, which, in all likelihood, would have proved fatal to them [x]. Not long after, the eaſtern provinces being allotted to *Marc Antony*, in the famous partition of the *Roman* empire between him, *Octavianus*, and *Lepidus*, the cities of *Syria*, being grievouſly oppreſſed with the taxes *Marc Antony* laid on them, roſe up in arms, and, having killed thoſe who were ſent to gather them, invited the *Parthians* to their aſſiſtance, aſſuring them, that they were all to a man ready to join them and drive out the *Romans*. On this invitation the *Parthians* paſſed the *Euphrates* with a mighty army, under the command of *Pacorus* and *Labienus*, a *Roman* general of *Pompey*'s party. He was the ſon of *Titus Labienus*, who had been *Cæſar*'s lieutenant in *Gaul*, and one of his chief favourites; but afterwards ſiding with *Pompey*, became one of his moſt inveterate enemies, and was ſlain fighting againſt him in the battle of *Munda*. His ſon, purſuing the ſame intereſt, had been ſent by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, a little before the battle of *Philippi*, to beg ſuccours of the *Parthian* king, which he was ſoliciting when that battle happened. The bad ſucceſs which attended his friends on that occaſion having diſcouraged him from returning, he continued in *Parthia*; and, having prevailed on *Orodes* to undertake this war, was ſent with *Pacorus* to command under him [y]. On his entering *Syria*, he was met by *Saxa*, *Antony*'s lieutenant, whom he overthew in a pitched battle, obliging him to ſhelter himſelf in *Cilicia*. After this victory, having divided his army into two bodies, he marched with one after *Saxa* into *Cilicia*, where he killed him, over-ran all *Aſia Minor*; and having obliged *Plancus*, *Antony*'s other lieutenant in thoſe parts, to fly to the iſlands, ſubjected all the places as far as the *Helleſpont* and the *Ægean* ſea [z]. At the ſame time *Pacorus*, with the other part of the army, reduced all *Syria* and *Phænice*, as far as *Tyre*, which was the only city that held out againſt him, being defended by the *Romans*, who from all parts had flocked thither as to a place of refuge. Thus the *Parthians* made themſelves maſters of all *Syria*, *Aſia Minor*, and *Phænice*, except *Tyre*, and exerciſed their power even in *Judæa*, where they plundered *Jeruſalem*, drove *Hyrcanus* from the throne, and placed *Antigonus* on it in his room, in the manner we have related in the hiſtory of the *Jews*. *The* Parthians *invade* Syria, *under the command of* Pacorus *and* Labienus. *Their conqueſts in* Syria, Phœnice, *and* Aſia Minor, *&c.*

But they did not long enjoy their new conqueſts; for *Antony*, after his reconciliation with *Octavianus*, having ſent *Ventidius*, one of his lieutenants, againſt them, that general was attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that the *Parthians* were ſoon obliged to quit all they had taken and repaſs the *Euphrates*; for *Ventidius* managed matters with ſuch expedition, that, arriving in *Aſia* much ſooner than expected, he ſurprized *Labienus* before he was in a condition to withſtand him, having no *Parthian* troops with him, but only a few *Roman* deſerters and a ſmall body of raw and undiſciplined *Aſiatics*, gathered up in *Syria*, *Phænice*, and *Aſia Minor*; wherefore, not daring to ſtand the approach of a *Roman* army, he retired as faſt as *Ventidius* advanced, till *Ventidius ſent againſt them.*

[u] Cic. ad famil. l. ii. epiſt. 17. & l. xii. epiſt. 19. & ad Attic. l. vi. epiſt. 6. l. vii. epiſt. 2, &c. Dio. Cass. ibid. [w] Dio, l. xli, xlii. [x] Plut. in Cæſ. Appian. de bell. civil. l. ii. Dio, Cass. l. xlii. & xliii. [y] Dio. Cass. ibid. Euseb. in chron. Appian. in Parthic. Plut. in Anton. [z] Dio. Cass. ibid. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 5.

till he got to mount *Taurus*, where he encamped so advantagiously, that he could a not be forced to a battle, and then sent to *Pacorus* for assistance. *Pacorus* sent immediately the flower of his army to the relief of *Labienus*; but the *Parthians*, despising the *Romans* on account of their late victories over them, engaged *Ventidius* before *Labienus* could join them, and were intirely defeated. The news of this defeat so disheartened those who were with *Labienus*, that they all abandoned him, every one shifting for himself in the best manner he could. *Ventidius* pursued them, slew some of them, and took the rest into his service. As for *Labienus*, he made his escape in a disguise; but after having sculked about for some time in *Cilicia*, from one hiding place to another, he was at last discovered by *Demetrius*, governor of *Cyprus*, taken, and put to death [a]. After this victory, *Ventidius*, having made himself master of all b *Cilicia*, marched to mount *Amanus*, which parted that province from *Syria*; and there met another army of *Parthians*, who, under the command of *Pharnapates*, one of *Pacorus*'s lieutenants, had seized the passes leading into *Syria*, in order to obstruct his further progress; but, *Ventidius* falling upon them, cut most of them in pieces, killed their general, and having gained a second victory as considerable as the former, pursued his march, without any further opposition, into *Syria*. Hereupon *Pacorus*, having assembled all his forces, made what haste he could to the *Euphrates*, which he repassed, leaving the *Romans* masters of all the countries on this side of that river [b].

Gains great advantages over them.

Antony, who in the mean time was diverting himself with his new wife *Octavia* at *Athens*, being informed of the victories gained by *Ventidius*, made great rejoicings c in that city; but hearing at the same time that *Pacorus* was making vast preparations for another invasion, he resolved to head his army in person, and not suffer his lieutenant to reap the whole glory of the war: wherefore early in the spring he left *Athens* with all his forces, and marched towards the east; but, before he got thither, *Ventidius* had gained a third victory over the *Parthians*, far more glorious than the other two. It was obtained in the following manner: *Ventidius* fearing lest the *Parthians*, whose preparations were much advanced, should pass the *Euphrates* before he had time to draw all his troops together from their different quarters, had recourse to the following stratagem: there was a petty eastern prince in his camp, under the character of an ally, who was intirely addicted to the interest of the *Parthians*, with whom d *Ventidius* well knew he kept a private correspondence, communicating to them all the intelligence he could get of the counsels and designs of the *Romans*. This man's treachery *Ventidius* resolved to improve to his own advantage; for taking the first opportunity that offered of conversing with him, and seeming to repose in him an intire confidence, he told him, that he had heard with much concern, that the *Parthians* did not design to pass the *Euphrates* at *Zeugma*, as usual, but to enter *Syria* another way, at a passage much below the former; for if they pass at *Zeugma*, said he, the country on this side of the *Euphrates* is so mountainous, that the cavalry, in which the whole force of their army consists, can do us no great hurt; but, in case e they take the lower passage, the country being there all plain and level, they will have so great an advantage over us, that it will be impossible for us to make head against them. This conference was no sooner over, than the treacherous *Chaunæus*, for so he is called by *Appian*, conveyed a full account of it to the *Parthians*, with whom it had the desired effect; for *Pacorus*, instead of keeping the road to *Zeugma*, took the other rout, and in that march lost forty days; during which time *Ventidius* being joined by *Silo*, *Antony*'s lieutenant in *Palestine*, and by all the legions which were quartered on the other side of mount *Taurus*, found himself in a condition to give them a warm reception when they entered *Syria*. As they met with no opposition either in passing the river or advancing into *Syria*, they ascribed that inactivity to fear, and therefore, with great boldness, went directly to attack the *Romans* in their camp, f on the top of a steep hill. This *Ventidius* expected, and therefore sallying out upon them at the head of his legionaries, as they were ascending the hill, easily put them in disorder, by the advantage of the ground, and pursued them with great slaughter into the plain, where they rallied and made a most vigorous resistance, the victory being doubtful, till *Pacorus* was killed, fighting with incredible bravery at the head of the *Parthian* horse. His death was followed by the flight of the whole army, every one striving to regain the bridge, in order to retire into their own country; but *Ventidius*

Labienus *taken, and put to death.*

Pacorus *killed, and his army intirely cut off by* Ventidius.

[a] Dio, l. xlviii. p. 380, 381. Appian. in Parthic. Flor. l. iv. c. 9. Plut. in Anton.

[b] Dio, Appian. ibid, Liv. epit. l. cxxvii.

[a] *Ventidius*, with a ſtrong detachment of horſe, getting to the *Euphrates* before them, cut off their retreat; ſo that only a ſmall number of them eſcaped by flight, and retired into the dominions of *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*; the reſt were all put to the ſword [c]. This victory, which fully revenged the death of *Craſſus* and the *Romans* who were killed with him, was gained on the ſame day of the year, on which, fourteen years before, the famous battle of *Carrhæ* was loſt.

Orodes, when he heard of the defeat of his army and the death of his ſon, was ſo overwhelmed with grief, that, for ſome days, he abſtained from all food, not being able to utter a ſingle word the whole time; and when he recovered the uſe of his tongue, he acted and ſpoke in ſuch manner, as plainly ſhewed, that ſorrow had got the better of his reaſon; for nothing was heard from him but the name of *Pacorus*, *his dear Pacorus*; ſometimes he talked to him as if he had been preſent, commended his gallant behaviour, and launched out on the happineſs of a father who was bleſſed with ſuch a ſon. At other times, remembering that he was dead, he burſt into a flood of tears, and was ready to lay violent hands on himſelf: and indeed never was grief more juſt; for this was the moſt terrible blow the *Parthian* monarchy had ever received, and the loſs of the young prince was as great as that of the army, he being commended by all the ancients as the moſt worthy perſon for juſtice, clemency, valour, and all other princely qualities, that the royal family of *Arſaces* ever produced. He ſo endeared himſelf to the *Syrians*, during the ſhort time he lived among them, that they never expreſſed more affection for any of their native ſovereigns, than they did for him, tho' deſcended from a family, which had brought many calamities on their country [d].

HAD *Ventidius* purſued the advantages of this victory, he might have driven the *Parthians* quite out of *Meſopotamia* and *Babylonia*, and extended the boundaries of the *Roman* empire to the *Tigris*; but, as he was afraid of giving umbrage to *Antony*, with whoſe jealous temper he was well acquainted, he contented himſelf with reducing thoſe places in *Syria* and *Phœnice*, which had revolted from the *Romans* in the late war. Purſuant to this plan, he was with his whole army in *Comagene*, making war upon *Antiochus* king of that country, for ſiding with the *Parthians*, when *Antony* arriving took the command of the army upon himſelf and diſmiſſed *Ventidius*. His pretence for this was, that *Ventidius* deſerved a triumph, and ought to go to *Rome* to aſk it of the ſenate; but the true motive that prompted him to act in this manner was, that he envied him the great glory he had acquired, and the reputation he was in with the army; for *Antony* was one of thoſe, who cannot bear to be ſerved by perſons of ſuch talents as are capable of eclipſing their own; he was therefore glad to get rid of him, and never employed him afterwards, tho' he often ſtood in need of ſo able and experienced a general. *Ventidius*, on his return to *Rome*, was received there with all poſſible marks of honour, and granted a triumph, with the general applauſe of the whole city. In his triumph two very remarkable circumſtances concurred; the one, that he was the only *Roman* who ever triumphed over the *Parthians*, no one having, either before or after him, attained to that honour. The other circumſtance, no leſs remarkable, was, that he triumphed after having been led in triumph himſelf; for, in the *ſocial* war, being made a captive at the taking of *Aſculum*, the chief city of *Picenum*, by *Strabo* the father of *Pompey the Great*, he was, with his father and mother, who carried him in her arms, led before the triumphal chariot of that general. Afterwards his family being brought to poverty by the ruin of their city, he was obliged, when grown up, to betake himſelf to a mean and ſordid employment for his livelihood; for at firſt he was only a muleteer, and being uſed to provide mules to carry the baggage of ſuch *Roman* magiſtrates as were ſent to govern foreign provinces, *Cæſar* employed him in this capacity when he firſt went into *Gaul*; and having on that occaſion obſerved in him a great quickneſs of apprehenſion and activity, took him with him into his province, and put him in the way of riſing to great preferments; for he firſt gave him a ſmall command in the army, from which he raiſed himſelf, by his diſtinguiſhed merit, through all the ſtations of the camp to the higheſt poſt in the army, and became one of *Cæſar*'s chief generals in all the wars he waged afterwards. Upon his death he ſided with *Antony*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf at *Mutina*

Antony *diſmiſſes* Ventidius, *and takes the command of the army on himſelf.*

Ventidius *obtains a triumph.*

[c] LIV. l. cxxviii. FLOR. l. iv. c. 9. STRABO, l. xvi. p. 751. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 78. JOSEPH. l. xiv. c. 27. A. GELL. l. xv. c. 4. JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. 4. PLUT. in Anton. FRONTIN. Stratagem. l. i. c. 1. & l. ii. c. 2. DION, l. xlix. [d] JUSTIN. xlii. l. c. 4.

Phraates and *Perusia*, and was at last sent as *Antony*'s lieutenant into the east, where he gained the victories over the *Parthians* which we have mentioned [e].

In the mean time *Orodes*, being in some degree recovered from the distraction of mind, which the death of his son *Pacorus* had occasioned, appointed *Phrahates* the eldest, but the most wicked of all his children, to succeed him in the throne, admitting him at the same time to share the regal power with himself. *Phrahates* no sooner found himself vested with the sovereign authority, than he caused all his brothers by the daughter of *Antiochus Eusebes*, king of *Syria*, to be put to death, for no other reason, but because they were of a more noble descent than himself. As this was highly resented by his father, he attempted to put him to death also, by giving him a potion of the poisonous juice of hemlock; but that proving only a medicine against the dropsy, which grief had brought upon the king, the cruel and unnatural son caused him to be stifled in his bed, and soon after dispatched all his brothers, who were thirty in number. The same cruelty he exercised over the nobility and all the rest of the royal family, not sparing his eldest son, lest the discontented *Parthians* should place him, as he was already of age, on the throne. Hereupon many of the chief lords of *Parthia*, quitting their own country, took refuge in *Syria*, under the protection of *Antony*. Among these was one *Monaeses*, a man of great distinction, who having gained the confidence of *Antony*, prevailed upon him to engage in a war with the *Parthians* his countrymen [f].

Orodes dies by the hands of his son Phrahates.

As *Antony* had, by means of his lieutenant *Publius Canidius*, reduced the *Armenians*, *Albanians*, and *Iberians*, and carried his victorious arms as far as mount *Caucasus*, he was easily persuaded to embarque in a war, which he had long designed, all the *Romans*, who served under him, earnestly pressing him to revenge the death of *Crassus* and their countrymen, who had perished with him at *Carrhae*. Accordingly he began to make vast preparations for so great an undertaking; and as he formed all his schemes for the carrying of it on by the advice of *Monaeses*, in order to attach him the more to his service, he allowed him the revenues of three cities for his maintenance, imitating therein the generosity of *Xerxes* towards *Themistocles*; and moreover promised to place him on the throne of *Parthia*, on his conquering that country. But in the mean time *Phrahates*, dreading the advantage which the enemy might draw from the advice of so wise and able a counsellor, who was well acquainted with the country, sent a solemn embassy to invite him home, on such terms as the banished *Parthian* thought fit to accept. This greatly provoked *Antony*; but nevertheless he did not think it adviseable to use any violence with him, for fear of discouraging others from revolting: he therefore dismissed him with great civility, and sent embassadors with him to *Phrahates* to treat of a peace, hoping by that means to divert him from making the necessary preparations for a war, and to fall upon him before he was in a condition to withstand him; but herein he was greatly disappointed, for, on his arrival at the *Euphrates*, which he intended to pass and enter the *Parthian* dominions on that side, he found all the passes so well guarded on the other bank, that he thought it advisable to march off to the left, with a design to reduce *Media*, and from thence invade *Parthia*. This plan had been suggested to him before by *Artabazes* king of *Armenia*, who, falling out with *Artavasdes* king of *Media*, had pressed *Antony* to take that rout, with no other view but to distress the *Median* his rival. *Antony* had rejected it when first proposed, intending to invade the *Parthian* dominions by the nearest cut over the *Euphrates*; but not succeeding in that, he fell in with the proposal of the *Armenian*, who in the end betrayed him; for, instead of conducting him the streight way from *Zeugma* on the *Euphrates* to the river *Araxes*, which parted *Media* from *Armenia*, and was about five hundred miles distance from the place whence he first set out, he led him over rocks and mountains so far about, that the army had marched a thousand miles and upwards, before they reached the borders of *Media* [g], where they intended to begin the war; so that they were not only greatly fatigued, but had not sufficient time, the year being already far spent, to put in execution the design on which they were come. However, as *Antony* was in great haste to get back to *Cleopatra*, he left behind him most of the baggage of the army, and three hundred waggons loaded with battering rams and other military engines for sieges, ordering *Statianus*, one of his lieutenants, with a body of ten thousand men,

Antony undertakes a war against the Parthians. Year of the Jul. Per. 3973. Before Christ 31.

Invades Media.

His long and fatiguing march.

[e] PLUT. APPIAN. DION CASS. ibid. A. GELL. l. xv. c. 4. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 63. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 9. PLIN. l. vii. c. 43. [f] JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. 4. DIO. CASS. l. xlix. PLUT. in Crass. [g] DIO. CASS. & PLUT. ibid. STRABO, l. xi. & xvi.

men, to guard them, and bring them by ſlower marches after the army. With the reſt of the forces he haſtened forward, and marched three hundred miles more, without allowing his men any reſpite, till he arrived at *Praaſpa*, or, as others call it, *Phraata*, the capital of *Media*, which he immediately inveſted; but, as the place was well fortified, he was ſoon made ſenſible of his miſtake in leaving behind him his battering rams and other military engines; for without them he could make no progreſs in the ſiege: and when the *Median* and *Parthian* forces came up with him, they did not think it worth their while to attack him, but purſued their march, with a deſign to prevent *Statianus* from joining him with the heavy carriages, without which, they well knew, he could never make himſelf maſter of the city. *Statianus* did not expect them, and therefore, being attacked before he had time to draw up his men, was cut off, with the whole body under his command, which amounted to ten thouſand men. All the baggage and military engines were taken, and among the reſt a battering ram eighty foot long. *Polemo*, king of *Pontus*, was made priſoner, and with him a few *Romans*, to whom the *Parthians* gave quarter in the end of the ſlaughter; but all the reſt were put to the ſword [h].

*Ro*ſiges Phraata.

Statianus *cut off, with ten thouſand* Romans.

Statianus, on his firſt diſcovering the enemy, had diſpatched an expreſs to *Antony*, who made all the haſte he could to his aſſiſtance; but nevertheleſs came too late, and found, on his arrival, *Statianus* and all his men dead on the field of battle: but as no enemy appeared, he took courage, imagining they had fled at his approach, and returned to the ſiege, where he was daily haraſſed by the garriſon within, and by the enemy's army without. If he ſent out ſmall parties to forage, they were generally cut off by the *Parthian* cavalry; and if he detached large bodies, thoſe who remained were not able to ſtand the repeated ſallies of the numerous garriſon. To obviate theſe inconveniencies, *Antony* attempted to draw the enemy to a general engagement, and twice ſucceeded therein, but without reaping from thence any advantage; for tho' he put the enemy to flight in both engagements, yet the loſs they ſuſtained was very inconſiderable, the *Parthians* preventing, by the ſwiftneſs of their horſes, the evil conſequences which generally attend ſuch defeats. In the laſt he thought his victory compleat, and purſued it to the utmoſt; but in the end found that he had killed only eighty of the enemy's men and taken thirty priſoners during the whole action. However, he continued before *Phraata* till his proviſions were near ſpent, and the forage round the country quite conſumed; when he began to think of a retreat, ſeeing he had loſt all hopes of making himſelf maſter of the beſieged city; but as he was to march three hundred miles through the enemy's country, for at that diſtance *Phraata* lay from the borders of *Armenia*, before he raiſed the ſiege, he ſent embaſſadors to *Phrahates* to acquaint him, that the *Roman* people was willing to grant him a laſting peace, provided he would return the ſtandards and priſoners taken at *Carrhæ*. *Phrahates* received the embaſſadors ſitting on a golden throne, and, after having bitterly inveighed againſt the avarice and unbounded ambition of the *Romans*, told them, that he would not by any means part with the ſtandards and captives taken at *Carrhæ*, but would allow *Antony* to retire unmoleſted, provided he withdrew immediately from before *Phraata*. *Antony*, who was reduced to great ſtraits, no ſooner received this anſwer, than he raiſed the ſiege, and began his march towards *Armenia*, hoping that *Phrahates* would be as good as his word; but he was therein greatly diſappointed, for the *Parthian* army haraſſed him the whole way, and fell upon him eighteen times with all their forces, before he reached the *Araxes*, which was the boundary of the *Median* territories. 'Tis true, he always repulſed them, but not without great loſs on his ſide; whereas that of the *Parthians*, as being all horſemen, was very inconſiderable, by reaſon of their quick retreats. The *Romans* were very fortunate in their guide, who being a native of *Mardia*, a country bordering on *Media* and *Armenia*, was well acquainted with the roads and by-ways, and conducted them with great fidelity. However, the army was thrice in imminent danger of being intirely cut off by ambuſcades, which they could not poſſibly have eſcaped, had they not received notice of them from the enemy's quarters. *Monæſes* twice forewarned *Antony* of them by a meſſenger ſent to him for that purpoſe, in return for the kindneſs ſhewn him during his baniſhment. The other time he had his intelligence from an old *Roman* ſoldier, who had continued among the *Parthians* ever ſince the battle of *Carrhæ*, and came to the *Roman* camp to acquaint his countrymen with the danger. This painful

Antony *raiſes the ſiege of* Phraata.

Haraſſed by the Parthians *in his retreat.*

march

[h] Strabo, l. xi. p. 523. Dion Cass. p. 407. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 82. Plut. in Anton.

march lasted twenty-seven days, during which time they were not only incessantly harassed by the *Parthian* arrows, but greatly distressed for want of provisions, the parties that went out to forage being generally cut off, and their beasts of burden either dead, or employed in carrying the sick and wounded. A quart of wheat was sold in the camp for fifty drachmas, and barley-loaves for their weight in silver. At last they were reduced to live upon such roots and herbs as they found in the fields, which occasioned many distempers among them. When the famine first began to rage in the camp, some to avoid it fled to the enemy; but were by the *Parthians* cruelly murdered in the sight of the rest; which put a stop to their deserting and proved very advantagious to *Antony*, who would have been left alone, had the enemy treated kindly such as took refuge with them. *Antony*, seeing his men dying every day in great numbers, was often heard to cry out, *O, the ten thousand!* admiring the conduct of *Xenophon*, who marched a far longer way through the enemy's country, and, in spite of all opposition, led his men safe home. At length the army began to mutiny, and falling upon those who had any gold or silver, plundered and murdered them, rifled *Antony*'s baggage, seized on his money and plate, and committed many other disorders. Hereupon the general, quite disheartened, retired to his tent, and calling one of his freed-men, ordered him to kill him, and after his death to cut off his head and conceal it, lest it should fall into the enemy's hands, and be insulted as that of *Crassus* had been; but the *Mardian* guide, coming into his tent in the mean time, prevailed upon him to forbear using any violence on himself, by assuring him, that the worst of the march was over, and that he was at a small distance from the river *Araxes*, beyond which the *Parthians* would not pursue him. Accordingly he arrived a few days after at that river, and crossed it, without being disturbed in the least by the enemy. The soldiers, seeing themselves at length out of the enemy's reach and in a place of safety, fell down on the ground, and kissed it, embracing one another with tears of joy [h].

Reduced to great straits.

Antony committed, without all doubt, many mistakes in the management of this war, but none in his retreat; for all the ancients do him the justice to own, that he conducted it with as much art and success as it was capable of. He lost indeed a great many men; for on his reviewing his forces after he had passed the *Araxes*, he found twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse missing; but the greater part of these had perished by the hardships of the campaign, and very few by the enemy's swords. The greatest error he committed in this fatal undertaking, was his obstinately pursuing his march, after he had, with the utmost difficulty, got back into *Armenia*; for instead of putting the remainder of his army into winter quarters, and allowing them time to refresh themselves after so long and fatiguing a march, as he was in haste to get back to *Cleopatra*, he continued his march, tho' winter was far advanced, through *Armenia*, which was then covered with snow, and, in that mountainous country, lost eight thousand more of his men, who perished by reason of the hard season and excessive cold; so that, according to the most moderate calculation, he lost in all two-and-thirty thousand men [i]. *Florus* tells us [k], that he did not bring back the third part of his army, which, at his first setting out on this destructive undertaking, consisted of an hundred thousand men. He was not indeed overcome in battle, as *Crassus* had been; but, if we compare the losses of both generals, we shall find *Antony*'s expedition to have been the most unfortunuate of the two; and yet, on his return into *Egypt*, he had the confidence to assume such honours as were due only to conquerors.

His great loss.

Antony was scarce returned from this expedition, when the kings of *Media* and *Parthia*, falling out about the booty they had taken on the defeat of *Statianus*, the former sent an embassy to him, offering to join him with all his forces against the latter. *Antony* accepted this offer with great joy, the more because he was informed at the same time, that the *Parthians*, not able to endure the tyranny and cruelty of their king, had taken up arms against him, and were greatly divided among themselves. These circumstances offered him a favourable opportunity of making amends, by a new expedition, for the miscarriages of the former. Accordingly he resolved to lay hold of it, and leaving *Egypt* hastened into *Syria*, there to make the necessary preparations for a second invasion; but *Cleopatra* feigning that his absence had thrown her into a languishing distemper, and that she could not live without him, he was so infatuated

Resolves on a second expedition against the Parthians; *but is diverted from it by* Cleopatra.

[h] PLUT. DIO. CASS. JUSTIN. FLOR. ibid. [i] PLUT. & DIO. CASS. ibid. [k] FLOR. l. iv. c. 10.

infatuated as to believe her, and giving over all thoughts of revenging his late losses, to drop the enterprize and return to the embraces of his beloved queen [k]. However, he sent such a body of *Romans* to the assistance of *Artavasdes*, king of *Media*, as enabled him to gain a complete victory over *Phrahates* king of *Parthia*; but the ensuing year a war breaking out between *Antony* and *Octavianus*, the former not only recalled the troops he had sent to the assistance of *Artavasdes*, but also retained those which *Artavasdes* had sent him in their room; by which means the king of *Media* was intirely defeated in a second battle, and taken prisoner by *Phrahates*, who pursuing his victory, reduced all *Media* and likewise *Armenia*, restoring to that throne *Artaxias* the son of *Artabazes*, who had been driven from it by *Antony*, as we have related in the history of *Armenia*.

Media *reduced by* Phrahates.

Phrahates, elated with this success, began to oppress his subjects in a most cruel and tyrannical manner; whereupon the *Parthian* nobility, conspiring against him, drove him from the throne, and placed on it in his room *Tiridates*, one of their own body; but the next year *Phrahates* returned into *Parthia* at the head of a numerous army, and, having overcome his rival in a pitched battle, recovered his crown. *Tiridates* took refuge in *Syria*, where *Octavianus* found him after the death of *Antony*, and was warmly solicited by him to lend him his assistance against *Phrahates*. At the same time embassadors arrived from *Phrahates* on the same errand. *Octavianus* received them both in a very friendly manner, without intending to help either, but rather to egg them on against each other with fair promises, and by that means to waste and weaken the power and strength of that formidable empire. With this view he gave *Tiridates* leave to continue in *Syria*, till he should be in a condition to make head against his rival, accepting from him a son of *Phrahates*, who had fallen into his hands. This son he carried with him to *Rome*, where he kept him as a hostage [l]. Not long after, *Tiridates* returned into *Parthia* and drove out *Phrahates*; but was soon driven out again by him in his turn. *Phrahates* was assisted by the *Scythians*, who not only reinstated him in his kingdom, but supported him in it with a mighty army. Hereupon *Tiridates*, with the leading men of his party, fled to *Rome*, to implore the assistance and protection of *Augustus*, promising to hold the kingdom of him, provided he was restored to it by his means. *Phrahates* hearing he had fled to *Rome*, dispatched embassadors thither after him, to obviate his designs, and to demand of *Augustus* the delivery of his rebellious subjects and the release of his son, whom *Tiridates* had put into his hands. *Augustus* received *Tiridates*, as well as the embassadors, with particular marks of esteem; but answered, that he would not deliver *Tiridates* into the hands of *Phrahates*, nor lend either of them assistance against the other. However, to gratify both in something, he gave *Tiridates* leave to continue at *Rome*, ordering him, out of the public treasury, a maintenance suitable to his rank; and sent back to *Phrahates* his son, on his promising to restore the captives and standards that had been taken from *Crassus* and *Antony* [m]. This *Phrahates* then promised to do, but could not prevail upon himself to perform, till the coming of *Augustus* into *Syria*, which happened three years after; when dreading a foreign war, as he was greatly hated by his subjects on account of his cruelty, he sent embassadors to him, to conclude an alliance with the people of *Rome*; and on this occasion it was that he sent back all the captives and ensigns, which the *Parthians* had taken in their wars with *Crassus* and *Antony*. At the same time he agreed to such terms of peace as *Augustus* thought fit to propose, and gave four of his sons, with their wives and children, as hostages for the performance of them [n]. The ensigns *Augustus* caused to be hung up in a temple, which he built and consecrated to *Mars twice the revenger*, and appointed *Circensian* sports to be annually solemnized in memory of his victory at *Philippi*, (for before that battle he had vowed the temple to *Mars*) and of his recovering the *Roman* ensigns from the *Parthians* [o]. *Justin* observes here [p], that *Augustus* did more by the greatness of his name, than any other could have done by a long and expensive war; but *Tacitus* [q] tells us, that *Phrahates*, was induced to comply with the demands of *Augustus*, not for fear of him, but because he distrusted his own subjects. *Strabo* [r] and *Josephus* [s], agreeing with *Tacitus*, relate the matter in the follow-

Civil dissentions among the Parthians.

Phrahates *restores to* Augustus *the ensigns and prisoners taken from* Crassus *and* Antony.

[k] Plut. in Anton. Dion Cass. l. xlix. p. 411. [l] Dion Cass. l. li. p. 456. Plut. ibid Justin. l. xlii. c. 5. [m] Justin. ibid. Dion Cass. l. liii. [n] Liv. l. cxxxix. Flor. l. iv. c. ult. Strabo, l. ii. p. 288. & l. xvi. p. 748. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 91. Justin. l. xlii. c. ult. Dio, l. liv. p. 52. Eutrop. l. vii. Oros. l. vi. c. 21. [o] Vide Ovid. fast. l. v. & Horat. l. iv. od. ult. [p] Justin. l. xlii. c. 5. [q] Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 1. [r] Strabo, l. vi. p. 288. [s] Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 3.

following manner: A very beautiful *Italian* woman, by name *Thermusa*, having been formerly sent by *Augustus* to *Phrahates* as a present, the king kept her at first as his concubine; but afterwards, on her bringing him a son, married her and declared her queen. In this station she gained an absolute ascendant over him, which she made use of to secure the succession to her son. With this view she proposed to *Phrahates* the delivering up of his other sons, who were four in all, to the *Romans*; and he readily came into the proposal, as not thinking himself safe against his discontented subjects, so long as there were any of the royal race of *Arsaces* of an age fit to govern. On this consideration, when hostages were demanded by *Augustus*, for securing the terms of their agreement, he delivered up to him his four sons, *Saraspades*, *Cerospades*, *Phrahates*, and *Vonones*, two of their wives, and four of their sons. These were all carried to *Rome*, where they remained many years; but *Thermusa*'s son, by name *Phraatices*, was bred up at home, and appointed to succeed his father. The *Parthians* were so superstitiously addicted to the family of *Arsaces*, and *Phrahates* well knew they would bear with him, notwithstanding their hatred to him, as long as they had no other of the same race to set up in his room; and therefore, not for fear of *Augustus*, but for his own safety, readily yielded up to him his four sons, who, being of an age to govern, gave him no small jealousy. But what he thus projected for his safety, proved at last his ruin; for as soon as *Phraatices* was of age, *Thermusa*, impatient to see him on the throne, poisoned her husband, to make room for him the sooner[t]. But he was scarce seated on the throne, when the *Parthians*, disdaining to be governed by so wicked a parricide, rose up in arms, and drove him from it into banishment, where he perished some years after[u]. In his room they placed one *Orodes*, who was of the royal family of *Arsaces*, but generally hated on account of his cruel and savage temper. However, they preferred him to the sons of *Phraatices*, who, by their father, were descended from the *Italian* concubine *Thermusa*; but not being able to bear his unheard of cruelties, they killed him soon after at a banquet[w]. Upon his death they dispatched embassadors to *Rome*, intreating *Augustus* to send one of the sons of *Phrahates* to rule over them. The emperor readily granted them *Vonones*, who was received at first with great demonstrations of joy; but, as he betrayed a great inclination to the *Romans* and affected their dress and manners, the *Parthians* grew soon weary of their new king; and disdaining to obey, as they expressed it, a *Roman* slave, had recourse to *Artabanus* king of *Media*, who was likewise of the race of *Arsaces*, inviting him to take possession of the crown of *Parthia*. *Artabanus* willingly complied with their request; but being met on the frontiers by *Vonones*, was by him defeated, tho' he had a considerable army with him, and obliged to fly back into *Media*, where he raised new forces, and in a second engagement obtained a complete victory over *Vonones*, who took shelter in *Armenia*, where he was kindly received, and entertained by some of the chief lords of that country. But *Artabanus* threatening to invade *Armenia*, *Vonones* thought fit to retire from thence, after having solicited in vain the assistance of *Tiberius*, by a solemn embassy sent to *Rome* for that purpose. From *Armenia* the unhappy prince withdrew into *Syria*, and there delivered himself up to *Creticus Silanus* governor of that province, who, in regard he had been brought up ot *Rome*, suffered him to live at *Antioch*, with the pomp and title of a king. He was afterwards removed by *Germanicus* from *Antioch* to *Pompeiopolis* in *Cilicia*, whence he made his escape, tho' kept under a strict guard; but being soon after retaken, he was killed by one *Remmius* a *Roman* soldier[x]. *Germanicus* had removed him from *Antioch* to *Pompeiopolis* at the request of *Artabanus*, and also because he was in high favour with *Cneius Piso*, to whose wife *Plancina* he made rich presents, having brought with him into *Syria* immense treasures[y].

Phraatices.

Orodes II.

Vonones.

Artabanus.

Artabanus, having now no competitor to contend with, began to treat his subjects with great cruelty, whereupon some *Parthian* lords, among whom were *Sinnaces*, a man of great power and credit, and an eunuch named *Abdus*, entering into a plot against him, sent privately to *Rome* for *Phrahates*, the son of king *Phrahates*, who, as we have related above, had been delivered by his father to *Augustus* as a hostage. The deputies represented, that the *Parthians* were ready to revolt; that they wanted only a leader; that a descendant of *Arsaces*, supported by *Rome* and seen on the banks

[t] STRABO, l. xvi. p. 749. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 3. [u] JOSEPH. ibid. [w] Idem ibid.
[x] SUET. in Tiber. & Octav. c. 21. JOSEPH. ibid. TACIT. annal. l. ii. c. 2 & 4: [y] TACIT. ibid.

a banks of the *Euphrates*, would occaſion an immediate and general inſurrection. *Tiberius*, who had ſucceeded *Auguſtus*, was glad of ſo favourable an opportunity of raiſing new diſturbances in *Parthia*; for *Artabanus*, elated with the ſucceſs that had attended him in his wars with the neighbouring nations, had not only ſeized on *Armenia*, and appointed his eldeſt ſon *Arſaces* king of that country, but ſent a proud meſſage to the governor of *Syria*, demanding the treaſures which *Vonones* had left there and in *Cilicia*, and claimed all the countries which had been poſſeſſed by *Cyrus*, and ſince by *Alexander*. *Tiberius* therefore, overjoyed at the thoughts of humbling the haughty *Parthian*, immediately diſpatched *Phrahates* to recover his father's kingdom; but that prince arriving in *Syria*, and there diſuſing the *Roman* way of
b living, to which he had been many years accuſtomed, and reſuming the *Parthian* cuſtoms, was ſeized, on that ſudden change, with a violent diſtemper, which put an end to his life. At the ſame time the plot was diſcovered, and the chief promoters of it either privately put to death, for *Artabanus* was afraid to uſe open violence, or ſo narrowly watched, that they could not meet, without being obſerved, to conſult together about the neceſſary meaſures. However, *Tiberius* did not abandon the enterprize; but putting *Tiridates*, another prince of the royal family of *Parthia*, in the room of *Phrahates*, wrote to *Mithridates Iberius*, requeſting him to invade *Armenia* with his brother *Pharaſmanes* king of *Iberia*, and by that means to draw *Artabanus* out of his own kingdom. *Mithridates*, purſuant to the directions of *Tiberius*, entered
c *Armenia*, at the head of a numerous army of *Iberians*, and made himſelf maſter of *Artaxata*, the metropolis of that kingdom. At the ſame time his brother *Pharaſmanes*, having recourſe to treachery, ſuborned ſome of the ſervants of *Arſaces* to murder him. *Artabanus* no ſooner heard of the invaſion of *Armenia* and the death of his ſon, but he diſpatched his other ſon *Orodes*, with a mighty army, againſt the enemy, and at the ſame time ſent to hire auxiliaries in *Sarmatia* and the neighbouring countries. *Pharaſmanes*, on the other hand, having joined the *Albanian* forces to his own, and received great ſupplies from *Sarmatia*, marched to the aſſiſtance of his brother, and meeting with *Orodes*, offered him battle; which he declining, *Pharaſmanes* beſieged him in his camp, and reduced him to ſuch ſtraits, that he was obliged
d at laſt to put all to the iſſue of an engagement, which proved very bloody, the *Parthians* behaving with their uſual bravery. The victory was long doubtful; but in the end *Pharaſmanes* having attacked and wounded *Orodes*, and a report being thereon ſpread through the *Parthian* army that he was killed, the *Parthians* retired in diſorder, and left *Pharaſmanes* maſter of the field. This victory was attended with the conqueſt of *Armenia*, which *Pharaſmanes* over-ran without oppoſition, the *Parthians* flying every where before him. In the mean time, *Artabanus*, having raiſed another army, marched in perſon againſt the united forces of *Mithridates* and *Pharaſmanes*; but was attended with no better ſucceſs than his ſon *Orodes*, his army being intirely defeated, and himſelf obliged to abandon his kingdom, and take refuge among the
e *Carmanians* and *Hyrcanians*[z].

Artabanus *driven from the throne.*

Upon the retreat of *Artabanus*, *Lucius Vitellius*, governor of *Syria*, advanced with his legions to the banks of the *Euphrates*; and having croſſed that river on a bridge of boats cauſed *Tiridates*, whom he had brought with him, to be proclaimed king of *Parthia*. The new king was immediately joined by a great many *Parthian* lords, among whom were *Ornoſpades*, *Sinnaces*, and *Abdageſes*. *Ornoſpades* brought with him a ſtrong body of horſe, and *Abdageſes* all the enſigns of royalty, which had been committed to his care. When *Vitellius* found the *Parthians* inclined to receive *Tiridates*, thinking it enough to have countenanced them, he repaſſed the *Euphrates* with his legions and retired into *Syria*. He was no ſooner gone, than *Phrahates* and
f *Hiero*, two men of great power and authority among the *Parthians*, out of envy to *Abdageſes*, who governed the new king and his whole court, returned to their old allegiance, and recalled *Artabanus*, who was, at his firſt appearing, joined by all thoſe who hated *Abdageſes*. The *Scythians* likewiſe, the *Dahæ* and the *Saccæ*, declared in his favour, and ſent him powerful ſupplies; ſo that he was ſoon in a condition to take the field; which he did accordingly, at the head of a very numerous and well-diſciplined army. *Tiridates*, who had ſpent his whole time in beſieging a fortreſs, whither *Artabanus*, had conveyed his treaſures and concubines, did not think it adviſeable to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle; and therefore retired into

Tiridates.

Meſopotamia

[z] Tacit. annal. l. vi. c. 36. Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 6.

Meſopotamia, with a deſign to recruit his army in the country of the *Elymæans* and *Armenians*, and then try the fortune of a battle; but in his march he was abandoned by the greateſt part of his troops, who either retired home, or fled to *Artabanus*; inſomuch, that not thinking himſelf any longer ſafe within the *Parthian* dominions, he retired into *Syria*, leaving his competitor in quiet poſſeſſion of the crown[a]. But it was not long ere new diſturbances obliged *Artabanus* to quit the kingdom a ſecond time. The nobility, not being able to bear his cruelties and haughty behaviour, conſpired anew againſt him, and taking up arms, obliged him to ſhelter himſelf in the dominions of *Izates* king of the *Adiabenians*, who not only received and entertained him in a manner ſuitable to his rank, but, by his kind offices, prevailed upon the *Parthian* nobility to receive him again, after he had, by a ſolemn oath, promiſed to forgive all thoſe who had taken up arms againſt him. The *Parthians* had placed one *Cinnamus* on the throne in his room, who was by the ſame *Izates* perſuaded to reſign, of his own accord, the regal power and authority to the baniſhed prince. *Artabanus*, being thus reſtored to his kingdom by the mediation of *Izates*, in acknowledgment of the favours he had received at his hands, beſtowed on him the rich country of *Niſibis*, and allowed him to wear a ſtrait tiara, and to lie in a golden bed; which were privileges peculiar to the kings of *Parthia*[b]. From this time he governed with great equity and moderation, and, after a reign of thirty years, died greatly lamented by all his ſubjects, leaving behind him ſeven ſons, *viz. Darius*, *Bardanes*, *Gotarzes*, *Orodes*, *Vologeſes*, *Pacorus*, and *Tiridates*. By his laſt will he appointed *Bardanes* to ſucceed him, who, forgetful of the obligations his family owed to *Izates*, made war upon him, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he refuſed to join him againſt the *Romans*. His monſtrous ingratitude, towards a prince who had ſo well deſerved of the *Parthian* nation, was highly reſented by the chief lords of his kingdom, who taking up arms againſt him, killed him, and raiſed his brother *Gotarzes* to the throne[c]. This is the account which *Joſephus* gives, in a few words, of the acceſſion to the crown, and reigns of *Bardanes* and *Gotarzes*; but *Tacitus*, diſagreeing with that writer, relates the matter in a quite different manner[c]. According to him, *Gotarzes* and *Bardanes* were not the ſons, but the brothers, of *Artabanus*, who was ſucceeded by *Gotarzes*, a moſt cruel prince, and therefore ſo hated by his ſubjects, that they called *Bardanes* to the throne. *Bardanes*, as he was a man of great reſolution and activity, marched in two days three thouſand furlongs, and arriving at *Cteſiphon*, ſurprized and drove *Gotarzes* from the throne. With the ſame expedition he over-ran the chief provinces of the *Parthian* empire, and was every-where received with loud acclamations. *Seleucia* was the only city that refuſed to ſubmit to him, which he cloſely beſiged; but while he was waſting his time before that place, *Gotarzes* unexpectedly arrived at the head of an numerous army of *Dahans* and *Hyrcanians*, which obliged *Bardanes* to raiſe the ſiege, and retired to the plains of *Bactria*, where he encamped with a deſign to venture a battle in the open fields. *Gotarzes* followed him; but while the two armies were ready to engage, *Gotarzes* received private intelligence of a conſpiracy formed by the chief men of the kingdom againſt himſelf, and alſo his brother, to whom he immediately imparted it. Hereupon the two competitors had an interview, in which, tho' at firſt diſtruſting each other, they were at laſt thoroughly reconciled, both of them ſwearing on the altars not to moleſt one another, but to turn their arms againſt their common enmies; nay, *Gotarzes*, judging *Bardanes* more worthy of the crown than himſelf, an inſtance of equity and moderation ſeldom to be met with, reſigned it to him; and, in order to remove all ground of jealouſy, retired into the moſt remote parts of *Hyrcania*. *Bardanes*, leaving *Bactria*, returned to the ſiege of *Seleucia*, which voluntarily ſubmitted to him, after he had attempted in vain to reduce it by force. Being now ſole maſter of the whole *Parthian* empire, he formed a deſign of recovering *Armenia*; but *Vilius Marſus*, or, as we read in *Joſephus*, *Caſſius Longinus*, governor of *Syria*, threatning him with war, in caſe he made any attempts upon that kingdom, he thought it adviſeable to drop the enterprize[f].

Artabanus *reſtored.*

Bardanes.

Gotarzes.

Gotarzes *driven out by* Bardanes.

Gotarzes *reſigns the crown to his brother.* Bardanes.

In the mean time, *Gotarzes*, repenting his reſignation, and being recalled by the nobility, who, in time of peace, were ever plotting changes in the government, raiſed new forces, and advanced at the head of a powerful army as far as the river *Charinda*, where he was met and intirely defeated by *Bardanes*, who, elated with that

[a] Tacit. ibid. c. 41, 42, 43, 44. Joseph. ibid. c. 6. Dion Cass. l. lviii. p. 537. Suet. in Tiber. c. 66.
[b] Joseph. ibid. [c] Idem ibid. Zonar. l. iii. Philostrat. l. i. & iii. de vita Apollon. [d] Joseph. ibid. [e] Tacit. annal. l. xi. c. 8. [f] Tacit. ibid. c. 8, & 9. Joseph. ibid.

that victory, attacked and reduced all the countries lying between that river and the *Caspian*, which parts the *Dahans* from the *Arians*. There he was obliged to halt, the *Parthians*, tho' victorious, refuſing to follow him into countries ſo remote from their own. Having therefore erected monuments with pompous inſcriptions, importing, that none of the *Arſacidæ*, before him, had exacted tributes from thoſe nations, he returned home, loaded with the ſpoils of the countries he had conquered. The glory he acquired in this expedition inſpired him with ſuch pride, that he became quite inſupportable to his ſubjects, eſpecially to the nobility, who, thereupon conſpiring againſt him, killed him at a hunting match, when he was not attended, as uſual by his guards, as not apprehending any treachery or danger. He was, according to *Tacitus*, a prince endued with excellent qualities, and would have been one of the greateſt kings that ever reigned in *Parthia*, had he ſtudied to be as much beloved by his ſubjects, as he was feared by his enemies [g].

Bardanes *murdered.*

UPON the death of *Bardanes*, new diſputes aroſe among the nobility about the electing of a king to ſucceed him; ſome declaring for *Gotarzes*, and others for *Meherdates*, the grandſon of *Phrahates*, by whom he had been delivered to the *Romans* as an hoſtage. At laſt the party of *Gotarzes* prevailed, who was no ſooner placed on the throne, than he began to uſe all ſorts of cruelty on his ſubjects, eſpecially on thoſe who had adhered to *Meherdates*; whereupon they had private recourſe to the emperor *Claudius*, ſoliciting him to ſend them *Meherdates*, ſince they could no longer bear with *Gotarzes*, whoſe cruelties had rendered him odious to all his ſubjects. *Claudius* readily complied with their requeſt, and having exhorted *Meherdates* to govern with equity and moderation, bleſſings, ſaid he, unknown to barbarians, and hence the more likely to pleaſe them, he diſmiſſed him, together with the ambaſſadors, and at the ſame time wrote to *Caius Caſſius*, governor of *Syria*, injoining him to attend the young prince to the banks of the *Euphrates*. As ſoon as *Meherdates* arrived in *Syria*, *Caſſius*, agreeable to his inſtructions, drew together his legions, and marched with him to *Zeugma*, where the river was then fordable. There he encamped, and being joined by *Abgarus* king of *Edeſſa* and ſuch of the *Parthian* chiefs as privately favoured *Meherdates*, he exhorted, in their preſence, the new king to preſs on the execution of his deſign without delay, leſt the *Parthians* ſhould in the mean time change their mind, as it had often happened, and cooling in their affections to him, retire home, or join his competitor. This advice, the beſt that could be given to him, was fruſtrated by the treachery of *Abgarus*, who had, in appearance, eſpouſed the intereſt of *Meherdates*, but was in reality intirely attached to *Gotarzes*; and therefore detained the young king many days at *Edeſſa*, tho' *Carrhanes*, a leading man among the *Parthians*, and a ſincere friend to *Meherdates*, preſſed him, by frequent meſſages, to advance with all poſſible expedition, and aſſured him, that if he only ſhewed himſelf, he would be joined by great multitudes; but *Meherdates*, neglecting the advice of his friends, followed that only of the treacherous *Abgarus*, who prevailed upon him to march a great way about, and, inſtead of entering *Meſopotamia*, tho' he was on the borders of that country, to paſs through *Armenia*, which, as winter was already begun, was in great part covered with ſnow. As they came down into the champain country, wearied with the deep ſnow and ſteep mountains; *Carrhanes* joined them with his forces. Thence they croſſed the *Tigris*, paſſed thro' the country of the *Adiabenians*, and advancing to the city of *Ninos*, the ancient ſeat of the kings of *Aſſyria*, made themſelves maſters of that place, as they did likewiſe of the ſtrong caſtle of *Arbela*, ſo famous in hiſtory on account of the ſignal victory gained there by *Alexander* over *Darius*. In the mean time *Gotarzes*, having offered ſacrifices on mount *Sambulos* to the gods of the place, eſpecially to *Hercules*, came and encamped in the plain, with the river *Carma* between him and the enemy. *Meherdates* endeavoured by daily inſults and haughty meſſages, to draw him to a battle; but he declined it, ſoliciting in the mean time, by his emiſſaries, the friend of *Meherdates* to abandon and betray him: and herein he was attended with all the ſucceſs he could have wiſhed for; for firſt *Izates* king of the *Adiabenians*, and afterwards *Abgarus* king of the *Edeſſans*, went over to him, with all the forces under their command. *Meherdates* ſeeing himſelf thus forſaken by his allies, and miſtruſting thoſe who remained, reſolved, as his only recourſe, to commit the iſſue to chance, and riſque a battle, which *Gotarzes* no longer avoided, his army being now as much ſtrengthened

Gotarzes.

Meherdates *ſet up againſt him by the Parthian nobility, and ſupported by the emperor* Claudius.

Meherdates *betrayed by* Abgarus *king of* Edeſſa.

[g] TACIT. ibid.

as his enemy's was weakened. Both parties engaged with the utmost fury, and the victory continued doubtful, till *Carrhanes*, having put to flight one of the enemy's wings and pursuing it too far, was surrounded by a body of reserve, which prevented him from returning to the assistance of *Meherdates*; who thereupon, being intirely defeated, and so hemmed in that he could not make his escape, surrendered himself to one *Parrhaces*, a dependent of his father's, by whom he was immediately loaded with fetters, and delivered up to the conqueror. *Gotarzes* looking upon him not as one of the race of *Arsaces*, but as a *Roman* and foreigner, ordered his ears to be cut off, in contempt of the *Romans*, but granted him his life to shew his clemency[h].

His army defeated, and himself taken prisoner.

Not long after *Gotarzes* died, and was succeeded by *Vonones*, at that time governor of *Media*, whose reign was short and inglorious; for he did nothing which writers have thought worth transmitting to posterity. Upon the death of *Vonones*, the crown of *Parthia* devolved upon *Vologeses*, the son of *Gotarzes* according to *Josephus*, of *Vonones* according to *Tacitus*. In the very beginning of his reign he invaded *Armenia* with a powerful army, and having, without opposition, made himself master of *Artaxata* and *Tigranocerta*, the two chief cities o that kingdom, he obliged *Rhadamistus* the *Iberian*, who had usurped the crown, to save himself in *Iberia*. Upon his retreat, *Vologeses* declared his brother *Tiridates* king of *Armenia*, having before appointed his other brother, by name *Pacorus*, king of *Media*; for *Tiridates* and *Pacorus* had yielded the crown of *Parthia* to him, tho' born of a *Greek* concubine; whence he thought it incumbent upon him to procure a crown for those, who had so generously parted with one for his sake. But while he was in *Armenia*, a plague breaking out in his army, occasioned chiefly by want of provisions, he was forced to relinquish his conquests and retire into his own dominions. Hereupon *Domitius Corbulo* entering *Armenia*, drove out *Tiridates*, with the few *Parthian* forces that had continued with him, and placed on that throne *Tigranes* the *Cappadocian*, as we have related in the history of *Armenia*. This affront *Vologeses* could not brook, and therefore having, publickly and with great solemnity, crowned *Tiridates* king of *Armenia*, he dispatched *Monaeses*, one of his generals, with a strong body of chosen horse and *Adiabenian* auxiliaries, injoining him to drive out *Tigranes*, and recover *Armenia*, which had been long held by, and therefore belonged to, the princes of the family of *Arsaces*. As for himself, he dropped his expedition against the *Hyrcanians*, who had lately revolted; and, having drawn together a mighty army, began to make the necessary preparations for a descent on the *Roman* provinces. *Corbulo*, whom *Nero* had charged with the defence of *Armenia*, was no sooner acquainted with the measures taken by *Vologeses*, than he sent two legions to the assistance of *Tigranes*, under the command of *Verulanus Severus* and *Vettius Bolanus*, with private injunctions to act rather with caution than eagerness and dispatch; for he was more desirous, as *Tacitus* observes, of keeping a war on foot, than bringing it to a speedy conclusion; besides he had wrote to *Nero*, that another general was necessary to defend *Armenia*, since *Syria* was threatened with a terrible storm from *Vologeses*. In the mean time, he posted the remaining legions along the banks of the *Euphrates*, and having raised new forces in the province, placed guards at all the passes, and erected forts over the several fountains to prevent the enemy from having any water in that dry and sandy country.

Vonones.

Vologeses.

His wars with the Romans.

WHILE *Corbulo* was thus busied in securing *Syria*, *Monæses* advanced by long marches towards *Armenia*, hoping to surprise *Tigranes*: but, with all his expedition, he found that prince well guarded against him; for he had furnished the strong city of *Tigranocerta* with all manner of provisions and warlike stores, and retired into it with all his forces. *Monæses*, after having attempted in vain to reduce it, withdrew, and began to lay waste the country. Hereupon *Corbulo*, who was unwilling to engage in a war with the *Parthians*, lest he should lose the reputation he had hitherto gained, sent embassadors to *Vologeses*, to expostulate with him for falling upon a *Roman* province, for besieging a king who was a friend and ally of the *Roman* people, and for ravaging a country which *Rome* had taken under her protection. At the same time he gave him to understand, that if he did not forthwith abandon the siege of *Tigranocerta*, he would look upon it as an infraction of the treaties subsisting between the *Parthians* and *Romans*, and in his turn invade the *Parthian* territories. *Vologeses*, as he did not care to provoke *Corbulo*, who had acquired great fame by his military exploits, answered with great moderation, that he would send embassadors to *Rome*,

[h] Idem ibid. & l. xii. c. 14.

to beg of *Nero* the kingdom of *Armenia*, and to renew the alliance made by his a ancestors with the people of *Rome*. Agreeable to this answer he immediately dispatched messengers to *Monæses*, ordering him to raise the siege of *Tigranocerta*; and retired himself with all his forces into the heart of his dominions, to wait there for the return of the embassadors he had sent to *Rome*. The emperor *Nero* received them in a very obliging manner, but refused to renew his antient alliance with the *Parthians*, unless they renounced all pretensions to the crown of *Armenia*. This answer so incensed *Vologeses*, that he immediately drew again all his forces together, with a design to invade *Syria*; but finding the banks of the *Euphrates* strongly guarded by *Corbulo*, he turned all his efforts against *Armenia*; where he gained those advantages over *Cesennius Petus*, which we have related at length in the history of that kingdom. b However, he consented at last, dreading the consequence of a war with the *Romans*, that his brother *Tiridates* should go in person to *Rome*, and there receive the crown of *Armenia* as a gift from *Nero*; which he did accordingly. By this means the antient alliance between the two empires was renewed, and the affairs of the east settled in peace[i]. From this time no further mention is made of *Vologeses*, till the beginning of the reign of *Vespasian*, to whom he sent embassadors, offering to assist him with forty thousand *Parthian* horse[k]. *Vespasian*, as he was already settled on the throne, did not accept of the succours offered him; but, renewing all the antient treaties with the *Parthians*, dismissed the embassadors, loaded with presents, and maintained, during the reign of *Vologeses*, a good understanding with the *Parthian* nation. *Vologeses*, being c now disengaged from all foreign and domestic wars, applied himself to the building of a city, which, from his own name, he called *Vologesocerta*, or *the city of Vologeses*; but was prevented by death from completing the work he had begun.

He was succeeded by his son *Artabanus* III. who, falling out with *Vespasian*, espoused Artabanus III. the cause of the counterfeit *Nero*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the history of *Rome*. However, the emperor did not think it advisable to resent the affront, for fear of kindling a new war in the east, the kingdom of *Parthia* being at that time in a very flourishing condition, and the *Roman* provinces greatly weakened by a late irruption of the *Alani*, a barbarous people of *Scythia*, inhabiting the countries bordering on the river *Tanais* and the lake *Meotis*. *Artabanus* had formed a design of invading *Armenia*; but died before he could put it in execution[l]. Upon his death, his son *Pacorus* II. was raised to the throne; but all we know of him is, Pacorus II. that he entered into an alliance with *Decebalus* king of the *Daci*, and maintained, during the whole time of his reign, which is said to have been very long, a strict friendship with the *Romans*[m]. He was succeeded by his brother *Cosdroes*, who invade- Cosdroes. ing *Armenia*, drove out *Exadares*, who had been appointed king of that country by the emperor *Trajan*, and in his room placed his eldest son *Parthamasiris* on the throne. As this was an open infraction of the treaties subsisting between the two empires, *Trajan* hastened into the east, with a design to humble the *Parthians*, who, relying on their victories formerly gained over the *Romans*, were daily raising new disturbances in *Syria* and *Armenia*, and making incursions into the *Roman* provinces bordering on their dominions. His arrival in *Armenia* was so sudden and unexpected, that he reduced the whole country, almost without opposition, and took *Parthamasiris* himself prisoner. Animated with these successes, he entered *Mesopotamia*; and having there besieged and taken the strong city of *Nisibis*, after many skirmishes and encounters, he made himself master of that opulent country, never before subject to *Rome*. From *Mesopotamia*, which he reduced to a *Roman* province, he returned, in the beginning of the winter, into *Syria*, whence he acquainted the senate with the success that had attended his arms against the *Parthians*, and was by them honoured with the surnames of *Armenicus* and *Parthicus*[n].

Early in the spring, he took the field again; but was warmly opposed by *Cosdroes*, whom he found encamped on the banks of the *Euphrates*, with a design to dispute his passage; which he did with such vigour, that the emperor, after having several times attempted to ford that river, and been always repulsed with great slaughter was obliged to cause boats to be built on the neighbouring mountains, which he privately conveyed from thence on carriages to the water side; and having in the night-time formed a bridge with them, he passed his army the next day, but not without

[i] Tacit ibid. [k] Tacit. hist. l. vi. [l] Xiphilin, in Othone. [m] Suidas, voce Ωιζτης, Plin. epist. l. x. [n] Sext. Ruf. in breviar. Theodos. Min. Spartian. in Trajan.

without great loſs and danger, the *Parthians* haraſſing his men the whole time with a inceſſant ſhowers of arrows, which did great execution. Having gained the oppoſite bank, he advanced boldly into *Aſſyria*, the *Parthians* flying every where before him, and made himſelf maſter of *Arbela*. Thence he purſued his march, ſubduing, with incredible rapidity, countries, where the *Roman* ſtandards had never been diſplayed before. *Babylonia*, or the province of *Babylon*, voluntarily ſubmitted to him. The city itſelf was, after a vigorous reſiſtance, taken by ſtorm; by which means he became maſter of all *Chaldea* and *Aſſyria*, the two richeſt provinces of the *Parthian* empire. From *Babylon* he marched to *Cteſiphon*, the metropolis of the *Parthian* monarchy, which he beſieged and at laſt reduced. But as to the particulars of theſe great conqueſts, we are quite in the dark, this expedition, however glorious to the *Roman* name, being b rather hinted at, than deſcribed, by the writers of thoſe times. While *Trajan* was thus making war in the heart of the enemy's country, *Coſdroes*, having recruited his army marched into *Meſopotamia*, with a deſign to recover that country, and cut off all communication between the *Roman* army and *Syria*. On his arrival in that province, the inhabitants flocked to him from all parts, and moſt of the cities, driving out the gariſons left by *Trajan*, opened their gates to him. Hereupon the emperor detached *Lucius* and *Maximus*, two of his chief commanders, into *Meſopotamia*, to keep ſuch cities in awe as had not revolted, and to open a communication with *Syria*. *Maximus* was met by *Coſdroes*, and having ventured a battle, his army was intirely defeated and himſelf killed. But *Lucius*, being joined by *Euricius* and *Clarius*, two other commanders ſent by *Trajan* with freſh ſupplies, gained conſiderable advantages over the enemy, and retook the cities of *Niſibis* and *Seleucia*, which had revolted. And now *Trajan*, ſeeing himſelf poſſeſſed of all the beſt and moſt fruitful provinces of the *Parthian* empire, but at the ſame time being well appriſed that he could not, without a vaſt expence, maintain his conqueſts, nor keep in awe ſo fierce and warlike a people at ſuch a diſtance from *Italy*, reſolved to ſet over them a king of his own chooſing, who ſhould hold the crown of him and his ſucceſſors, and acknowledge them as his lords and ſovereigns. With this view he repaired to *Cteſiphon*, and having there aſſembled the chief men of the nation, he crowned one of the royal family, by name *Parthamaſpates*, king of *Parthia*, obliging all who were preſent to pay him their allegiance. He choſe *Parthamaſpates*, becauſe that prince had joined him at his firſt entering the *Parthian* dominions, conducted him with great fidelity, and ſhewn on all occaſions an extraordinary attachment to the *Romans*. Thus the *Parthians* were at laſt ſubdued, and their kingdom made tributary to *Rome*. But they did not long continue in this ſtate of ſubjection; for they no ſooner heard of *Trajan*'s death, which happened ſoon after, than, taking up arms, they drove *Parthamaſpates* from the throne and recalling *Coſdroes*, who had retired into the country of the *Hyrcanians*, openly revolted from *Rome*. *Adrian*, who was then commander in chief of all the forces in the eaſt, and ſoon after acknowledged emperor by the army, did not care, tho' he was at that time in *Syria* with a very numerous army, to engage in a new war with the *Parthians*; but contented himſelf with preſerving the antient limits of the empire, without any ambitious proſpects of farther conqueſts: therefore, in the beginning of his reign, he abandoned thoſe provinces beyond the *Euphrates*, which *Trajan* had conquered, withdrew the *Roman* garriſons from *Meſopotamia*, and, for the greater ſafety of other places, made the *Euphrates* the boundary of, and barrier in, thoſe parts, poſting his legions along the banks of that river. Some writers are of opinion, that he did this out of a ſecret envy to his uncle *Trajan*'s glory and reputation; but others commend it as a very politic and prudent action, the maintaining of thoſe diſtant conqueſts being attended with many inconveniences, and no advantages, to the empire. Before he left *Antioch* to return to *Rome*, in order to keep the *Parthians* quiet, he diſmiſſed their priſoners without ranſom, and among the reſt, the daughter of *Coſdroes*, who had been taken by *Trajan*. *Coſdroes*, in return for theſe favours, never offered to diſturb the *Romans* in the poſſeſſion of the provinces bordering on his dominions; but ſhewed himſelf always ready to aſſiſt them, as his beſt friends and allies[o].

Vologeſes II. *Coſdroes* died after a long reign, and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon *Vologeſes*; in whoſe reign the *Alani* breaking into *Media*, then ſubject to the *Parthians*, committed there great devaſtations; but were prevailed upon, with rich preſents ſent them by *Vologeſes*,

[o] Theodos. Min. in frag. Spartian. Xiphilin. ibid. Paul. Diacon. hiſt. miſcell.

a *Vologeſes*, to abandon that kingdom and return home. Upon their retreat, *Vologeſes*, having no enemy to contend with at home, fell unexpectedly upon *Armenia*, ſurprized the legions there, and having cut them in pieces all to a man, entered *Syria*, defeated with great ſlaughter *Attilius Cornelianus*, governor of that province, and advanced, without oppoſition, to the neighbourhood of *Antioch*, putting every-where the *Romans*, and thoſe who favoured them, to the ſword. Hereupon the emperor *Verus*, by the advice of his collegue *Antoninus*, ſurnamed *the Philoſopher*, leaving *Rome*, haſtened into *Syria*, and, having driven the *Parthians* out of that province, ordered *Statius Priſcus* to invade *Armenia*, and *Caſſius*, with *Martius Verus*, to enter the *Parthian* territories, and carry the war into the enemy's country. *Priſcus* made himſelf maſter of *Artaxata*, and in one campaign drove the *Parthians*, tho' not without
b great loſs on his ſide, quite out of *Armenia*. *Caſſius*, on the other hand, having in ſeveral encounters defeated *Vologeſes*, tho' he had an army of four hundred thouſand men under his command, reduced, in four years time, all thoſe provinces which had formerly ſubmitted to *Trajan*, took *Seleucia*, burnt and plundered the famous cities of *Babylon* and *Cteſiphon*, with the ſtately palaces of the *Parthian* monarchs, and ſtruck terror into the moſt remote provinces of that great empire. On his return, he loſt above half the number of his forces by ſickneſs and famine; ſo that, after all, the *Romans*, as *Spartianus* obſerves, had no great reaſon to brag of their victories and conqueſts. However, *Antoninus Verus*, who had never ſtirred, during the whole
c time of the war, from *Antioch* and *Daphne*, took upon him the lofty titles of *Parthicus* and *Armenicus*, as if he had juſtly acquired them in the midſt of his pleaſures and debaucheries [P]. We are told, that ſome of *Caſſius*'s ſoldiers, in pillaging the temple of *Apollo* at *Babylon*, found under ground a ſmall golden coffer, which, upon their opening it, caſt forth ſuch peſtilential vapours, as infected all thoſe who were preſent, and by their means the reſt of the army. As *Verus*, on his return to *Italy*, took *Caſſius*'s forces along with him, he carried the plague into all the provinces thro' which he paſſed, and ſpread the infection through *Italy*, whence it was communicated to the moſt remote parts of the empire, and every-where attended with great mortality. After the revolt and death of *Caſſius*, which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of
d in the hiſtory of the *Roman* emperors, *Antoninus the Philoſopher* repaired into *Syria*, to ſettle the affairs of that province, and was, on his arrival, met by embaſſadors from *Vologeſes*, who, having recovered moſt of the provinces ſubdued by *Caſſius*, and being unwilling either to part with them, or engage in a new war, ſolicited the emperor to confirm him in the poſſeſſion of them, promiſing to hold them of him, and to acknowledge the ſovereignty of *Rome*. To theſe terms *Antoninus* readily agreed, and a peace was accordingly concluded between the two empires, which *Vologeſes* did not long enjoy, being ſoon after carried off by a diſtemper, and not murdered by his own ſubjects, as we read in *Conſtantinus Manaſſes*, who calls him *Belegeſes*.

Upon his death *Vologeſes* III, the ſon of his brother *Sanatruces* and grandſon of Vologeſes III.
e *Coſtroes*, was raiſed to the throne. He ſided with *Niger* againſt the emperor *Severus*, who thereupon, having ſettled matters at home, marched with all his forces againſt him, and advancing to the city of *Cteſiphon*, whither he had retired, laid cloſe ſiege to that metropolis. *Vologeſes* made a moſt gallant defence; but the city, after a long ſiege and much bloodſhed on both ſides, was at length taken by aſſault. The king's treaſures, with his wives and children, fell into the emperor's hands; but *Vologeſes* himſelf had the good luck to make his eſcape, which was a great diſappointment to *Severus*, who immediately diſpatched an expreſs to acquaint the ſenate with the ſucceſs that had attended him in his expedition, againſt the only nation that was then formidable to *Rome*. He ſent likewiſe a particular deſcription of the countries, cities,
f rivers, and mountains he had paſſed, and of the battles he had fought, all drawn and painted upon tables; for which the ſurnames of *Parthicus*, *Arabicus*, and *Adiabenicus* were decreed him. But he had no ſooner croſſed the *Euphrates*, than *Vologeſes* recovered all the provinces, except *Meſopotamia*, which he had reduced. Theſe expeditions were very chargeable to the *Romans*, and coſt them much blood, without their reaping any advantages from them; for as they had not ſufficient forces to keep in awe the provinces they had ſubdued, the inhabitants, greatly attached to the family of *Arſaces*, never failed to return to their ancient obedience, as ſoon as the *Roman* armies were withdrawn. *Vologeſes* was ſoon after engaged in a war, ſtill more troubleſome

[P] Euseb. in chron. Zonar. l. iv. Oros. hiſt. miſcel. Theodos. Min. ibid.

ſome and deſtructive, with his brother *Artabanus*, who, encouraged by ſome of the diſcontented nobles, attempted to rob him of the crown, and place it on his own head. *Vologeſes* gained ſeveral victories over his brother and rebellious ſubjects; but dy'd before he could reſtore the empire to its former tranquillity.

Artabanus IV. *Artabanus*, who had a numerous army at his devotion, did not meet with any oppoſition in ſeizing the throne vacant by the death of his brother, tho' *Tiridates* had a better title to it, as being his elder brother. He had ſcarce ſettled the affairs of his kingdom, when the emperor *Caracalla*, deſirous to ſignalize himſelf, as ſeveral of his predeceſſors had done, by ſome memorable exploit againſt the *Parthians*, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to him, deſiring his daughter in marriage. *Artabanus*, overjoyed at this propoſal, which, he thought, would be attended with a laſting peace between the two empires, received the embaſſadors with all poſſible marks of honour, and readily complied with their requeſt. Soon after *Caracalla* ſent a ſecond embaſſy, to acquaint the king, that he was coming to ſolemnize the nuptials: whereupon *Artabanus* went to meet him, attended with the flower of the nobility and his beſt troops, all unarmed and in moſt pompous habits; but this peaceable train no ſooner approached the *Roman* army, than the ſoldiers, on a ſignal given them, falling upon the king's retinue, made a moſt terrible ſlaughter of the unarmed multitude. *Artabanus* himſelf eſcaping with great difficulty. The treacherous *Caracalla*, having gained by this exploit great booty, and, as he thought, no leſs glory, wrote a long and boaſting letter to the ſenate, aſſuming the title of *Parthicus* for this piece of treachery, as he had before that of *Germanicus*, for murdering in like manner ſome of the *German* nobility. *Artabanus*, reſolving to make the *Romans* pay dear for their inhuman and barbarous treachery, raiſed the moſt numerous army that had ever been on foot in *Parthia*, croſſed the *Euphrates*, and entered *Syria*, putting all to fire and ſword; but *Caracalla* being murdered before this invaſion, *Macrinus*, who had ſucceeded him, met the *Parthians* at the head of a mighty army, compoſed of many legions, and all the auxiliaries of the ſtates of *Aſia*. The two armies no ſooner came in ſight of each other, but they engaged with the utmoſt fury. The battle continued two days, both *Romans* and *Parthians* fighting ſo obſtinately, that night only parted them, without any apparent advantage on either ſide, tho' both retired, when night had put an end to the conteſt, crying, *Victory, victory*. The field of battle was covered all over with dead bodies, there being already above forty thouſand killed, including both *Romans* and *Parthians*; nevertheleſs *Artabanus* was heard to ſay, that the battle was only begun, and that he would continue it, till either the *Parthians* or *Romans* were all to a man cut in pieces. But *Macrinus*, being well apprized, that the king came highly inraged againſt *Caracalla* in particular, and dreading the conſequences which would attend the deſtruction of his army, ſent a herald to *Artabanus*, acquainting him with the death of *Caracalla*, and propoſing an alliance between the two empires. The king, underſtanding that his great enemy was dead, readily embraced the propoſals of peace and amity, upon condition, that all the priſoners, who had been taken by the treachery of *Caracalla*, ſhould be immediately reſtored, and a large ſum of money paid him to defray the expences of the war. Theſe articles being performed without delay or heſitation, *Artabanus* returned into *Parthia*, and *Macrinus* to *Antioch* [q].

Treachery of the emperor Caracalla.

Artabanus *invades* Syria.

An obſtinate engagement between the Parthians *and* Romans.

The Perſians *revolt.*

As *Artabanus* loſt on this occaſion the flower of his army, *Artaxerxes*, a *Perſian* of a mean deſcent, but of great courage and experience in war, revolting from the *Parthians*, prevailed upon his countrymen to join him, and attempt the recovery of the ſovereign power, which, he ſaid, they had been unjuſtly deprived of, firſt by the *Macedonians*, and afterwards by the *Parthians*, formerly their vaſſals. *Artabanus*, upon the news of this revolt, marched with the whole ſtrength of his kingdom to ſuppreſs it; but being met by *Artaxerxes*, at the head of a no leſs powerful army, a bloody battle enſued, which is ſaid to have laſted three days. At length the *Parthians*, tho' they behaved with the utmoſt bravery, and fought like men in deſpair, were forced to yield to the *Perſians*, who were commanded by a more experienced leader. Moſt of their troops were cut off in the flight, and the king himſelf taken priſoner, and ſoon after put to death by *Artaxerxes*'s orders. The *Parthians*, having loſt in this fatal engagement both their king and their army, were forced to ſubmit to the conqueror, and become vaſſals to a nation, which had been ſubject to them for

Defeat the Parthians, *kill their king, and put an end to the* Parthian *empire.*

[q] Theodos. Min. ubi ſupra, Zonar. l. iv. Sozomen. hiſtor. tripart. l. iii. c. 1.

a the space of four hundred and seventy-five years. Thus was this gallant and warlike nation subdued at last, and the empire once more transferred to the *Persians*; whose kings reigns, till they were in their turn reduced by the *Arabs*, will be the subject of the following section. However, the royal family of *Arsaces* did not end in *Artabanus*, but continued to reign in *Armenia*, till the time of the emperor *Justinian*, holding that kingdom of the *Persian* monarchs, to whom the *Arsacidæ* of *Armenia* were tributaries. Among these we find the following princes mentioned in history, *Arsaces*, *Teridates*, *Artavasdes*, *Teridates* II. *Arsaces* II. *Paras*, *Tigranes*, and *Arsaces* III. all descended from *Arsaces*, brother to *Artabanus* IV. the last king of *Parthia*. But of *Armenia*, and the princes who reigned there, after that country became
b subject to the *Persians*, we shall have occasion to speak in the next section.

CHAP. XIII.

SECT. I.

The history of the Persians, *from their recovering the empire from the* Parthians, *to their being subdued by the* Arabs.

According to the Greek *and* Latin *authors.*

THE reader hath before seen, after what manner, and how long, the *Persians* were subject to the *Parthian* princes. We are here to speak of their atchievements after they had again rendered themselves independent; and not only so, but lords also of many spacious provinces, and the first nation in the east. As we have no regular history of *Persia* by any *Greek* or *Latin* writer, what we offer to the reader in this section, is collected, as carefully as might be, from such as have occasionally mentioned the *Persian* affairs. These passages we have digested in their natural order; and, if there be any omissions, they will be supplied in the next article, wherein we shall treat of the same period from the *Oriental* historians (A).

A

(A) There is no branch of the *Universal History* which more clearly evinces the general usefulness of this work, or the peculiar symmetry of its parts, than this before us. All the general histories, that have been published in our own, or in other modern languages, are strangely deficient in this article. We have either a loose, unsatisfactory account of the passing of the empire of the east from the *Parthians* to the *Persians*, and from them to the *Arabians*; or we have such a chronological table of their kings, as that inserted in our text, with a few remarks thereon from *Scaliger*'s *chronicon*, or some other collection; and so we are hurried to another subject. It must be owned, that there are some particular relations which promise fairer, and perform more, than is either expected or done by the compilers of general histories; but then we can very truly affirm, that even these fall very far short of the following account. The learned (1) *Bizarus*, whose history of the *Persians* affairs is deservedly esteemed the best extant, takes all he hath relating to this period from a very few *Latin* and *Greek* authors; so that, for very want of materials, he is forced to draw in the *Roman* affairs, and other matters still more foreign; nay, he once digressed so far as to mention *William the Conqueror*, and compliment Queen *Elizabeth* (2). One might say much more as to other compendiums of *Persian* history (3); but we desire not to prejudice the works of others, or to give any more than a fair account of our own.

We have divided the history of this period into *two* parts. The *first* is composed of such materials as the *Latin* and *Greek* writers furnish, particularly that noble collection which goes under the name of the *Byzantine historians*, whence we have taken ten times as much as hath appeared in any modern language, and, by assembling a multitude of divided passages, have presented the public with something that looks like a connected history. Whereas *Bizarus* found himself so destitute of matter, that, in his history of the *Persian* affairs, he makes the reigns of the *Roman* emperors his rule, and refers the series of *Persian* monarchs to a table. The *second* part is truly taken from *Oriental* writers; but more especially from *Mirkhond*. and what is related therein is so necessary a supplement to what the *first* part contained, that, without it, there would not only have remained a visible imperfection, but, in many places, it would have been unintelligible; because the *Greek* writers, out of a perverse humour, wilfully misrepresent the manners, customs, and literature of the *Oriental* nations. The comparison therefore of these distinct histories will illustrate each of them, and enable the intelligent reader perfectly to comprehend both; whereby this wide chasm will be in some measure filled up, and this period of *Persian* history no longer remain, as it hitherto hath done, under an impenetrable obscurity.

(1) *Rerum Persicarum historia, initia gentis, mores, instituta, resque gestas ad hæc usque tempora complectens: auctore Petro Bizaro Sentinate, fol. Francofurti, A. D.* 1601. (2) *Hist. rer. Persic. l.* v. *p.* 137. (3) *Bartholomæus Keckermannus, de monarch. Persar. Tom. II. Oper. ejusd. author. in fol. Genev.* 1614. *Reinec. comment. de reb. Persic. ap. hist. Jul. Schicard. catal. reg. Persar.*

A TABLE of the *Persian* kings.

	Years.	Months.	
Artaxares	14	10	
Sapores	31		
Ormisdates	1	10 days.	
Varanes	3		
Varanes II.	17		
Varanes III.	00	4	
Narses	7	9	
Misdates			
Sapores II.	70		
Artaxerxes	4		
Sapores III.	5		
Varanes IV. or *Cermansaa*	11		
Isdigertes	21		
Varanes V.	20		
Varanes VI.	17	4	
Perozes	20		
Valens	4		
Cavades	11		
Zambades	8		
Cavades	30		
Cosroes	48		
Hormisdas	8		
Cosroes II.	39		
Siroes	1		
Adhesyr	00	2	
Sarbaras	00	6	
Bornarim	00	7	
Hormisdas	10		

Artaxares. *Year of Christ* 230.

Artaxares, or, as he is sometimes called, *Artaxerxes*, the restorer of the *Persian* kingdom, was not only a private person, but of spurious birth, as we are informed by *Agathias* (B). His mother was married to one *Pabecus* or *Pabec*, who was either a tanner or a shoemaker, but withal a person well skilled in judiciary astrology. It happened, that one *Sasanus*, or *Sasan*, a military officer, travelling through the country of the *Cadusians*, took up his lodging in the house of this *Pabec*, tho' it was a very mean one. *Pabec*, by his art, perceiving, that a person begotten by this stranger, would become the head of a most potent family, and also arrive at regal honours, he began to fret within himself, because he had neither sister, daughter, nor cousin in the house. At length, his ambition getting the better of his sense of shame, he caused his wife to go to bed to *Sasan*, who begat on her *Artaxares*. When afterwards *Artaxares* came to be king, *Pabec* and *Sasan* each claimed him for a son; whereupon the story became public, and it was agreed, that he should be styled the son of *Pabec* of the seed of *Sasan* [a]. *Artaxares* from his youth addicted himself to a military life, and having attained to great skill and no less reputation in the war, he projected the delivery of his countrymen from the *Parthian* yoke. In pursuance of this design, he wrought them to a general revolt; and having in three battles routed, and in the last slain, the *Parthian* monarch, he assumed the double diadem and the pompous title of *king of kings*. He was, as all authors agree, a man of great abilities and undaunted spirit, or, in other words, a person of great courage and unbounded ambition [b].

He

[a] AGATH. SCHOLAST. hist. de reb. gest. Justinian. imperat. edid. Paris. l. ii. p. 65. l. iv. p. 114.
[b] HERODIAN. hist. l. vi. ÆL. LAMPRID. in vit. Aurel. Alexand. Sever. OROS. hist. l. vii. c. 11. NICEPHOR. hist. eccles. l. i. 6. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. hist. dynast. dyn. 7. p. 186.

(B) As we have taken the foregoing table chiefly from *Agathias*, and as we have generally preferred his authority, where-ever he speaks decisively, it is necessary we should say something of the merit of this author. He was a native of *Marina*, and addicted himself to the study of the law; and as those who dedicated their time to the acquirement of that science, studied mostly in colleges, he came from thence to be called *Scholasticus* (4), which the learned *Vossius* will have to signify the same as *advocatus* (5). He was a poet and a historian; but it is in his last capacity only that we have to do with him. He was, it seems, so pleased with *Procopius*'s memoirs of the *Persic* wars, that he resolved to continue them, which he did in the history we yet have, divided into five books. In the fourth of these he takes occasion to mention one *Sergius*, who was so well skilled in the *Persian* tongue, as to be on that account in great favour with *Cosroes* the first. This man making several journies into *Persia*, and having many opportunities of conversing with the learned of that nation, procured, by their favour, the perusal of the royal annals from whence he made many extracts, which, at his earnest desire, he communicated to *Agathias*. These were, in that historian's opinion, of so great weight, that he preferred them to the memoirs of *Procopius*, differing from him to follow them; which shews, that he was thoroughly convinced of their authority. From these extracts he drew up a short, but very perspicuous and exact, account of all the *Persian* monarchs from *Artaxares*, who recovered the kingdom from the *Parthians*, to *Cosroes*, with whom himself was cotemporary (6). It is from this short account that we have taken the dates, and such other material circumstances, as, we thought, could not be had with the same probability of exactness from other historians, who wrote from later and less authentic memoirs.

(4) *Agath. Scholast. præfat. ad hist.* (5) *De histor. Græc.* l. ii. *p.* 270. (6) *Agath. Schol.* l. iv. *p.* 140, 141.

Asserts his right to all the provinces of the antient Persian *empire.*

a HE was no sooner seated on the throne, than he formed a design of restoring the *Persian* empire to its antient glory; and having caused the necessary preparations to be set on foot, he gave notice to the *Roman* governors of the provinces bordering on his dominions, that he conceived himself to have a just and unquestionable title, as the successor of *Cyrus*, to all the *Lesser Asia*, which he commanded them immediately to quit, as well as the provinces on the frontiers of the antient *Parthian* kingdom, which was already his. *Alexander Severus* was at this time the possessor of the *Roman* empire, a very youth, under the tutelage of his mother, and one who had hitherto dwelt always at *Rome*; he was therefore unwilling to engage in a war, especially if it might be avoided; and for that reason sent letters to *Artaxares*, importing, that
b he would do wisely to keep within bounds, and not, out of vain hopes of conquest, to enterprize new wars, which might not be attended with the same success as formerly; that, in the present case, he ought to consider he was not to deal with *barbarians*, or with a nation unused to war, but with the *Romans*, whose emperors, *Augustus*, *Trajan*, and *Severus*, had often vanquished the *Parthians*. The *Persian* king had little regard to these letters, on the contrary, he began to raise a great army, and to attack the fortified posts of the *Romans*, on the river *Euphrates*, making such a progress in the reduction of the adjacent provinces, that the emperor *Alexander*, how unwilling soever he might be, was constrained to raise an army, and to march towards *Mesopotamia*, in order to give a check to the *Persian* power [c].

Sends an insolent message to the emperor Alexander.

Artaxares was employed in the siege of *Nisibis* or *Antiochia*, when he received the news of *Alexander*'s marching towards him; upon which he thought proper to raise his siege, that he might recruit and refresh his army. He sent, however, deputies or embassadors, if we may be allowed to call four hundred persons by that title, whom he selected for their extraordinary stature and great strength; and having furnished them with rich habits and fine horses, he gave them commission, when they should be introduced to the emperor's presence, to speak thus: *The great king* Artaxares *commands the* Romans *and their prince to depart out of all* Syria *and* Asia Minor, *and to restore to the* Persians *all the countries on this side of the* Ægean *and* Pontic *seas, as of right descending to them from their ancestors* [d].

His messengers rigorously treated.

d THESE heralds or embassadors performed their commission very exactly; which so highly irritated *Alexander*, who was otherwise a prince of the gentlest disposition, that he ordered all their equipage to be taken from them, and sent them into *Phrygia*, where he assigned them farms, which they might cultivate for their subsistence. This done, he advanced into *Mesopotamia*, which he recovered in a great measure without fighting. Historians differ so much in the accounts they give us of the subsequent parts of this war, that it is almost impossible to reconcile them. We shall, however, relate what appears to us most probable, and give our readers our reasons in a note.

Gives battle to, and is beaten by the Romans:

Artaxares advanced with his forces into *Mesopotamia*, as soon as he thought himself
c strong enough to give the enemy battle. His army consisted of a hundred and twenty thousand horse, ten thousand heavy armed soldiers, eighteen hundred chariots with scythes, and seven hundred elephants. *Alexander*, however, did not decline fighting. An engagement ensued in which the *Romans* were victorious, and *Artaxares* was compelled to retire into the heart of his dominions, where, with great assiduity, he applied himself to the recruiting and restoring of his army. On the other hand, the *Roman* emperor divided his forces into three bodies, the first, marching through *Armenia*, had orders to penetrate into *Media*; the second marched over the marshes, to enter the *Parthian* dominions on the other side; the third, which was the greatest, and which the emperor commanded in person, was to have fallen into the heart of *Artaxares*'s dominions; and if this scheme had been thoroughly executed, in all probability, the *Persian* power would not only have been weakened, but even brought to the very verge of destruction [f].

Restores his affairs by firmness and vigilance.

THE body of troops which passed through *Armenia*, underwent great difficulties, and with very much fatigue arrived at last in *Media*. *Artaxares* quickly marched against them with a formidable army; but was not able to do much, for the country being uneven, the *Roman* foot had the better of his cavalry. While he was considering how these evils might be surmounted, he received advice of the other body of *Romans*

[a] HERODIAN. & ÆL. LAMPRID. ubi supra. [d] ZONAR. hist. ad. A. C. 230. [c] HERODIAN & ÆL. LAMPRID. ubi supra. [f] ZONAR. ubi supra. HERODIAN. l. vii.

Romans breaking into his territories, which, in some measure, frustrated all his designs; however, having left guards sufficient to secure the passes, he marched with his forces against the new invaders. These troops finding no enemy to oppose them, plundered all the country, and proud of their spoils, would no longer be restrained under discipline; nay, at last they became so scandalously licentious, that they slew their commander in chief, *Flavius*, for endeavouring to restrain them, and for being more careful of their safety than they were themselves. In this situation the *Persian* king fell upon them, and rather destroyed than defeated them. The *Roman* emperor in the mean time, being under feminine counsels, failed to perform the share he had taken to himself in this enterprize; which was the ruin of his army, the remains of which having joined the corps under his command, he returned first to *Antioch* and then to *Rome*, where he triumphed, and was styled *Parthicus* and *Persicus*, with very little reason (C). *Artaxares* made the best use of his absence, recovering what he had lost, restoring the glory of the *Persian* name; and having reigned with much reputation, died with honour and in peace, after enjoying the kingdom twelve years, or, as others say, fifteen years, abating two months [g].

Sapores *Year of Christ* 242.

He was succeeded in the throne by his son *Sapores*, or *Sapor*, a prince equally famous for strength of body and abilities of mind, fierce and intractable in his nature, covetous of glory, haughty, insolent, and cruel. He was no sooner seated on the throne, than he began to meditate a new war with the *Romans*, to which he was encouraged by a traitor, who dwelt in his court. The name of this man was *Cyriades*, the son of another *Cyriades*, an eminent commander in the *Roman* army. This profligate son of whom we are speaking, began his exploits with robbing his own father. He was naturally a voluptuous man; and therefore, as soon as he had possessed himself of this treasure, he withdrew into *Persia*, where he lived in that splendor and luxury, for which he had sacrificed his honour. In conjunction with *Odomastes*, a *Persian* general, he wasted the adjoining provinces, and having at last prevailed on the king himself to take the field, *Cyriades*, with the deserters, who, for the sake of plunder, followed him, attacked the cities of *Antioch* and *Cæsarea Philippi*, both of which they were so lucky as to make themselves masters of; whereupon *Cyriades* took first the title of *Cæsar*, and then called himself *emperor*, acquiring by degrees, dominions, revenues, and forces, not altogether unworthy of that title [h].

The

[g] Agath. Scholast. l. iv. p. 134.

[h] Trebell. Pol. in hist. trigint. tyran.

(C) Nothing can be more opposite than the account given by *Herodian* and *Ælius Lampridius* of the *Persian* war. We will give a concise account of what is said by each of them, and leave it to the intelligent reader to decide as he pleases. *Herodian* affirms, that, in the fourteenth year of *Alexander Severus*, letters came from the presidents of *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, purporting, that *Artaxerxes* king of *Persia* had made an inroad into *Mesopotamia*, and threatened to invade *Syria*, claiming all the continent opposite to *Europe*, from the *Ægean* sea to the *Propontis*, as the antient patrimony of the *Persians*. Upon this, after writing letters to no purpose to persuade the *Persian* to be quiet, the emperor *Alexander* marched into the east, where he divided his army, as we have related in our text, and by failing to perform what himself had undertaken, brought them all into a miserable situation; for which the army was so grievously offended with the emperor, that they openly said, he had most foully betrayed them. Upon this he led them back to *Antioch*, where he refreshed the remains of them, distributed amongst them large sums of money; and perceiving, that the *Romans* who were slain in *Persia*, by selling their lives dear, had exceedingly weakened the enemy, he had thoughts of invading their territories again, when he had advice of the *German* rebellion, which compelled him to return into *Italy* (7). On the other hand, we are expressly told by the writer of the life of *Alexander Severus*, addressed to *Constantine the Great*, that the *Persians* were intirely defeated, and a great number made prisoners. He likewise informs us, that he transcribed from the journal of the senate, a speech of the emperor's after his return, which hath abundance of extraordinary particulars. Amongst others, the emperor assures the senate, that *Artaxerxes* was not improperly styled *the great king*; that he brought seven hundred elephants into the field, of which three hundred were taken and two hundred killed; that the *Romans* had cut to pieces an army of one hundred and twenty thousand horse, had sold a multitude of *Persian* prisoners, and that he had defeated the *Persians* in the plains where *Crassus* had been overcome by the *Parthians*. He affirmed the same thing in gross to the people of *Rome*, and was thereupon complimented with the title of *Conqueror of the* Parthians *and* Persians (8). This author mentions *Herodian*'s account, and also some other accounts less favourable to the emperor *Alexander* than his; but he thinks the authorities cited by himself sufficient to weigh down all they say. However, *Herodian*, we know, wrote only of such things as happened within his own life-time, and made it a rule with him to make every thing give way to truth. As for the author of this life addressed to *Constantine*, some will have him to be *Ælius Lampridius*, and again others attribute it to *Spartianus* (9); but, whoever writ it, it hath much the air of a panegyric, or at least of an apology.

(7) *Herodian. hist. l.* vi. *c.* 6——16.

(8) *Æl. Lamprid. in vit. Alex. Sev.*

(9) *G. J. Vossius de hist. Latin. l.* ii. *p.* 192.

His dominions invaded by the Romans.

THE young emperor *Gordian*, when he had settled the affairs of the empire in the west, resolved to rescue the east also from the tyranny of pseudo-emperors, as well as from the terror of the *Persian* arms. With this view he marched into *Syria*, at the head of a great army; and as long as his father-in-law, whom some writers call *Mysitheus*, others *Timesocles*, lived, every thing went well. The *Persian* found himself constrained to withdraw into his own dominions, whither the emperor followed him, taking *Charra* or *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*; but while he was preparing to push his conquests still farther, he was murdered by the treachery of *Philip*, whom he had made captain of his guards, on the death of his father-in-law [i].

Makes an advantagious peace.

THIS *Philip*, having possessed himself of the sovereign authority, made peace with
b *Sapor*, and abandoned *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia* to him again. Part of these provinces, on the news of the senate's disapproving his conduct, he recovered again, without shewing any regard to his treaty; and, leaving a sufficient number of troops to secure the frontiers, marched back into *Italy*. As soon as the *Roman* army was withdrawn, *Sapor* and *Cyriades* renewed their incursions; and the latter, growing stronger than ever, began, in all respects, to be treated as an emperor. Indeed the *Roman* affairs were in such miserable confusion, that many, who would otherwise have opposed *Cyriades*, were now glad to be sheltered under his protection. At length, however, things began to take a new turn. *Valerian*, tho' he was seventy years old when he was advanced to the empire, yet spared no pains to reduce all the
c numerous provinces thereof to a proper degree of obedience. While he was thus employed, first in the west, and then in the north, *Sapor*, with a numerous army, broke into the *Roman* territories, burnt and pillaged the country; and at length advancing as far as *Edessa*, besieged it in form, one *Demosthenes*, who commanded therein, making a gallant resistance [k].

Takes the emperor Valerian *prisoner.*

Valerian no sooner received advice of this, than he posted with the troops about his person to its relief. His approach gave new spirits to the distressed inhabitants of the *Roman* provinces, and disposed them to take all the necessary steps for compelling the *Persians* to retire into their own dominions. The soldiers of *Cyriades* mutinied against him, put him to death, and declared for *Valerian*. *Sapor*, however,
d confiding in the strength of his army, continued still before *Edessa*, in the neighbourhood whereof an action happened, in which *Valerian* was taken prisoner, whether by his own temerity, or the treachery of one of his commanders, cannot be well determined. This gave a mortal wound to the *Roman* affairs in the east, where *Sapor* gained continual advantages, and used his fortune with an insolence not to be endured. This at length drove the people to despair; so that, first under the command of *Callistus*, afterwards under that of *Odenatus*, prince of *Palmyrene*, they took arms, and not only protected themselves from any further insults, but also, under the command
e of the last-mentioned general, defeated the *Persian*, and took part of his baggage, with all his concubines, which determined him to retire into his own dominions. In his march he is said to have made use of the bodies of his unfortunate prisoners to fill up the hollow roads, and to facilitate the passages of his carriages over such rivers as lay in his way. On his return into *Persia*, he was solicited by the kings of the *Caducians*, *Armenians*, *Bactrians*, and other nations, to set the emperor *Valerian* at liberty; but to no purpose. On the contrary, he used him the worse, treated him daily with indignities, set his foot upon his neck when he mounted his horse, and, as some writers say, after several years confinement, cause him to be flay'd alive [l] (D).

FROM

[i] HERODIAN. hist. l. vii. JUL. CAPITOLIN. de vita Gordian. tert. ZOSIM. hist. A. C. 243. ZONAR. hist. A. C. 244. [k] JUL. CAPITOLIN. in vita Gordian. TREBELL. POL. hist. trigint. tyran. ZONAR. histor. A. C. 253. ZOSIM. hist. A. C. 252. [l] TREBELL. POL. in vita Valerian. AGATH. SCHOL. l. iv. p. 133. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. dynast. vii. p. 120.

(D) There is nothing more confused, nothing for which it is more difficult to account, than the manner by which *Valerian* fell into the hands of *Sapor*, and his treatment afterwards. *Trebellius Pollio*, who wrote the life of this emperor, expresses himself doubtfully as to the conduct of *Marcianus*, whether it was treacherous, or unfortunate only; but, as to the emperor himself, he is positive, that, after he was made prisoner, *Sapor* made use of him as a footstool when he mounted his horse. The same writer hath preserved three letters; one from king *Belsotus*; another from *Balenus* king of the *Caduci*; and a third from *Artabazes* king of *Armenia*, to the *Persian* monarch, in favour of *Valerian*, who, he says, died in his captivity at a very advanced age (10). *Zonaras* affirms, that however *Valerian* was taken, whether fighting in his own defence, or voluntarily yielding himself up, he was afterwards treated with the

(10) *In vita Valerian.*

Treats him inhumanly, and is ever after unfortunate.

From this time forwards the affairs of *Sapor* wore but an indifferent aspect. *Odenatus*, flushed with victory, at the head of a gallant army, and cloathed with the character of president over the *Roman* provinces in the east, bridled the *Persians*, and made them frequent visits in their own territories. Twice this general advanced as far as the city of *Ctesiphon*, seated on the banks of the *Tigris*, all the countries between *Palmyra* and that river being under his obedience. On his death his wife, the celebrated *Zenobia*, continued to oppose the *Persians*, and with success, till she was conquered and made prisoner by the emperor *Aurelian*, who vindicated the honour of the *Romans* on this side, and took ample vengeance for the ill treatment of *Valerian*. Much spoil, many prisoners, and one of the king's chariots, *Aurelian* carried with him into *Italy*, and with them graced his triumph at *Rome* [k]. *Sapor*, however, continued to inlarge his dominions at the expence of his barbarous neighbours, and having reigned, with great variety of fortune, thirty-one years, died, and left the kingdom to his son. An eastern writer informs us, that *Aurelian* made peace with *Sapores*, and gave him his daughter in marriage, in whose train were two *Greek* physicians, who first brought the writings of *Hippocrates* into the east [l]. In the reign of this monarch, flourished, according to the same writer, the famous heretic *Manes*, whose opinions so long disturbed the church [m] (E).

Hormisdas. *Year of Christ* 273.

Hormisdas succeeded *Sapores*, of whom we have little to say. It was during his reign that the *Palmyrenians* were foolish enough to take arms again, in order to assert themselves

[k] Trebel. Pol. in vit. Gallien. Odenat. Zenob. & Saturnin. [l] Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynast. 7. p. 138. [m] Agath. Scholast. l. iv. p. 134. Flav. Vopisc. in vit. Aurelian. Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynast. p. 130.

the utmost indignity. He likewise says, that he was carried into the heart of *Persia*, and was so unhappy as to be an eye-witness of the massacring of the *Romans*, in order to fill up the hollow ways with their carcasses; and this, says he, was the end of *Valerian* (11). *Zosimus* relates things more particularly. He informs us, that *Valerian*, finding his army much weakened by sickness, and distrusting the fidelity of most of his officers, endeavoured first to negociate, and then to buy, a peace from *Sapor*; who refusing to treat with any, but the emperor, he imprudently went to confer with him, attended only by his ordinary guards, and so was surprized, put into chains, and carried away prisoner into the inland parts of *Persia*, where he died of extreme old age (12). *Agathias* asserts, that *Valerian* was not only treated with the utmost ignominy after he was made prisoner by *Sapor*, but that at length he ordered him to be flay'd alive; which was accordingly performed (13). *Cedrenus* says, that *Valerian*, with twenty thousand men, were made prisoners by *Sapor* at the battle of *Cæsarea*; and that his skin being pulled over his ears, he died in miserable torture (14). To cite more authors would be tedious, as well as to no purpose; for we do not pretend to ascertain any fact, but to shew, that the death of *Valerian* is very uncertain; and this we have already sufficiently done.

(E) The ecclesiastical historians are not agreed at what time *Manes* flourished. However, as *Cedrenus* (15), who wrote his compend of histories from good memoirs, places him under the reign of *Sapor*, we may as well speak of him here as any-where else. Concerning him and his doctrines we are told in general, that one *Terebinthus*, an arch-heretic, having fled out of *Palestine* into *Persia*, and being there received into the house of a widow, took the name of *Buda*, pretended to have been born of a virgin, to have been brought up in the mountains, and to have received a command to teach men a new religion, or at least new notions in religion. He being either killed by the people, or by an evil spirit that he conversed with in this woman's house, left behind him in her hands four treatises, containing the sum of his doctrines. This woman having bought a slave called *Cubricus*, when a boy of seven years old, caused him to be carefully educated, and, when she died, left him all she had. By this means the writings of *Terebinthus* or *Buda* coming into his hands, he read, considered them, and resolved to pass for somebody as well as his master. The first thing he did, was to change his name from *Cubricus* to *Manes*; then he began to propagate his opinions, which were taken principally from the writings of *Zoroaster* and the *Gnostics*. Part of the scriptures he rejected, part he retained; but magnified his own writings above all. He asserted two principles, the one good, and the other evil. He spoke respectfully of Jesus Christ, yet denied that he suffered and rose again, affirming, *that the* Jews *crucified a phantom*. He gave himself at sometimes out for the Messiah, at others for the comforter. He chose twelve apostles and seventy-two disciples, who discharged their offices faithfully, spreading his notions far and wide, some of them penetrating into *China* (16). As for *Manes* himself, he was, according to the manner of those times, a person of considerable learning; for he drew a map of the world, and wrote a treatise of its use. He likewise composed a large book of enigmatical figures, which, he pretended, contained a series of revelations to the end of the world (17). In the end, he is said to have lost himself in that whirlpool which swallows up most impostors, the affectation of working of miracles. He would needs undertake to cure the king of *Persia*'s son, who laboured under a mortal disease: but he failed in his attempt, the young prince died, and he was imprisoned. He made his escape afterwards, and for some time wandered about, and was concealed by his disciples. At length he was apprehended by the king of *Persia*'s officers, and, as some say, was crucified by the order of *Sapor*; tho', as others affirm, he was flay'd alive (18). However, his opinions did not perish with him; for his sect flourished afterwards in *Persia*, and was encouraged by some of its kings.

(11) *Hist. A. C.* 259. (12) *Hist. A. C.* 259, 260. (13) *Agath. Scholast. l.* iv. *p.* 133. (14) *Cedren. compend. p.* 194. (15) *Idem, p.* 259. (16) *Epiphan. hær.* 66. *Augustin. de Hæres. Isidor. hæres.* 46. *Theodoret. lib. hæret. fab.* 1. *Gregor. Abul-Pharag. dynast.* vii *p.* 130. (17) *Herbelot. artic. Ertenk. Gregorius.* (18) *Cedren. compend. p.* 260. *Gregor. Abul-Phar. ubi supra.*

a themselves from the *Romans*, or rather, as other parts of the *Roman* empire had done, to assert a right of making emperors. They cast their eyes on one *Antiochus*, whom they arra ed in purple and saluted emperor; but *Aurelian* did not leave them long at liberty to carry on this scheme. He returned with his victorious army, reduced *Palmyra*, and dyed the cloaths of his soldiers, if we may be allowed the expression, in the blood of its inhabitants. As for *Antiochus*, he took no notice of him at all. And for *Hormisdas*, he had not interfered, and therefore *Aurelian* did not trouble his country; he had the good fortune consequently to die in peace, after having sat on the throne a year and ten days [n].

Varanes the first succeeded him. Of him we know very little more than that he Varanes I.
b reigned three years, during which space we find not that he enterprized any thing *Year of Christ* against the *Romans*, or they against him. In truth, the empire was at this time in a 274.
very indifferent condition; for, after the death of *Aurelian*, the *Roman* forces in *Syria* and *Mesopotamia* were very unquiet. At length *Saturninus* set himself up for emperor, but with no great good luck; yet, as he was a man of probity and an excellent commander, he kept the *Persians* within their limits; so that the prince, of whom we are speaking, never had any opportunity of exerting himself [o].

Varanes the second ascended the throne on the death of the former king of the same Varanes II.
name. He had at first some thoughts of invading the *Roman* provinces; but he *Year of Christ*
quickly found, that the state of things was changed; for, on the first motion of his 277.
troops, the emperor *Probus* advanced in person into the east. Upon this *Varanes* desisted from his enterprize, and, hearing of the emperor's great success, ordered *Narses*, who commanded for him in *Armenia*, to send deputies to compliment *Probus*, to make him presents, and to treat of peace. The emperor received them very haughtily, refused the presents they brought him, and wrote an answer to the letter of *Narses* to this purpose: That all he had was his; that he wondered how he could send him such trifles: wherefore, to him, who might perhaps esteem them, he had sent them back, as well knowing how to have all that he possessed, when the *Romans* should desire it. However, he granted them peace at this time, and terrified them so much with his power, that the *Persians* were afraid to make their usual excursions
d for some time [p]. At length *Varanes* took heart, and began to think of recovering some of the provinces which his ancestors had lost; but, before he was able to do any thing, he found himself disturbed by domestic seditions; and, before these were calmed, *Probus*, assembling a great army, began his march towards the east. *Varanes* conceived himself delivered from this misfortune, when he heard that the army, in a sedition, had killed the emperor; but he was mistaken, for *Carus* his successor, after subduing several barbarous nations, shortly after entered *Mesopotamia*, and carrying all before him, advanced beyond *Ctesiphon*, as if he intended an absolute conquest of that province. The fears of the *Persians* were, however, soon over; for the emperor
e *Carus* died in the first march he afterwards made, either by an illness under which he had long laboured, or by his tent's being set on fire by lightning. What was still more happy for the *Persians* was a notion, the *Romans* took from thence, that fate had assigned *Ctesiphon* for the bounds of their empire, which they were never to pass but to their hurt (F). Soon after *Numerianus*, the son of *Carus*, was also slain; and the *Roman*

[n] Agath. Schol. hist. l. iv. p. 134. Flav. Vopisc. in vita Aurelian. Zosim. hist. A. C. 274.
[o] Agath. Scholast. ubi supra. Flav. Vopisc. in vita Saturnin. Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynast. vii. p. 134. [p] Flav. Vopisc. in vita Prob. Eutrop. hist. Rom. l. ix. M. A. Cassiodor. chron. xxxi.

(F) There is nothing so valuable in an historian as truth, and yet there is nothing more frequently wanting. We generally esteem those authors most, who lived nearest the times of which they wrote; and yet we are as often deceived by them as by any others. A desire of praising immoderately those of whom they write, too often influences historians to represent things otherwise than they apprehended them. *Vopiscus*, in his life of the emperor *Carus*, affects a great deal of candour and impartiality, especially in respect to the death of that emperor, which had been generally supposed ominous to the empire. He expired in his camp before *Ctesiphon*, blasted, as the report went, by lightning; whence it was inferred, that the *Romans* should never penetrate farther than this city. It was built by the *Parthians* on the east bank of the *Tigris*, and was a very populous place; and besides, the country beyond it was quite unknown to the *Romans*, as well as very improper for their manner of making war, which probably gave birth to this opinion. However, *Vopiscus* was resolved to destroy it, in order to which he produces a letter from *Calphurnius*, secretary to *Carus*, wherein he gives a very ambiguous account of that emperor's death. He says it happened after the greatest clap of thunder which was heard during the storm; that his servants, for grief, set fire to his tent, which occasioned the report that he was burnt by lightning; whereas, according to the best account this writer could get, he died of his sickness. *Vopiscus* then mentions the notion that *Ctesiphon* was fatal to the *Roman* empire, and that the death of *Carus* was thought

Roman army, under the command of *Diocletian*, returned into *Italy*. *Varanes* gained hereby some respite, which he employed in strengthening his frontiers; but when, on the news of the disturbances which had happened in the *Roman* empire, he began to think of invading its provinces, *Diocletian* suddenly returned into *Armenia*, with a great body of forces, and thereby struck such a terror into the *Persians*, that they were afraid to undertake any thing. A little after died *Varanes*, after an unfortunate reign of seventeen years, leaving the kingdom to his son [q].

Varanes III. *Year of Christ* 294.

Varanes the third reigned no more than four months. He is dignified by historians with the title of *Sequestia*. *Agathias* hath given us the reason of this appellation. He tells us, that it was the custom of the *Persian* monarchs to incorporate the nations they subdued into the body of their subjects, not by removing them hither or thither, but by allowing them to live, as formerly, under their own laws, themselves adding to their titles that which the ancient princes of the country bore. *Varanes* the second having, a little before his death, overcome this nation, his son took the title of *Segan Schahan* or *Seganshāh*, which, *Agathias* expressly tells us, signified *king of the Segan* or *Segestan* [r].

Narses. *Year of Christ* 294.

Narses succeeded next, a prince of high spirit, who designed, no less than *Artaxerxes*, the founder of the new *Persian* monarchy, had done, the reduction of all the *Persian* provinces, held at this time either by the barbarous nations, or conquered by the *Romans*. It is certain, that never did a fairer opportunity offer for the execution of this well-design, than at the entrance of this prince's reign. The *Roman* empire was in such distraction, that tho' there were two emperors, yet they found the weight too heavy for them, and therefore created two *Cæsars* to share the burden of government. War was kindled in every corner of the empire, when *Narses*, with a great army, broke into *Mesopotamia*, and in a short time recovered most of the places which had been heretofore in the hands of his ancestors. But it was not long before *Diocletian* sent *Galerius*, one of the *Cæsars*, with a numerous army, to *Antioch*, to check the progress of the *Persian*. *Narses* did not decline an engagement; but his success was not equal to his courage, either in this, or in a second battle. *Galerius* being conqueror in both, passed the river *Tigris*, and advanced into the very heart of the king of *Persia*'s dominions. *Narses*, tho' he retired continually, yet kept a strict eye upon the enemy, beseeching his own troops not to look upon his conduct as timorous, but to be assured, that he would take an opportunity of vindicating their honour, and revenging the loss he had sustained. He was as good as his word; for *Galerius*, elated with success, abating of his usual care and circumspection, *Narses* took advantage thereof, and falling upon the *Roman* army while they were upon their march, gave them so total a defeat, that scarce any remains of them could be afterwards drawn together. *Galerius* himself with much ado escaped, and making haste to the army of *Diocletian*, prepared to give the emperor the best account he could of his misfortune. *Diocletian* used him but very indifferently, shewed a high dislike of his conduct, and in a manner refused to trust him with another army. At length, however, the zealous importunities of *Galerius* prevailed, and, levies being made with all possible expedition, he was sent with fresh forces against *Narses*. The *Persian* king had, in this interval, made the best use of his victory, retrieving not only the cities and country which he had lost, but also bringing into the field a numerous army, composed especially of chosen horse, to maintain the conquests he had made, in case the *Romans* should once more dispute them [s].

Constrained to submit to the Romans.

Galerius acted now as *Narses* had before; he added prudence to fortitude, and depended no less on his own conduct, than on the courage of his forces. He was

[q] Flav. Vopisc. in vit. Prob. & Car. Zonar. hist. A. C. 283. Sext. Aurel. Victor. in Car. Agath. Scholast. p. 134. Gregor. Abul-Pharag. dynast. 7. p. 131. [r] Agath. Scholast. l. iv. p. 135. [s] Zonar. hist. A. C. 297. Eutrop. hist. Rom. l. ix. Agath. Scholiast. ubi supra.

thought a judgment for attempting to pass farther. But, says he, let cowardice make use of such arts to cover it; the brave will ever despise them. The most excellent *Cæsar Maximian* will never believe this; but, on the contrary, will attempt and finish the conquest of the *Persians*, and penetrate beyond them (18). Would it not have been better, if, instead of this flourish, he had told us, that, immediately after the death of *Carus*, his army, under the command of his son *Numerianus*, was attacked and beaten by the *Persians*, and thereby forced to retire into the *Roman* provinces again (19)? Yet he says nothing of this, either here, or in the life of *Numerianus* [20], whom some writers affirm to have been taken and put to death by the *Persians* after their victory [21].

(18) *In vita Car.* (19) *Zonar. hist. A. C.* 283. (20) *Flav. Vopisc. in vita Numeriani.*
(21) *Gregor. Abul Pharag. dynast.* 7. *p.* 132.

went with a few of his friends to view the *Persian* army, and having happily performed this exploit, he returned to his own, which he disposed in such a manner, as to attack the *Persians* at unawares, whereby he gained a compleat victory. *Narses* himself was wounded, and forced to fly with a small remnant of his army into the mountains. His baggage, treasure, papers, all fell into the hands of *Galerius*, as did likewise his sisters, his queen, his concubines, and children. In vain he endeavoured to repair his misfortune; the spirits of his subjects were effectually damped by this blow, insomuch, that he found it impossible to collect another army capable of taking the field against the victorious *Romans*, who were shortly after joined by *Diocletian* and his army, who, at the time of the engagement lay encamped at *Antioch*, in order to have sustained *Galerius*, in case any thing amiss had befallen him. Overcome therefore with the reflection of his misfortunes, *Narses*, to rid himself of these troublesome neighbours, consented to give up five of his provinces; on which condition peace was granted him and his queen restored; but as for their sisters, his concubines, and the other persons of quality, who were taken in the battle, they were carried to *Rome*, and there led in triumph. The grief of this broke the heart of *Narses*, when he had enjoyed the regal dignity about seven years [t].

He was succeeded by *Misdates*, otherwise called *Hormisdas* the second, who wore the diadem seven years and five months, but without doing any thing remarkable. As he was long in a declining condition, and had no issue, the nobility of *Persia* were under the utmost concern for the consequences of his disease, without a successor declared. At length it appeared, that the queen was with child; upon which a council of the magi was summoned, and they were required to inform the nobles whether the queen was with child of a son or a daughter. The magi answered, Of a son. Hereupon the diadem was placed upon the queen's great belly, and all the nobility swore allegiance on the faith of the foregoing prediction to the son she should bear. The king dying in the interim, the public peace was preserved by this expedient; and at the end of nine months the queen was delivered of a son, who was a king before he was born [u]. This was

Misdates *or* Hormisdas. *Year of Christ* 301.

Sapores, or *Sapor* the second, who governed the dominions of his ancestors long and happily. The account we have given in the last reign is strongly controverted, and it must be allowed, that there are more testimonies alledged against it than can be urged in its support. Yet we have given it the preference, for a reason which will appear at the bottom of the page, and which we are perswaded, will induce the readers to be of the same mind (G). This prince, if we may credit an ecclesiastical historian, was

Sapor II. *Year of Christ* 308.

[t] M. A. Cassiodor. chron. xxxiii. Cedren. hist. compend. p. 268. Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynast. vii. p. 132. Zonar. Eutrop. Agath. ubi supra. [u] Agath. Scholast. lib. iv. p. 134.

(G) There are several passages in the writings of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (22), *Zosimus* (23), *Socrates* (24), and other writers, which seem to intimate, that *Sapor* was not a posthumous child, but born in his father's life-time, and educated by his direction. They also speak of one *Hormisdas*, who fled to the emperor *Constantine*, as if he had been brother to this prince. Now, if these facts were true, it would follow, that what is above related must be false. But if it be considered first, that the relations found in these authors are so worded, as that they may be made to suit with either fact: That, secondly, there is nothing expresly said of the manner in which *Sapor* came to the crown: And that, thirdly, these writers appear to be frequently very indifferently instructed as to the history of *Persia*, and scarce at all acquainted with its religion: We must confess, that no great stress can be laid on what they deliver, much less on what is inferred from their accounts. On the other hand, what *Agathias* relates, he had from the *Persian* records, and the *Persian* records are the best evidence for *Persian* affairs (25). But besides, there is another reason which so strongly corroborates what *Agathias* tells us, that one can scarce entertain any doubt of the truth of the fact mentioned by *Agathias*. *Sapor* succeeded in the *Persian* throne about the same time that *Constantine* became emperor, and he reigned seventy years. In the fifteenth year of his reign, *Hormisdas* retired into the *Roman* dominions. Now if *Hormisdas* had been the brother of *Sapor*, and had been a man before the death of his father, we must conceive that *Sapor* was within a few years as old as he, otherwise he could not have been his rival. But this would stretch the life of *Sapor* to an incredible extent, and would also involve us in new difficulties. It is therefore better to acknowledge *Agathias*'s account, which concurs exactly with the most remarkable events recorded by other historians. As to the story of *Hormisdas*, it runs thus: He is said to have been a prince of the blood-royal of *Persia*, and that coming in when his father celebrated his birth-day feast, he observed that the nobility did not rise to salute him. Upon which he threatened, that if ever he came to the crown, he would treat them as *Marsyas* the *Phrygian* was treated. Most of the *Persian* lords knew not what to make of this; but one of them told the rest the story of *Marsyas*, who, for contending with *Apollo*, was by him flayed alive. This irritated them so much against the prince *Hormisdas*, that they not only excluded him from the succession, but caused him also to be closely imprisoned; whence, however, he escaped by

(22) *Hist. lib.* xvii, xviii, xix. (23) *Hist. lib.* ii. (24) *Hist. eccles. lib* ii. (25) *De reb. Justian. lib.* iv. *p.* 134.

was educated under the care of an eunuch named *Uztazades*, who was secretly a christian. a
Whoever had the care of his education, certain it is, that he became a very great
prince, if we may bestow that character on one who was no very good man. He was
a zealous asserter of the dignity of the *Persian* diadem, and pursued steadily that
design which *Artaxares* had first set on foot, *viz.* of uniting all the territories of the
antient *Persian* kings under his obedience. But he did not pursue this design, as some
of his predecessors had done, openly, and at the head of armies: if he had, in all
probability he would not have been more fortunate than they; for the *Persian* militia
were by no means able to combat the regular forces of the *Romans*. This prudent
monarch took quite different measures; he encouraged the barbarous people dwelling b
on the frontiers of the *Roman* provinces to ravage and harrass them; this he did more
openly, when the affairs of the *Romans* were in confusion, and with greater secrecy,
when they were better established. He extended his own dominions towards the east,
and towards the north; he increased his revenues, by encouraging industry and trade
among his subjects; he disciplined his forces, and above all things affected a mighty
esteem and veneration for the civil and religious constitution of his country [x].

Persecutes the christians in his dominions.

This last-mentioned disposition induced him to persecute the christians, who were
represented to him, by the magi and the *Jews* settled in his dominions, as men of
detestable principles, bad subjects to their governors, and avowed enemies of religion;
that is, of its fundamental articles. It is said, that he put *Simeon* bishop of *Ctesiphon*,
and many other ecclesiastics, to death, and that he even cut off the head of the c
eunuch before mentioned, notwithstanding he had been his governor, and his father's
old and faithful servant. One great crime objected to the christians was, their regard
for *Constantine*, then emperor of *Rome*. His power was too great for *Sapores* to think
as yet of attacking him openly; he therefore sent a solemn embassy to *Constantinople* to
compliment that prince, and to renew that peace which had for so many years sub-
sisted between the two empires, directing his ministers privately to inquire into the
strength of the *Romans*, and to buy up a quantity of arms, of which his subjects stood
in great need. The emperor, though well informed of the design of *Sapores*, received
his ministers very graciously, granted their requests, and at their return charged them
with a letter for the king of *Persia* their master. Of this letter there are two copies d
extant, the one more full and correct than the other. The intent of the epistle was
to persuade *Sapores* to treat the christians with greater lenity. The arguments made
use of therein are just and natural, delivered in language becoming the writer, and him
to whom it was addressed (II). In all probability, it had its effects; for we are informed
by an impartial author, that *Sapores* treated the christians afterwards with less severity.
Indeed, he had never troubled them at all, if he had not been instigated by some
malicious

[x] Ammian. Marcel. lib xvii. Euseb. in vit. Constant. Sozomen. hist. eccles. lib. ii.

by the contrivance of his wife; and flying to the emperor *Constantine*, met with a favourable reception, which he very well deserved, by the diligence and fidelity which he manifested on all occasions in the service of the *Romans* (26). There is certainly a strong air of fable in the first part of this narration; for that a *Persian* prince should be acquainted with the story of *Apollo* and *Marsyas*, must appear strange, if not incredible. Again, that so rash and cruel a prince should, in getting out of prison, leave all his ill qualities behind him, and come a perfect wit and hero (for so these writers paint him afterwards) to the court of *Constantine* (27); this surely is very wonderful also; and therefore stripping off these marvellous appendages, if we credit the bare matter of fact, that *Hormisdas*, a prince of the blood royal of *Persia*, fled to the *Romans*, and behaved well in their service; it will answer all reasonable purposes, and the current of our history receive no interruption.

(II) *Sozomen* hath given us a long account of the cruel persecution raised against the *Persian* christians by *Sapor*; but even this writer intimates, that the whole was not only excited, but managed also, by the magi. Those who are desirous of entering farther into this matter, may find in the works of this historian a very copious account, not only of the general persecution, but of the principal martyrs, their quality, and behaviour (28). *Eusebius*, in his life of *Constantine*, affords us a concise view of the persecution; but then he gives us the letter of the emperor at large; whereas *Sozomen* gives us only an extract of it. In this letter the emperor first gives a short account of his faith, then of his success and grandeur, which he attributes wholly to God's blessing thereon; he afterwards expatiates on the odious folly of idolatry; but without insinuating any thing of his suspicion that *Sapor* was an idolater. He then very pathetically represents the miseries which had constantly attended unjust and cruel princes, especially persecutors, of whom he particularizes *Valerian*; whom he asserts to have been happy in all his undertakings, until he persecuted the christians. Lastly, he warmly recommends the christians in his dominions to the favour of *Sapor*, and beseeches him for his sake to look upon them as his good and faithful subjects (29).

(26) *Zosim. hist. lib.* ii. *A. C.* 324. (27) *Zonar. hist. A. C.* 340. (28) *Hist. eccles. lib.* ii. c. 9, 10, 11, 12. (29) *In vit. Constant.*

malicious prieſts of his own religion, and the indiſcretions perhaps of ſome chriſtian prieſts.

Reſolves on a war with the Romans.

HOWEVER, he abandoned not the ſcheme he had formed of raiſing himſelf and his ſucceſſors to the ſupreme dominion over the eaſt. When he thought he had brought things to bear, he generouſly acquainted *Conſtantine* with his intention, tranſmitting to him by his embaſſadors a letter, or rather a manifeſto, wherein he expreſly ſet forth his claim to all the dominions antiently belonging to the *Perſian* emperors, affirming, that the river *Strymon* was the legal boundary of his empire. *Conſtantine* returned him an anſwer, full of dignity and reſolution; and though he was now grown in years, made great preparations for war, aſſembled a numerous army, and reſolved to command it in perſon. When the ſeaſon of the year approached, he joined his forces, and immediately began his march for the eaſtern provinces; but providence prevented his deſign from taking effect, by removing him out of this life, ſo that together with his empire, he left the management of this *Perſian* war to his ſucceſſors[y]. *Sapor* did not fail to make uſe of the advantages afforded him by the diſorders which happened in the empire on the death of *Conſtantine*. He inſtantly entered the *Roman* provinces, and reannexed to his own dominions what his anceſtors had loſt. It is a very difficult thing to give any account of this war from the *Greek* and *Latin* hiſtorians, notwithſtanding the writings of many who lived in thoſe days have come down to our hands, by reaſon of their evident partiality, ſome commending the emperor *Conſtans*, as a very martial prince, others upbraiding him with puſillanimity, both endeavouring rather to ſuit hiſtory to their own opinions, than to the truth. By making proper allowances, however, for the viſible biaſſes of theſe writers, the truth ſeems to have been, that in pitched battles, and in the defending of towns, the *Romans* were ſuperior to the *Perſians*; but that in ſwift marches, horſe-combats, and ſurprizes, the *Perſians* had the advantage.

Which proves tedious and bloody.

HENCE it came to paſs, that altho' *Sapor* reconquered large tracts of country, and was ſucceſsful in many engagements; yet could he not prevail againſt *Niſibis*, the ſtrongeſt fortreſs the *Romans* had in thoſe parts, though he often beſieged it, and exerted his utmoſt force, in order to deliver his ſubjects from a thorn that continually pricked them; but he was conſtantly defeated, and conſtrained after great loſſes to riſe from before it. As to the circumſpection of the emperor *Conſtans*, when in the field, it might very probably be owing to the ſituation of thoſe countries, which were the ſeat of war. In a plain country, ſuch as *Meſopotamia*, the emperor was forced to act with great circumſpection, becauſe the enemy had all advantages, their cavalry having room to extend themſelves to retire, and to come back to the charge, which in a mountainous ſituation they could not have done. We need not wonder therefore, that the *Romans* were backward in fighting, and more ſolicitous about fortifying their camps than ſeeking the enemy. In the battle of *Singara*, which was fought in the night, *Sapor* had at firſt the advantage by reaſon of the ſurprize the *Romans* were under; but when they had recovered themſelves a little, they repulſed the enemy ſo briſkly that in the end *Sapor* was forced to retire, after having loſt his ſon in the battle, and received a dangerous wound himſelf. Both parties were in the end tired out with the war; the *Roman* emperor therefore leaving the care of the eaſtern provinces to *Gallus*, whom he had lately created *Cæſar*, returned into the weſtern provinces of his empire, while *Sapor*, who perceived that little was now to be got from the *Romans*, turned his arms upon his eaſtern neighbours, and left the care of his frontiers towards the *Romans* to his moſt experienced generals. In his expeditions againſt the *Barbarians*, he was more fortunate than againſt the *Romans*. Some he ſubdued by force, others readily yielded him obedience; with his moſt powerful and inveterate enemies he made a ſolid and laſting peace. In the midſt of this ſucceſs, he received advice that overtures had been made to his generals in the weſt for the concluſion of a peace. To ſhew therefore his readineſs in this point, he diſpatched one *Narſes*, a nobleman of great credit in his court, to carry his letters to *Conſtans*, with the terms on which he was content to enter on a treaty. The miniſter proceeded to *Sirmium*, in order to have an interview with *Conſtans*; there he preſented him with the letters of the *Perſian* king, written in the uſual ſtrain of the *Perſian* monarchs, *i. e.* in a lofty ſwelling ſtyle. The purport was, that notwithſtanding *Sapor* knew himſelf to have a juſt claim to all the countries between *Perſia* and the river *Strymon*, yet he was content for the ſake of

[y] ZONAR. hiſt A. C. 337. ZOSIM. hiſt. lib. ii. A. C. 338. EUTROP. lib. x. AMM. MARCEL. EUSEB. ZOSIM. ubi ſupra.

of peace to be satisfied with *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*; which once yielded up, he would willingly become the friend of the *Romans*. *Narses* perceiving how ill his master's letter was taken, endeavoured all that in him lay to pacify the *Romans*, and to obtain from the emperor an account of his demands, with which *Constans* readily complied. He named on his side embassadors, who were to go to *Sapor*, and who were charged with letters, importing that, while himself was possessed of but a part of the *Roman* empire, he had notwithstanding maintained its antient boundary in the east; and that now being master of the whole, it was not reasonable to expect that he should yield to such conditions as had been proposed. The *Roman* embassadors found the king of *Persia* at *Ctesiphon*, where they had many conferences with him and his ministers, though to very little purpose, for the *Persian* would remit nothing; however, time was gained, in which *Constans* came first to *Constantinople*, and then prepared to set out for the east [y].

Antoninus deserts, and Sapor renews the war.

About this time one *Antoninus*, an officer of great credit in the *Roman* army, being persecuted by some of the emperors favourites, fled to *Sapor*, by whom he was received with open arms, treated with the utmost kindness, and immediately admitted into the highest confidence. In the mean time, the emperor had been prevailed upon to remove *Ursicinus*, who was general of the horse in the east, and to give his command to *Sabinian*, a very old man, who thought himself very cautious, but was by others esteemed timid, and most unfit for supreme command. *Antoninus* quickly gave the *Persian* notice of the incapacity of the *Roman* general, who thereupon determined, with the numerous army under his command, immediately to enter the *Roman* provinces, and to advance as fast as possible without imbarrassing himself with sieges, or attempting to divide his forces, in order to garison towns. Accordingly, he passed the *Tigris*, and marched with all imaginable diligence towards the *Euphrates*, intending, if possible, to penetrate into *Syria*, hoping to pillage that fruitful country, which had enjoyed so many years peace [z]. But *Ursicinus*, who was returned again into the east with the title of general of the foot, prevented him by throwing up works on the side of the river, and posting himself with his troops behind them. *Sapor*, then, by the advice of *Antoninus*, turned to the left; and before it was expected, invested the city of *Amida*. In the neighbourhood of this place he took several strong castles, and in one of them a considerable number of christian virgins, who had dedicated themselves to the service of God. The *Persian* treated them not only with humanity, but with the utmost politeness, being desirous to shew that prosperity softened his disposition, instead of rendering him arrogant. *Amida* made a long defence, and the siege thereof is said to have cost *Sapor* thirty thousand men. It was at last, however, taken by storm after a siege of seventy-three days. The principal officers of the garison he hanged, the men he sent into slavery, after which he put an end to the campaign on this side; he entered, however, afterwards *Mesopotamia*, where he took the town of *Singara*, and ruined it; he then attacked *Bezabda*, and after a siege of some days, took it, and fortified it; then he advanced to *Virta*, which he likewise invested; but, after a siege of some continuance, was obliged to retire. The emperor *Constans* in the mean time passed the *Euphrates*, and came to *Amida*, over the ruins of which he is said to have wept; he then advanced, in hopes of regaining the places taken by *Sapor*, and proceeded to besiege *Bezabda*, but to no purpose; for the rainy season, and a scarcity of provision, obliged him to raise his siege, and return into *Syria*, where he continued all the winter [a] (I).

Sapor

[y] ZONAR. hist. A. C. 350. ZOSIM. hist. lib. ii. A. C. 352. AMMIAN. MARCEL. lib. xviii. EUTROP. lib. x. [z] AMMIAN. MARCEL. lib. xviii. c. 5. [a] AMMIAN. MARCEL. lib. xx. EUTROP. lib. x. ZONARAS, A. C. 355. ZOSIM. hist. lib. iii. SOZOMEN. hist. eccles. lib. iv.

(I) It would have been very easy to have rendered this part of our history more particular and more entertaining than it is, if there had not been two very cogent arguments offered by the very nature of the work to keep us here much within bounds. For first, as all the accounts we have come from *Latin* and *Greek* authors, they especially regard the conduct of the eastern emperors, their ministers and generals, and consequently belong rather to the *Constantinopolitan* than *Persian* history. Secondly, they agree so little among themselves, and yet are all of them so partial to their own countrymen, that should we relate exactly what those writers are pleased to say of the *Persians*, we should rather deceive than inform our readers, as too many historians do. There was a necessity of making these observations, that the nature of this part of our history might be well understood. We have herein stuck close to facts, without scrupulously reporting circumstances, because the latter have frequently appeared to us improbable, or at least violently exaggerated. *Ammianus Marcellinus* is the author on whom we have principally depended in the history of his reign. He was a man of quality, a soldier, and one who actu-

ally

His prudence saves his forces.

a *Sapor*, in the beginning of the next spring, drew together a great army, and made a shew of entering the *Roman* provinces immediately, which compelled the emperor *Constans* to prepare also to take the field. As he had by this time not only a very great body of forces, but those too the very best in the empire, his great excellence lying in an exact knowledge of military discipline, in all probability the war would have been both bloody and lasting, if it had not been prevented by the military prudence of the *Persian*, to whom when an account was brought of the *Roman* preparations, he instantly determined to put strong garisons into his frontiers, and then to withdraw the remainder of his forces; which he accordingly did. The *Roman* emperor perceiving, that, without a peace, the war was at an end, did the like on
b his side; and having given directions for fortifying the places which were most in danger, he resolved to march away immediately against *Julian*, who had taken the the title of *Augustus*, and had given just grounds to suspect he aimed at the empire [b].

His dominions invaded by the emperor Julian.

In this march the emperor fell sick and died; whereby *Julian* was raised to be absolute lord of the *Roman* empire, the whole forces of which he intended to make use of in order to destroy the *Persians*; that is, to break their force so effectually, as that it should be impossible for them ever to trouble more the *Roman* provinces. Full of this great project, he did every thing which might conciliate the minds of the soldiers, raise his own reputation, or by any means contribute to facilitate his enterprize; in which he succeeded so well, that the army discovered an unusual ala-
c crity, and readily followed him into the dominions of *Sapores*, who contented himself with acting on the defensive, having no hopes at all of defeating the *Romans* in a pitched battle under so martial a prince. In this expedition *Hormisdas* the *Persian* commanded the left wing of the *Roman* army, and by his advice it was that the emperor regulated most of his designs. As long as he did this, success attended his arms; some strong places he took by force, others yielded through fear; but most were given up to him by treachery. At length he besieged *Ctesiphon*, which had been the bulwark of the *Parthian* empire, but without success; for it was well fortified, and had a numerous garison. Here it was that the *Romans* began to discover how puissant an enemy they had to deal with [c].

Whom he destroys, by drawing him too far into his country.

d The *Persians* skirmished with him every day; the country on all sides was burnt and destroyed, insomuch, that it seemed impracticable to hope any further advantages on this side. *Julian* therefore resolved to repass the *Tigris*, on which he had a fleet of transports laden with provisions. A *Persian* of quality deserting to him, assured him, that the method he took would be equally prejudicial to his fame and to his affairs; that hitherto he might be justly styled the *conqueror of the Persians*, and that he might still better deserve this title, if he would follow his advice; which was, to quit the side of the river to burn his fleet, and to march through a broad open road, into which he promised to conduct him, where, after three or four days march,
e he would find an end put to all the difficulties, which he either actually struggled with, or even apprehended. *Hormisdas*, when the emperor consulted him upon this project told him plainly, That it was impracticable, and that he would be undone if he pursued it. *Julian*, however, was inflexible; he ordered his soldiers to furnish themselves with twenty days provisions, and having so done he commanded the fleet to be

[b] Ammian. Marcel. l. xxi. Eutrop. ubi supra. Zosim. ubi supra. Sozomen. hist. eccl. l. v. Cedren. hist. comp. p. 113. [c] Eutrop. l. x. Ammian. Marcel. l. xxiii. Zonar. A. C. 363. Socrat. hist. eccles. l. iii. Cedren. hist. comp. p. 307. Zosim. l. iii.

ally served in this very war, of which he writes. Besides all this, he was a native of *Antioch*, and therefore perfectly well acquainted with the seat of the war. However, as he was a *Pagan*, he lessens all the christian emperors, that his hero *Julian* may appear with the greater lustre; and as he was a *Roman*, he exaggerates the barbarity and want of discipline among the *Persian* troops, who yet held the *Romans* at bay, and made very long sieges, which tumultuary armies never do (30). *Zosimus* is by far more outrageous than *Marcellinus*. He was so bigotted a heathen, that he will not allow *Constantine the Great* to have done the least thing worthy of that title. He censures him for withdrawing the garisons from the frontiers of the empire, and insinuates, that by this means the *Persians* ravaged the *Roman* provinces with impunity (31). The christian writers, on the other hand, magnify all the actions of *Constantine* (32). In such a situation we could do no more than assemble the matters of fact relating to *Persia*, and deliver them in a plain style, and in their natural order; for had we entered into the comparing of authors and weighing authorities, we should have exceeded all bounds, and, after all, perhaps wasted our time to no great purpose.

(30) *Hist. rer. gest. sub. imp. Constant. Julian. Jovian. &c.* (31) *Hist. l.* ii. *prop. fin.* (32) *Euseb. in vit. Constant. Zonar. hist. Rom. Sozomen. hist. eccles. &c.*

be set on fire, maugre all the solicitations of his friends, who, while it was yet in a flame, convinced him that he was betrayed; whereupon he ordered the *Persian* nobleman and his attendants to be put to the torture. This was executed upon the servants; but as for their lord, he was fled. It served only to increase the emperor's disquiet; for the men readily acknowledged, that they came on purpose to mislead him. Orders were then given to save as many of the vessels as was possible, which, however, were but a few; and then, as if he had perfectly lost his senses, *Julian* threw himself and his army into that road, which had been pointed out to him by his enemies. For three or four days they met with little or no interruption; but afterwards *Sapor*, with the whole force of *Persia*, coasted them in their march, and, at the beginning of the night, continually set upon their rear guard. The weather proving intensely hot, water scarce, and provisions failing, *Julian* saw plainly that his obstinacy had brought him into difficulties almost unsurmountable. He still continued to bear up against them with great constancy, and the soldiers, encouraged by his example, repulsed the *Persians* with great slaughter, as often as they attacked them. At length, on the twenty fifth of *June* in the evening, a mighty cloud of dust arose, occasioned by the advance of the greater part of the *Persian* horse. On this occasion the *Persian* noblemen gave full testimony of their valour, making such an impression on the left wing of the *Roman* army, as obliged the emperor to repair thither in person; whither he was no sooner come, than he received in his body an arrow, whether from the enemy, or from one of his own soldiers, could never be known, of which wound he died the next night. This threw his army into a terrible consternation, notwithstanding they had been victorious in the fight the day before, slain many thousand *Persians*, and amongst them fifty persons of quality[d].

Makes an advantagious peace with the Romans.

Sapor, as soon as he was informed of the emperor's death, made proclamation that he would give a great reward to the man by whose hand he fell; which, however, was never claimed. At the same time, to shew his desire of peace, he sent deputies to *Jovian*, who had succeeded *Julian*. In four days a peace was concluded, whereby the five provinces in dispute were for ever yielded to the *Persians*, together with the strong fortress of *Nisibis*, which had been so long the bulwark of the empire. As soon as the treaty was concluded, *Sapor* furnished the *Romans*, for their money, with provisions, and also gave and received hostages for the due performance of the treaty; which was exactly executed, tho' with much reluctancy, by the *Romans*; yet of the mighty army led by *Julian* into *Persia*, scarce a tenth part returned, and even these perhaps had never returned, but by the favour of this peace, which they so much decried[e] (K).

During

[d] Ammian. Marcel. xxiv. xxv. Cedren. hist. comp. p. 308. Zonar. ubi supra. Gregor. Abul. Phar. dynast. vii. p. 140. Zosim. l. iii. A. C. 363. [e] Ammian. Marcel. ubi supra. Socrat. hist. eccles. l. iii. Cedren. hist. comp. p. 308. Eutrop. l. x. Agath. Scholast. p. 136.

(K) The various accounts which are given by different authors of the death of the emperor *Julian*, belong to the *Constantinopolitan* history; and therefore we have but just touched upon this subject here. *Ammianus Marcellinus* and *Zosimus* afford the highest commendations to their hero *Julian*, on account of his penetrating farther into the *Persian* territories than any of his predecessors. The last-mentioned of these authors carries his eulogy so far, as to pretend, that *Julian* conquered the greatest part of the *Persian* empire; than which nothing can be falser, or more ridiculous. Almost all the *Greek* historians agree in blaming *Jovian* for the peace he made; and on this account they degrade him far below his predecessor. It may not be amiss to take this opportunity of setting in a true light a point, which hath so generally, and so long, been misunderstood. *Julian* was, without question, a very gallant man and an excellent soldier; but he was as certainly no general, since there is scarce a maxim in the art of war, against which he did not expressly act in this *Persian* expedition. All the *Roman* generals, who had suffered themselves to be dazled with the reputation of conquering the *Persians*, had perished in their foolish attempts; for, from *Crassus* to *Carus*, no *Roman* had ever penetrated the *Persian* dominions, but to his own dishonour; and therefore there could be nothing more contrary to reason, than *Julian*'s pushing forwards as he did. Again, he acted without any certain view; he marched he knew not where; he sought he knew not what; he took for guides he knew not whom; he burnt a fleet, when of all things it was most necessary to him; he sacrificed his soldiers, in making them pass rivers almost unpassable in themselves, and in the sight of an enemy perfectly acquainted with the country. In one word, there were five large provinces in dispute: *Julian*, if he had taken cool and proper measures, might have disposed things so as to have secured them for ever to the *Romans*; but, instead of doing this, he did the single thing he should not have done; he quitted the antient *Roman* method of making war, to take up that of the *Persians*; and by engaging *Sapor* in his own way, and in his own country, sacrificed a numerous and victorious army. But if *Julian* was not, *Sapor* certainly was, a general; he managed the war as it ought to have been managed; he retired that he might conquer; and when he had conquered, he thought of nothing but making an advantagious peace. In this he shewed himself a wise

(22) *Zosim. hist. Rom. l.* iii. *Ammian. Marcel. l.* xxvi. *Agath. Scholast. l.* iv. *p.* 136.

During the rest which so advantagious a treaty afforded to the *Persians*, their monarch neglected no opportunity of settling effectually the bounds of his empire towards *Tartary* and *India*. This took him up some time, and served also to exercise his soldiers; but after the death of *Jovian* the *Roman* emperor, when the affairs of that people were again disordered, *Sapor* did not fail to make a new irruption, in breach, as the *Latin* writers say, of the peace subsisting between the two empires. The issue of this war is no less obscure than its commencement. All we know of it is, that, at the beginning, *Sapor* had great advantages in *Armenia*, having slain *Arsaces*, who then reigned in that country, where he also reduced a large territory under his obedience; but, on the arrival of *Arinthius*, he was constrained to abandon a great part of his conquests. However, being intent on aggrandizing the *Persian* dominions on this side, he still remained in arms, and transferred the imperial seat to *Ctesiphon*, the old capital of the *Parthian* empire, that he might be always at hand to improve such opportunities as might offer (L). It does not, however, appear, that, after this time, he gained any great victory; and all we know farther is, that in the beginning of the reign of *Gratian*, this restless and ambitious monarch ended his days, after having reigned seventy years, or, as some say, seventy-two, with great variety of fortune[f].

Turns his arms against other enemies.

To *Sapor* succeeded *Artaxerxes*; but who he was is a question. Some writers are positive that he was the son of his predecessor; others are no less positive that he was his brother. Those who will have him to be son of *Sapor*, give us this account of the matter: They say, that *Sapor* had four sons, *Hormisdas*, *Adarnasses*, and *Narses*, by great princesses; this *Artaxerxes* by a lady of exquisite beauty, but of no distinguished family. *Hormisdas*, by going over to the *Romans*, forfeited his right to the crown, and so *Adarnasses* came to be considered as his heir; but this prince threw away his title to the kingdom, by displaying his own unworthiness to possess it; for the inhabitants of *Mesopotamia* having presented to king *Sapor* a tent of camels skins, curiously painted, and inriched with gold, the king gave it to his son, and afterwards asking him how he liked it; *The thing*, replied he, *is well enough*; *but*, *when I come to be king*, *I will have a tent of the skins of men*. His actions corresponded so exactly with this barbarous expression, that it was judged proper to set him aside. *Narses* had the misfortune to offend the king, who therefore disinherited him, whereby the crown came to this *Artaxerxes*, who least thought of it; a most romantic and incredible

Artaxerxes. *Year of Christ* 380.

[f] Agath. Scholast. ubi supra. Cedren. ibid. p. 312. Zosim. l. iv. Paul. Diacon. l. xi. Ammian. Marcel. l. xxvii.

wise king, a great captain, and an able statesman. The eloquence of the *Greek* writers will everlastingly do justice to the military virtues of *Julian*, and the christian piety of his successor. As we are now writing the *Persian* history, we thought it but justice to vindicate the character of a *Persian* monarch, by a short recapitulation of acts, which is all that is intended by this note.

(L) *Ammianus Marcellinus* hath given a pretty large account of this *Armenian* war, wherein he charges the king of *Persia* with breach of faith to the *Romans*, and with excessive cruelty and treachery towards the *Armenians*. He says, that he took advantage of that confusion which overspread the *Roman* affairs, after the death of the emperor *Jovian*, to fall upon the *Armenians*, first by slight incursions, quickly after more openly and with greater force; that in the progress of the war, he, on some pretence or other, prevailed on *Arsaces* king of *Armenia* to admit of a personal conference with him; at which he seized him, and instantly caused his eyes to be put out, and himself to be cruelly beaten with silver rods; and a short time afterwards ordered him to be executed, laying then siege to the capital of *Armenia*, where the queen, the king's sons, and treasures were; that the *Armenians*, in this distress, had recourse to the emperor *Valentinian*, who sent to their assistance *Arinthius*, with an army which obliged him to retire, tho' he exclaimed against it as a breach of the peace (34). It is easy enough to see that this account is perplexed, and altogether favourable to the *Romans*; but it is not easy to unravel it, or, at this distance of time, to point out all the misrepresentations contained therein. We know, however, that they are not wanting, and that the true ground of the war was this: *Julian*, when he made his irruption into *Persia*, compelled *Arsaces* king of *Armenia* to attend him with all the forces he could raise, tho' he would not accept the assistance of other princes. This he did, because *Arsaces* was a christian, and he had a mind to harass him and his subjects. When *Sapor* came to treat with *Jovian*, he excluded the *Armenians*, intending to revenge himself upon them for the assistance they had given *Julian*; so that the war was not altogether without pretence, any more than the complaint of the *Romans* assisting them, since they could not do this according to the letter of their treaty with the *Persians*. Some time after, when *Valentinian* suspected *Para*, who succeeded his father *Arsaces*, he, by fraud, got him into his hands, and, after very ill usage, caused him to be cruelly put to death; which fact was highly resented by *Sapor*. Henceforward the peace was ill-observed on both sides; and, on the whole, it is most evident, that *Sapor* did not employ either fraud or force more unjustly than the *Romans*, with whom he had to deal, tho' the authors of that nation are not always ready to acknowledge as much.

(34) *Ammian. Marcel. l.* xxvii. *Socrat. l.* iii.

dible tale! But the other opinion, that *Artaxerxes* was not the son, but the brother, a of *Sapor*, is not at all the more probable as making the foregoing story inconsistent and unintelligible; we ought therefore to suppose he was his kinsman only. However, our *European* historians tell us nothing more concerning this prince, than that he maintained the peace with the *Romans*, and governed his dominions, quietly four years[g] (M).

Sapor III. *Year of Christ* 385.

To him succeeded his son *Sapor*, the third of that name, who reigned five years; but what he did in that space, we find not in any *Greek* author, probably because, adhering to the peace made with his grand-father, he troubled not the *Roman* empire, then governed by *Theodosius the Great*[h].

Varanes IV. *Year of Christ* 390.

Varanes, or, as the *Greeks* write it, *Vararanes*, the fourth of that name, succeeded b his father *Sapor*. He is also known by the surname of *Cerma Saa*, of which we have little or no account as to its meaning. Elsewhere, however, this difficulty will be cleared up, and the title shewn to be *Kerman Shâh*, which province of *Kerman* was in his reign added to the *Persian* empire. He also maintained the peace with the *Romans*, being otherwise employed; and therefore the *Greek* historians say very little of him, any more than of his predecessors, tho' he reigned eleven years[i].

Ildigertes. *Year of Christ* 401.

Isdigertes succeeded *Varanes*, a monarch deservedly renowned for his many great virtues. He was cotemporary with *Arcadius* emperor of the east, with whom he lived not only in terms of peace, but of friendship; insomuch, that at his death the c emperor *Arcadius* declared him protector of his son *Theodosius* the second, and of the *Roman* empire. Of this when *Isdigerges* was informed, he sent *Antiochus*, one of his eunuchs, a person of great wisdom and experience, to take care of his pupil's education, and by him declared to the senate of *Constantinople*, that he would turn the whole force of the *Persian* monarchy upon whomsoever should attempt to disturb the young prince's administration, whereby the empire was preserved, during a minority, in perfect quiet. As the young *Theodosius* grew up, the ties of friendship became stronger between the two empires, and embassies were more frequent than in former times (N). Amongst other ministers whom *Theodosius* made use of, *Marabas*, a *Mesopotamian*

[g] Agath. Scholast. l. iv. p. 137. Zonar. A.C. 340. Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynast. vii. p. 143.
[h] Agath. Scholast. ubi supra. Gregor. Abul-Phar. ubi. supra. [i] Agath. Scholast. ubi supra. Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynast. vii. p. 146.

(M) In this note we are to render a reason for our departing in the text from all authorities, in making the successor of *Sapor* neither his brother nor his son, but his kinsman only; and this we shall do as briefly as is consistent with the reader's satisfaction. For, first, we will shew, that he could no be the brother of *Sapor*; secondly, we will shew, that he could not be his son; and, thirdly, we will reconcile our conjecture to history. If this *Artaxerxes* had been the brother of *Sapor*, he must have been older, or younger; if older, why was he not king before him? or how came so cunning and so cruel a prince, as the *Romans* make *Sapor* to be, to spare an elder brother during a reign of seventy years? Younger he could not be, since *Sapor* himself was a posthumous son (35). If he had been the son of *Sapor*, then, the historian says, he had three elder brothers, of whom *Hormisdas* escaped to the *Romans*, in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of *Sapor*, and he was the second son; how then could this be, especially if, as the *Greek* historians say, *Hormisdas* was married? It remains, that we account for the expression of *Agathias* who expressly affirms *Artaxerxes* to have been the brother of *Sapor*; for we have set the credit of *Agathias* too high to be unhinged by a slight criticism. We say then, that *Agathias*, writing after the *Persian* records, retained the word *brother*, which the *Persians*, as other oriental nations do, used only in a large sense; and therefore this does not contradict, but confirm, our conjecture, that *Artaxerxes* was the near kinsman of *Sapor*, and no more. The reason of our introducing this notion in our text was, the desire we had to make the history clear, plain, and consistent, which this account does. As to the story of the tent, we find it in *Zonaras* (36), as we found the story of *Marsyas* in *Zosimus* (37); and we take them both for fictions. Truth is always uniform, and therefore, as far as these stories are consistent with each other, and with common sense, we acknowledge them to be true; but, where they differ from these, we crave leave to differ from them. In all probability the fact was, that the family of *Hormisdas* settled at *Constantinople*, and that *Artaxerxes* was the next of the blood royal resident in *Persia*, and in a capacity of succeeding to the crown; for, as we shall see hereafter, the *Persians* were not scrupulous in setting aside young children.

(N) This fact is doubted of by *Agathias*, and he assures us, was not doubted of by him only, but by many of the learned in his time; the reason of which, he says, was the silence of cotemporary authors, and the story's being traced no higher than the writings of *Procopius* (38). We have, however, made no doubt of inserting this as a fact in our text, and we hope to give the reader satisfaction for so doing in this note. As to *Procopius*, if he was alone, he would be an inconteſtable witness; for he did not live at any great distance, neither was he one who reported things upon trust. We find this in the introduction to his history, and he says expressly, that *Arcadius*'s will was sent to *Isdigertes*, and that the nomination of this prince of the tutelage of young *Theodosius* preserved the empire in peace (39). All the *Greek* writers own, that, in the space of twenty-one

(35) *Agath. Scholast. l.* iv. (36) *A. C.* 340. (37) *Lib.* ii. iii. (38) *Agath. Scholast. l.* iv *p.* 136. (39) *Procop. de bell. Persic. l.* i. *c.* 2. *p.* 8.

a *Mesopotamian* bishop, was one, a person equally remarkable for the innocence of his life, and for the winning pleasantry of his conversation. His stay in *Persia* quite altered the state of the christian church in that country; for whereas before they were looked upon not only as heretics, but as very bad subjects, on account of their inclination to the *Roman* emperors, who were of their own religion, *Marathas* so fully informed him of the true doctrines of the christian faith, that he began to entertain just ideas of the innocency and loyalty of its professors. This alarmed the *Persian* priests, and they instantly began to form schemes for the destruction of so wise and good a man. He had, it seems, by his prayers, cured the king of a fixed and inveterate head-ach, which induced that monarch to reverence him greatly, and for his sake his religion, without forsaking, however, his own. To drive the bishop from court, and to revive in the king's mind his ancient dislike to the christians, the *Persian* magi contrived a very whimsical expedient, which yet had well nigh effected their purpose, ridiculous as it was. They let down a man into a pit behind the sacred fire in the king's oratory, and having covered the person placed therein with carpets, they directed him, when the king came to worship, to speak the following words in a shrill voice; *Impious and ungrateful prince, I will chase thee from thy throne, if thou banish not that christian, whom thou believest to be acceptable to God.* *Isdigertes* was mightily surprized when he first heard this; but more so, when he heard it constantly repeated as often as he went to his devotions. At length he determined to send back *Marathas*, but with the utmost civility, as well in respect to his master as to himself; c but when he came to break it to the bishop, that prelate penetrated the contrivance, and advised the king, when he next heard the voice, to order certain persons to dig in the place whence it came. *Isdigertes* did so; the man was discovered, the fraud detected, and the *magi* decimated. The king moreover granted hereupon free leave to the christians to build churches throughout his dominions, where-ever they thought fit, and freed them in all respects from the penal laws enacted against them by his predecessors [k].

Marathas returned after this to *Constantinople*, and was employed a second time in an embassy to *Persia*. The *magi*, hearing of his coming, had recourse to new frauds; c but the king easily saw through these without assistance. They were therefore so far from preventing his giving a favourable reception to the bishop, that they engaged him to treat this prelate with still greater marks of favour than he had given him before. *Marathas* had not been long in *Persia*, before a new opportunity offered for raising his credit with the king. The prince of *Persia* was thought to be possessed. This pious prelate, assisted by *Abdas*, whom he had consecrated bishop in *Persia*, joined their prayers to God for the prince's recovery; which soon after happened, to the joy of the whole court, and to the honour of the christian religion. *Isdigertes* governed in the whole twenty-one years, and, during that space, lived in perfect peace and friendship with the *Romans*, as also with the christians in his own dominions, e whom he treated not only with lenity, but indulgence [l].

Christianity highly favoured by him.

Varanes,

[k] Socrat. hist. eccles. l. vii. c. 8. [l] Agath. Scholast. l. iv. p. 137. Paul. Diacon. l. xvi. Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynast. vii. p. 146.

one years, which this *Persian* king reigned, he never attempted any thing against the *Romans*; but, on the contrary, lived with *Theodosius* in the strictest amity all his days, which seems to be a strong presumption in favour of this account. *Zonaras*, in his history, relates this fact without the least sign of diffidence or suspicion (40). *Cedrenus* doth the same with this additional circumstance, that the emperor *Arcadius* bequeathed the *Persian* king a great sum of money for his trouble (41). As to *Antiochus*, all authors agree, that he was the first governor of *Theodosius*, and that, for a time, the emperor was swayed by his counsels (42). The reason *Agathias* doubted the fact, seems to be his zeal for the *Roman* glory, which, he thought, was tarnished by the choice *Arcadius* made of a barbarian for the tutor of his son. *Procopius* informs us, that it was the high reputation of *Isdigertes* for wisdom and probity, which induced *Arcadius* to make choice of him; and for this he commends him (43). Yet *Agathias* himself yields a higher compliment to *Isdigertes* than *Procopius*; for if, without being his tutor, that monarch abstained from any attempts upon his dominions, merely because *Theodosius* was a child, he was one of the most generous princes that ever lived, and deserved the confidence of all the princes his cotemporaries. The truth seems to be, that *Procopius*, as a man of business, a courtier, and a soldier, was free from prejudice; whereas *Agathias*, who was a downright scholar, and lived in an age when it was fashionable to hate the *Persians*, could not let a story so much to their honour pass, without intimating a doubt about it (44).

(40) *A. C.* 423. *Cedren. ubi supra.* (41) *Hist. comp. p.* 335. (33) *Procop. ubi supra.* (42) *Sozomen. hist. eccles. l.* ix. (44) *Agath. Scholast. ubi supra.* *Evagr. hist. eccl. l.*

Varanes V. *Year of Christ* 421.

Varanes, or *Vararanes*, the fifth, succeeded his father *Isdigertes*, and seems, notwithstanding what the *Greek* writers affirm, to have had, in his own disposition, a great tenderness for the christians. He had not, however, been long upon the throne, before he found himself provoked to such a degree, as constrained him to lay aside all indulgence, and openly to persecute them. Thus it came to pass: *Abdas* the *Persian* prelate, in a high and unwarantable fit of zeal, burnt a fire temple to the ground. The king sent for him, and having a great respect for his person, reproved him gently, and advised him to rebuild it; which he absolutely refused to do. The christian writers universally condemn the rashness of the first act, and the prelate's constancy in the second. However, the *magi* resented this matter so warmly, and, by their clamour, so incensed the people, that the king was obliged to proceed to extremities, to order all the christian churches to be demolished, and to put the bishop *Abdas* to death. After this, a furious persecution began, on the old supposition, that such as differ in religion from their prince cannot be loyal to his government. As for persons of quality, they were deprived of their places, had their estates confiscated, but were indulged in life and liberty, in hopes of their coming over. *Hormisdas*, a man descended of the antient race of *Achæmenes*, after being stripped of his fortune, was reduced to keep camels for his bread. Another nobleman had his wife taken from him, and given to his slave; but these methods wrought no conversions. The meaner sort of people were still in a worse way; they were delivered over to the mercy of the priests, and consequently were subjected to an inexpressible variety of deaths and torments [n].

War breaks out with the Romans.

These things quickly occasioned differences to arise between the *Persian* and *Roman* monarchs, especially as reasons of state concurred with these religious jars. *Theodosius*, in the days of *Isdigertes*, had lent a certain number of miners, who were to be employed in working anew some silver and gold mines, which had been long neglected in *Persia*. These miners *Varanes* had refused to send home; and therefore, as well on this account, as because multitudes of christians fled out of *Persia* into the dominions of *Theodosius*, both parties began to prepare for war. The king of *Persia* made choice of one *Narses* for his general, and sent him to his frontiers, where he expected to have found a numerous army: but he was mistaken; the troops were not come to the place of rendezvous; and, before they could be assembled, the *Roman* general *Ardaburius*, marching through *Armenia*, fell into *Azazene*, a *Persian* province, and began to waste it with fire and sword. *Narses* no sooner received this news, than he instantly marched to give him battle with the forces he had about him. The consequence was, that the *Persian* was worsted; but, being an able captain, made a good retreat. He saw, that it was now impossible to prevent the destruction of *Azazene* by force; and therefore, returning back to the place of rendezvous, whither by this time the *Persian* troops were come, he, at the head of a very numerous army, made an irruption into *Mesopotamia*, a *Roman* province, which obliged the *Roman* general quickly to return, and as quickly to block up *Nisibis*, the principal fortress which the *Persians* had on that side. *Narses* finding himself disappointed, for he conceived, that the *Romans* would immediately have given him battle a second time, resolved, if it was possible, to provoke them to fight. With this view he sent a message to *Ardaburius*, telling him, That if he would appoint a day, he would be ready to meet him in the field. But *Ardaburius* wisely answered, That the *Romans* fought when they pleased themselves, and not when their enemies thought it for their advantage. *Varanes*, in the mean time, had solicited the *Saracens* to break with the *Romans*; and they very readily complied, their captain *Alamundarus* being naturally an enemy to the *Romans*. This man, having raised a prodigious army, promised the *Persian* king to perform wonders, at least to reduce *Antioch* and *Syria* under his power; neither meant he to perform less than he promised, for, passing the *Euphrates*, he broke, like a torrent, into the *Roman* province; but beginning to plunder without mercy, the people recovered their spirits, and, joining the *Roman* army, fell upon *Alamundarus* in his march, and cut to pieces a hundred thousand men, which forced the remainder of the *Saracens* to fly with shame to their own country. When this news reached the ear of the *Persian* monarch, with this further circumstance, that *Nisibis* was so closely pressed, that it could not long hold out, he determined to put all things to the risque, and to march to the relief of that

[n] Theodoret. hist eccles. l. v. c. 39. Socrat. hist. eccles. l. vii. c. 20. Evagr. l. i. c. 19

that city, with the whole force of *Persia*. This resolution once taken, *Varanes* instantly put it in execution, directing all his troops in the frontier provinces to rendezvous at a certain time, and marched immediately with an army he had collected from the nine provinces of *Persia*, together with his elephants, that his presence might influence all the necessary preparations. His design succeeded perfectly well; for by that time he entered *Mesopotamia*, all his generals were arrived; so that he advanced towards *Nisibis* with a prodigious army. The *Romans*, hearing of his approach, the number of elephants he brought with him, and his mighty strength in cavalry, were seized with a sudden panic, and, without staying for his coming, raised the siege, and fled. This was highly pleasing to *Varanes*, who, thinking now the worst was over, retired to his capital, and left his generals to manage the war. Herein he acted incautiously and unhappily; for the *Romans* recovering their spirits, defeated the *Persians* in a pitched battle, repulsed the *Saracens* a second time, and, under the command of *Ardaburius*, beat the *Persian* forces, with the slaughter not only of a great number of men, but of seven generals. However, *Varanes* continued the war, and being himself a prince of great firmness and much military skill, he found means to make even victories disadvantagious to the *Romans*; for, by keeping a court on the frontiers, repairing his armies by constant supplies, and preserving his magazines in good order, he kept the enemy still on the defensive; and as they found it difficult to recruit, all actions that were bloody, were favourable to the *Persians*, tho' they were beaten. The emperor *Theodosius*, perfectly sensible of the situation of things, sent *Helion*, a person of great distinction, with a large body of troops, to reinforce his army, directing him to enter into a negotiation with *Varanes*, and to conclude a peace, if possible. *Helion* pursuing his instructions, and finding the *Roman* army intrenched, sent *Maximin*, the collegue of *Ardaburius*, to offer *Varanes* peace, on certain conditions. *Varanes* ordered *Maximin* to be conducted to the tent of one of his principal officers, and, in the mean time, held a council of war, wherein it was resolved immediately to attack the *Romans* in their camp; and, in case they were repulsed, to accept the terms offered by *Maximin*. There was in the *Persian* army a corps of troops, distinguished by the title of *immortal*, because their number was continually kept to ten thousand men, by draughts out of other corps. This body of troops took upon themselves this dangerous piece of service, which, however, they reckoned would prove the less so, if they could take the *Romans* unprovided. In order to this they divided themselves, and while five thousand attacked the intrenchments, the other five thousand formed behind a hill, waiting there for an opportunity to attack the *Romans* in flank. But their enterprize miscarried; for *Procopius*, a *Roman* general, observing the troops that were formed behind the hill, marched round with a great body of forces, and getting between them and those who attacked the *Roman* camp, charged them on all sides with incredible fury; so that the victory was quickly determined on the side of the *Romans*, with a prodigious slaughter of the *Persian* soldiery. *Varanes* then condescended to hear *Maximin*; and when that officer had explained to him his master's demands, he told him, That, for his sake, he would be content to make peace on those terms, and put an end to the severities exercised upon the christians. An accident, however, happened, which carried this matter much farther, and contributed more than the peace between the two empires to the re-establishment of christianity in *Persia*. It was this: When the province of *Azazene* was ravaged by the *Romans* in the beginning of the war, seven thousand *Persians* were brought prisoners to the city of *Amida*, where they fell into extreme want. *Acesas*, bishop of that place, having assembled his clergy, represented to them in the most pathetic terms the misery of these unhappy prisoners. He then observed, that as the Almighty preferred mercy to sacrifice, so he would certainly be better pleased with the relief of these his creatures, than with being served in gold and silver vessels in the churches. The clergy entertained this motion not only with readiness, but with applause, sold all the consecrated vessels, and having maintained the *Persians* during the war, sent the whole seven thousand home, at the conclusion of the peace, with money in their pockets. *Varanes* was so much astonished at this, that he sent to invite the bishop to his capital, where he received him with the utmost reverence, and did the christians many favours at his request. After this, *Varanes* enjoyed peace as long as he lived; and, having reigned twenty years, died, beloved and honoured by his subjects [n].

To

[n] Socrat. hist. eccles. l. vii. c. 17—21. Zonar. hist. Rom. A. C 435. Agath. hist. l. iv. f. 137.

Varanes VI. *Year of Christ* 442.

To *Varanes* the fifth succeeded *Varanes* the sixth, or, as he is called by some authors, *Isdigertes*. It is not probable, that he ever broke the peace made by his father with the *Romans*; inasmuch as we meet with nothing concerning him in any of the *Greek* historians, further than that he was cotemporary with *Theodosius* the second, and his successor *Martianus*, and that he reigned seventeen years and four months [o].

Peroses. *Year of Christ* 458.

Peroses succeeded his father *Varanes* or *Isdigertes*. He was a prince of a restless and turbulent spirit, and could not bear that the *Hunns*, who at this time, began to be terrible, as well to his subjects as to those of the *Constantinopolitan* emperors, should incroach, as they daily did, upon his dominions. Those he had to do with were distinguished by the name of *Euthalites*, or *white Hunns*, and were much more civilized than the rest, as living in cities, and under a certain form of government; which the rest of their nation did not. To rid himself of those neighbours, *Peroses* marched at the head of a great army, after having carefully settled the affairs of his empire, and done all that in him lay to secure its peace in his absence. *Gonza* was the capital of the nation he attacked, and lay directly north of *Persia*. *Peroses* marched strait thither, hoping to put an end to the war by a general action. But the *Euthalites*, or *Nephalites*, as some authors call them, were wiser. They knew that a wasted country was not lost; and therefore retiring continually, they drew *Peroses* and his army so far into their territories, as to cut off their retreat, and, at the same time, to hinder them from receiving provisions. The distress of the *Persians* was so great, and the soldiers were so enfeebled and dispirited, that they were constrained to accept any conditions that were offered them. The king of the *Euthalites*, being informed of their condition, sent to acquaint *Peroses*, that if he had a mind to deliver himself and his army, he might do it upon these terms, *viz. swearing never to invade the* Euthalites, *and coming to do homage to him as his lord.* To the first of these *Peroses* readily yielded; but the last seemed intolerable. At last the magi, who were about his person, proposed to him an expedient, which removed all difficulties. This expedient was, that he should go pay his compliments to the king of the *Euthalites* at sun-rising, when his prostrating himself would be understood by that king as an act of submission; but by himself would be conceived to be no more than an act of reverence to the sun. This expedient was approved and carried instantly into execution. The king of the *Euthalites* was satisfied, and *Peroses*, with the remainder of his army, returned back into *Persia*. As soon as he had a little settled his affairs, and had leisure to look about him, the *Persian* monarch, unmindful of his oath, provided for a second expedition against the *Hunns*. He took, however, more prudent measures than before; that is, he not only raised a very numerous army, but he likewise took care to be well furnished with provisions. He also settled his domestic concerns in the best manner possible; and leaving the prince his son regent of the kingdom, he began his march a second time towards the northern frontiers of his empire. The *Euthalites* supposing, as they very well might, that *Peroses* would expect to penetrate, as he did before, into the heart of their country, carried off their effects, but concealed their forces behind certain mountains, from whence issuing suddenly on all sides of the *Persian* army, they totally routed it, and, at their leisure, killed or made prisoners almost all the soldiers of whom it was composed, amongst whom *Peroses* himself perished, when he had worn the *Persian* diadem twenty years [p].

When

[o] Agath. ubi supra. Cedren. hist. comp. p. 355.

[p] Procop. de bell. Persic. l. i. c. 24. p. 10. Agath. hist. l. iv. p. 138.

(O) The story of *Peroses* is related at large by *Procopius*, in the beginning of his memoirs of the *Persian* war. He informs us, that, in his first expedition, the *Persian* monarch carried with him a certain *Roman* embassador, whose name was *Eusebius*, a discreet person, and one equally beloved by the king and by his nobility. Him therefore, when the *Persian* generals had discovered the miserable situation they were in, they made choice of to break the matter to *Peroses*, that, before it was too late, some method might be taken, to extricate them out of their misfortunes. *Eusebius* having artfully drawn the king into a discourse of the presence of mind necessary in great distresses, and being desired to speak his mind freely of the state they were now in, he told *Peroses* this story: *A lion once saw a kid tied at a distance, and pressed by hunger, leaped at it with all his force; but, falling short of his prey, he dropped into a pit, which had been prepared for him, and out of which all his force could not deliver him.* *Peroses* easily comprehended the drift of this fable, and, by the advice of his magi, acted as the reader hath been told above. In his second expedition, *Peroses* wanted such an adviser, otherwise he had not fallen as he did. The enemy, it seems, having timely notice of his intention, spent many months in digging a ditch in the midst of a plain, and in removing the earth which was thrown out of it. In the

Lay

a When the *Persians* had received advice of the disastrous death of their king, they made choice of his brother *Obales*, or, as he is usually called by the *Greek* writers, *Valens*, not caring to trust so young a person as *Cavades* then was, with the reins of government, tho' his father had left him regent. This *Valens* proved an excellent prince, tender, compassionate, just, affable, and desirous of assuaging, as far as he might, the misery of his country, almost wholly subjected by the *Euthalites*, to whom, for two years, he paid tribute, and with whom, for two others, he held war. At length, worn out with cares, he died, after a short and troublesome reign of four years, the less regretted by his subjects, on account of his being a man peaceably disposed, and therefore very unfit to restore the ancient lustre of the kingdom [p] (P). Valens. *Year of Christ* 482.

b *Cavades*, or, as he is frequently called, *Cabades*, ascended the throne on the demise of his uncle. He was a prince of a high spirit; one who loved war, and understood it; ready to undertake any thing for the extending of his dominion, and jealous to the last degree of his authority, and the glory of the *Persian* name. At first these qualities were extremely useful to his subjects; for, in all probability, had they not been governed by so warlike and enterprizing a prince, they had never recovered their independency, but had sunk under the weight of those continual invasions made upon them by the *Euthalites*, whom no tribute could content, no treaties restrain. Against these enemies *Cavades* set himself with great resolution; and, making use of the same policy which they had done towards his father, drew them, by small bodies, in hopes c of plunder, far into his country, and, in their return, cut them off. When, by this means, they were cured of their practice of invading, he turned his arms upon them; but warily, sustaining one body of troops by another, that by a third; wintering sometimes in their country, till at last he quite broke their spirits, and obliged them to own him for their sovereign, whom they thought to have had for their subject. The war finished, *Cavades*, from being terrible to his enemies, became no less so to his subjects. His enterprising, restless genius, incapable of brooking any restraints, set him upon altering the constitution of his kingdom, and depriving all the nobility of those privileges and prerogatives, which they had enjoyed under his predecessors. He likewise became intolerably proud, would scarce allow any of them to enter his presence, or advise him in his affairs; but acted with such an arbitrary fierceness, as would have given a very bad colour to his proceedings, had they been really just in themselves. At length he pushed his extravagancy so far, as to publish an edict, whereby all the women in the empire were declared common to all the men therein. This the *Persian* nobility thought too much to be endured; and therefore they instantly assembled, seized on the person of the king, deposed him, and cast him into prison, supposing that less than this could not secure themselves in safety, or the kingdom in peace. This happened after he had reigned eleven years, and appears to have been as total a revolution as ever happened in any kingdom, there being Cavades. *Year of Christ* 486.

scarce

[p] Cedren. hist. comp. p. 356. Agath. hist. l. iv. p. 138.

their left a narrow neck of land, and having covered this mighty ditch with hurdles, they strewed these with mold, and covered them with grass plots. This done, they drew all their forces, on the approach of *Perozes*, into a line of battle before the ditch, and, as the *Persian* troops advanced, they drew off in close order cross the neck of land. The *Persian* cavalry following them with great fury, pushed each other into the ditch, and so became a prey to this incensed people. *Perozes* is said to have had no less than thirty sons grown up to man's estate, who all perished with him here, *Cavades* being left at home, on account of his youth, and that the kingdom might be preserved to the immediate issue of *Perozes* (45).

There cannot be any thing more perplexed than the accounts given us by the *Greek* writers of these times. *Procopius*, who, for a time, so terribly distresses the *Persians*, *Procopius*, who speaks more at large than any other writer, calls them *Ephthalites*, and says, they inhabited a country to the north of *Persia*. Their chief city, according to him, was *Gorgo*, on the very frontiers of *Persia* (46). *Agathias* calls these people *Nephthalites*. They are generally agreed to have been the same people, who, in other ancient authors, are called *Indoscythæ* (47). All this will give the reader but very little, if any, light at all. From the *Oriental* historians we learn, that their true name was *Haiathalites*, and that they possessed a large tract of country between the *Indies* and *Persia*, till they began to make incroachments on the country last-mentioned, after they had made choice of *Balkh* for their metropolis (48). This is plain and intelligible to every man that is acquainted with the *Oriental* geography; and we shall make the whole history of this war much more uniform and perspicuous, when we come to speak of it from the memoirs of the *Eastern* writers. At present this is sufficient to demonstrate the great utility of these comparisons, despised only by such as either cannot, or are unwilling to, be at the pains necessary to such an undertaking.

(45) *Procop. de B. Pers. l.* i. *c.* 3. *p.* 9. *Agath. Scholast. l.* iv. *p.* 137. *Cedren. hist. comp. p.* 355.
(46) *Procop. de B. Pers. l.* i. *c.* 3. (47) *Agath. Scholast. l.* iv. (48) *Mirkhond. sect.* 31.

ſcarce any who adhered to the depoſed prince; and thoſe that did were conſtrained to be ſilent, for his ſake, as well as for their own[r].

Zambades, *Year of Chriſt* 497.

Zambades, whom ſome call *Blaſes*, others *Lamaſes*, and who is by ſome ſaid to have been the ſon, by others the brother, of *Peroſes*, conſequently the uncle or brother of *Cavades*, was elected king in his ſtead. The firſt thing the new king did was, to aſſemble a general council of the nobility, in which he deſired they would conſider and determine what ſhould be done with *Cavades*. The people had before declared, that they conſidered the perſon of their prince as ſacred; however, the council were very much divided, eſpecially when *Guſanaſtades*, who was poſſeſſed of the higheſt office in the kingdom, drew a little knife out of his pocket, with which he was wont to pare his nails; and when he had made them take notice of the ſmallneſs of its blade, "*This*, ſaid he, *properly applied now, will do what twenty thouſand men will not be able to do, if you let this opportunity ſlip.* At laſt it was unanimouſly determined, that the king ſhould, for his unworthy adminiſtration of the government, ſuffer perpetual impriſonment, and be for ever forgotten by his people, whoſe allegiance from thenceforwards was to be transferred to *Zambades*. This prince had indeed all the properties neceſſary to give luſtre to a crown juſtly attained. He was equally wiſe and indulgent, deſirous of reſtoring order, and of making the people happy; he applied himſelf with great induſtry to remedy thoſe evils, which had taken birth from his predeceſſor's conduct and example. But while he was thus employed, a new ſtorm aroſe, which, after throwing the whole kingdom into violent convulſions, at length produced a ſecond revolution. Thus it happened[s].

The depoſed king eſcapes.

The keeper of the caſtle, in which *Cavades* was impriſoned, became enamoured of his queen, who alone remained attached to him in all his misfortunes, and who failed not to bring him neceſſaries with her own hands, though ſhe was not permitted to ſee him. With much ado, however, ſhe procured leave to write to him, and having acquainted him with the ſituation of things, *Cavades* by letter directed her to ſooth the paſſion of his goaler, in order to get admittance to him. This the lady did ſo effectually, that ſhe had acceſs to her huſband when ſhe pleaſed, and thereby an opportunity of acquainting him that he had ſtill one friend left, who was ready to undertake any thing for his ſervice. The name of this man was *Seoſes*, a perſon of quality, who had a great number of dependents, among whom he collected a troop fit to attend the king where-ever he ſhould think fit, when he ſhould be once ſafely out of the caſtle. The care of this the queen took upon herſelf; for ſtaying, as ſhe often did, late in the evening, ſhe dreſſed the king in her cloaths, wherein he went out, and having put on his, remained in his ſtead. As ſhe pretended to be ſick, and not to leave her bed for ſome days, the cheat was not diſcovered, ſo that *Cavades* had time enough given him to ſave himſelf, which he did in the company of *Seoſes* and his friends, who conducted him quite through *Perſia* into the territories of the *Euthalites*, whoſe king received him with great honour, and readily granted him his protection. As for the queen, there is nothing ſaid of her fate with certainty; however, hiſtorians intimate, that more of reſentment than of pity was ſhewn in the treatment towards her. As for *Cavades*, the king of the *Euthalites* entertained him ſplendidly, treated him as his good friend and ally, and gave him his daughter in marriage. After this the *Perſian* king began to hold correſpondence with ſome of the nobility, and finding or believing he found in his people a propenſity to receive him once more as their ſovereign, he perſuaded his father-in-law to furniſh him with an army; and this favour being readily accorded to him, he no ſooner ſaw the troops in a readineſs, than he put himſelf at their head, and marched directly into *Perſia*[t].

Cavades *reſtored.* *Year of Chriſt* 501.

Cavades entered firſt into the province, of which *Guſanaſtades*, who had threatened his life, was governor; where he inſtantly cauſed proclamation to be made, that this man, as a rebel, ſtood deprived of his charge, and that himſelf would inſtantly confer it on him, who ſhould firſt pay his duty to him on a day aſſigned. His friends repreſented to the king, that this was innovating the eſtabliſhed laws, which fixed the governments of provinces in certain houſes. *Cavades*, however, affected to remain firm; but at the day conferred the office of governor upon *Adergunabades*, a young nobleman next of kin to the deprived governor, who, as it was concerted, paid his compliments to him firſt. After this he proceeded to the capital of *Perſia*, and repoſſeſſed

[r] Agath. hiſt. lib. iv. p. 139 Procop. de bell. Perſic. lib. i. c. 5. p 16. Cedren. hiſt. comp p. 356. Theophylact. hiſt. p. 99. [s] Agath. Procop. Cedren. Theoph. ubi ſupra. [t] Procop. de bell. Perſic. lib. i. c. 6. Agath. Cedren. ubi ſupra.

repossessed himself of the throne, almost as easily as he had been ejected. His con-
a duct upon this extraordinary change in his affairs was suitable to the fierceness of his temper. *Zambades* he deprived of sight and imprisoned, after he had for four years worn the royal title. *Gusanastades* he put to death; and that his restoration might be adorned with one act of generosity amidst so much severity, he erected a new office for his friend *Sesoses*, whom he made lieutenant general of his kingdom [u].

Invades the Roman provinces.

It was not long before the king of the *Euthalites* pressed his son-in-law to repay the great sums of money he had lent him. *Cavades* found he had it not in his power to comply with his demand, and therefore desired *Anastasius*, then emperor of the east, to accommodate him with the sum he wanted, offering to pay interest for it,
b which was refused. *Cavades* readily conceiving that there was now no way to avoid breaking with his father-in-law, but by making war upon the *Romans*, chose this as the lesser evil of the two; and, having a considerable body of forces about him, made a sudden irruption into *Armenia*, preventing, by the quickness of his march, the very report of his expedition. By this method he answered his purpose; for the inhabitants having no time to withdraw their effects, he raised excessive contributions; after which he besieged *Amida*, the principal fortress in those parts, in form. As the province had for many years enjoyed a profound peace, the city was wholly unprovided either of garison or of magazines; however, the citizens refused to open their gates, and prepared to make an obstinate defence. *Cavades*, who delighted in war, and who understood it perfectly well, practised all the methods then in use for reducing fortified places, but in vain; at length, however, when he and his principal commanders were almost in despair, a tower was surprized by the supine negligence of certain monks, on the eightieth day from the commencement of the siege. At first *Cavades* suffered his soldiers to put the inhabitants to the sword. A citizen thereupon told him, it was unworthy of a hero to put those to death who were unable to resist, *Why then*, said the king, *did you pretend to treat me as an enemy? Because*, said the citizen, *it was the will of God to deliver* Amida, *not to your will, but to your valour*. *Cavades*, charmed with this compliment, ordered the citizens to be spared. Some time afterwards he restored to them their privileges, directed the walls and public buildings to be repaired, and leaving therein *Glones*, a *Persian* nobleman, with a garison of a thousand men, he treated it afterwards rather as a benefactor than a conqueror [x].

Defeats several Roman generals.

As soon as the news of this invasion reached *Rome*, the emperor took the necessary precautions for assembling an army, which was accordingly done; and orders were given them to march to the frontiers with all imaginable expedition. The *Greek* writers tell us, that there never were better forces sent against the *Persians*, than this army was composed of, or generals of greater reputation. *Cavades* on his side took the field early, and being informed that the *Roman* officers differed among themselves, and had divided their forces into several independent corps, he resolved to attack them as speedily as he could. He first fell upon *Ariobindus*, who, on the approach of the *Persians*, shamefully abandoned his camp, and fled to an adjacent city. Eight hundred *Euthalites*, who were the forlorn hope of *Cavades*'s army, in their next march fell in with a considerable body of *Roman* troops, commanded by *Hypatius*, and were by them intirely cut to pieces on the side of a river, the stream of which they dyed with their blood. It was not long before the *Persian* monarch arrived on its banks, where guessing by the colour of the water what had happened, he immediately conceived, that he should find the *Romans* secure and unprovided. Whereupon, instead of making a halt, he pushed on with his cavalry; and, as he conjectured, finding the *Romans* eating, drinking, and washing themselves in the river, he severely revenged the death of his friends, by putting almost this whole body of *Romans* to death without any resistance [y].

Makes an advantagious peace.

Upon the heels of this victory, he received advice of the *Hunns* having broken into the northern provinces of his empire; upon which he was obliged to return with his whole army into *Persia*, whence he happily expelled those barbarous invaders. While *Cavades* was thus employed, things on the frontiers went not altogether so well, tho' not at all less honourably for the *Persians*. After the departure of the army, the *Romans* in several bodies drew nearer to *Amida*, in order to straighten its garison, and to prevent its receiving provisions. They likewise found means to betray *Glones* the *Persian*

[u] Procop. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 6. p. 19. Agath. Hist. lib. iv. p. 139. Cedren. H. C. p. 336. Theophylact. lib. iv. p. 100. [x] Procop. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 7. p. 20. Cedren. H. C. p. 169.
[y] Procop. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 8.

Persian commander into an ambuscade, wherein himself and two hundred horse were cut to pieces. This was not only a very unfortunate accident for the garison, in point of the loss they sustained of their governor and a fifth part of their forces, but it was also fatal in its consequences, by reason of its restraining them from making any excursions, in order to fill their magazines. The command devolved upon the son of *Glones*, a young man but an excellent officer, and one who acquired a greater reputation by losing this city, than his master had done by gaining it. After a long blockade, in which, though the *Romans* did little, the *Persians* suffered much, being constrained to feed on the vilest and most nauseous things to satisfy their hunger, while the provisions in their magazines remained untouched, in order to serve another purpose, hopes of succour being lost, the governor entered into a treaty with the *Romans* for the delivery of the city. During this treaty large distributions were made from the magazines; whence the *Roman* officers conceiving that the besieged had still plenty of provisions, they agreed to let the garison march out, and to carry with them all that they had, giving also to the governor a vast sum of money for surrendering a place, which in a few days must have fallen into their hands, with all that was in it. Some time after a truce for seven years was concluded between the *Romans* and *Persians*, and hostages given on both sides for its being duly kept, which afforded *Cavades* leisure to pursue his wars against the *Hunns* [z] (Q).

Proposes the adoption of his son to the emperor.

In these he had his usual success; yet all his foreign victories could not secure to him peace or tranquillity in his family. He had three sons, *Caoses*, *Zames*, and *Chosroes*, the last of whom he designed for his successor. *Caoses* the eldest is said to have been a prince of merit; neither are we told why his father at first disliked him. But so it was, that, conceiving against him a most violent hatred, he resolved to deprive him of the succession. *Zames* had the misfortune to be blind of an eye, on which account, by the laws of *Persia*, he was incapable of reigning. *Chosroes* very much resembled his father in temper, fierce, warlike, and ambitious; he was continually contriving great things, and addressed himself with as much diligence to achieve them, as with facility he had planned them in his head. On this young prince *Cavades* reposed his hopes, and being desirous to establish him in a more glorious situation than any of his predecessors, he entered into a negotiation with *Justin*, who had succeeded *Anastasius* in the empire, in order to induce him to adopt *Chosroes*. At first this motion was well entertained at *Constantinople*, but by degrees the emperor was persuaded that it might be injurious to his family and his subjects, which determined him against it. However, commissioners met on both sides, to treat of a lasting peace, and to settle the boundaries of the two empires. For this important business, *Cavades* made choiece of *Sesoses*, whom he had raised to the principal offices in his kingdom, and *Mebodes*, a military officer of great experience. On the other hand, the emperor *Justin* sent *Hypatius*, the nephew of his predecessor, and *Rufinus*, a man of great quality. After frequent conferences, disputes arose; and it being proposed to adopt *Chosroes* in a new and particular manner as a barbarian, that prince conceived such a displeasure thereat, as induced him to manifest an irreconcileable hatred to the *Romans*. The conferences being broken off, *Mebodes*, at their return to court, charged *Sesoses* with having contributed to the miscarriage of their negotiation. He was likewise accused for burying his wife contrary to the law of *Persia*, whereby all dead bodies were exposed to the fowls of the air. On these pretences he was tried, and adjudged

[z] Procop. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 9. p. 38. Cedren. H. C. p. 170. Agath. hist. lib. iv. p. 139.

(Q) While *Cavades* made use of the peace subsisting between him and the *Romans* to carry on war on his opposite frontier, in order effectually to quell the barbarous nations inhabiting on that side, the *Greek* writers tell us, that there happened an event, which effectually reconciled this prince to the christians, to whom hitherto he had not only been averse, but even an open enemy. Of this remarkable event we have the following account. *Cavades* came with his army before a certain castle on the frontiers of *India*, called *Tzudader*. This was filled with immense riches of all sorts, and kept by a garison, not of men, but of evil spirits. *Cavades* employed to no purpose his own magi, the priests of the *Jews*, and other religious persons, in exorcising this infernal guard. At length the christian bishop undertook and effected what the king desired; for he expelled the dæmons, and delivered the castle, with all its riches, to *Cavades*. Henceforwards the christian bishops had access to the king, and, when their presence was necessary, were called to council, instead of the *Jewish* and *Manichean* priests, who till then had enjoyed his favour. There is such an air of fable in this relation, that we could not think of inserting it in our text; and yet, as it is to be found in more than one *Greek* author, we did not think fit to pass it over in silence (49).

(49) *Cedren. hist. compend. p.* 362.

adjudged worthy of death. *Cavades* expressed a mighty sorrow for his friend, but was grown so tender of the laws, that he would not hinder their course. In this manner died *Sesoses*, and with him that high office, which had been created on purpose to gratify his pretensions [a].

Breaks with the Romans *afresh.*

Justinian having succeeded *Justin* in the empire of the east, pursued also his politics, in causing all the frontiers towards *Persia* to be surveyed, the old fortresses repaired, and new ones erected, as the situation of the country required. With this view he sent instructions to those who commanded on the frontiers of *Mesopotamia* to fortify *Minidone*, the nearest place in the *Roman* territories to *Nisibis*; and a body of troops, under the command of *Cutzes* and *Buzes* brothers, were sent to protect the workmen. The *Persians*, who could not look but with an evil eye on the progress of this structure, just in their neighbourhood, took a proper opportunity, when the *Roman* forces did not observe exact discipline, to fall upon them; and, after defeating, cut most of them to pieces, together with many of the workmen, demolished the place, and sent the prisoners into *Persia*, where *Cavades* employed them in his buildings. This stroke opened a new war, for the carrying on of which the *Persians* took the field with a very numerous army under the command of *Peroses*, who had under him several generals of reputation. On the other hand, *Belisarius* had the command of the *Roman* forces. After some preparatory motions, the armies came to a general engagement, in which, after a very obstinate resistance, the *Persians* were defeated with very great slaughter. Yet the *Romans* gained little ground by this victory; for the *Persian* generals, being supplied with fresh forces, continued to keep the field; only they contented themselves with slight excursions, and did not pretend to give the *Romans* battle a second time [b].

Carries on the war with indifferent success.

In *Armenia* things went no better; for *Mermeroes*, who commanded the *Persian* forces in chief, was twice defeated by *Doritheus* the *Roman* general. Two castles, and certain districts dependent upon them, fell also under the power of the *Romans*, and in these districts were the gold mines belonging to the king of *Persia*. The *Tzani*, a free and barbarous people, were the chief occasion of these losses; for they now embraced the party of the *Romans*, and, in consequence thereof, possessed themselves of the gold which belonged to the *Persian* king; at which the *Romans* were not ill pleased, and *Cavades* was constrained to be content, his forces not being numerous enough to reduce them; besides, his generals, *Narses* and *Aratius*, deserted, and, with all their families and much wealth, retired to *Constantinople*. This situation of things did not at all discourage *Cavades*, who, when *Rufinus*, the *Roman* embassador, came to treat with him of peace, adhered to his first demands; and when the embassador had his audience of leave, insinuated to him, that if ever he departed from them, it must be in consideration of a large sum of money. To restore the lustre of his arms, he set several new armies on foot, disgraced *Peroses*, and gave the command of the army, which he intended to send into the *Roman* territories, to *Azarethas*, a very valiant man, and who well understood the duty of his charge. This general made an irruption into the country bordering on the *Euphrates*, and, finding himself superior in force to *Belisarius*, wasted all before him with fire and sword. The *Roman* soldiery saw this with indignation, and, notwithstanding the visible disparity of numbers and other disadvantages, clamorously urged *Belisarius* to give the enemy battle; he declined it as long as he could; but at length, by the near approach of the enemy, and the obstinacy of his own troops, was forced to fight. The *Persian* general knew exactly the advantages he had, and improved them to the utmost, so that the *Romans* were defeated with very great slaughter. However, *Belisarius*, with the remains of his army, so well covered the country, that the *Persians* were not able to take any place of importance; for which *Azarethas* on his return to court, notwithstanding his victory, fell into disgrace [c].

Makes another peace.

The war still continued, *Mermeroes* had the command of the *Persian* army given him; and as *Belisarius* was recalled in order to be employed against the *Vandals*, he found it not so difficult a matter to deal with his successors; but, after deceiving the *Roman* generals by certain marches and counter-marches, he at last invested the city of *Martyropolis*, a place of the last importance to the *Roman* empire, and in sight of their armies carried on the siege in form. *Sittas*, who commanded for the emperor *Justinian*,

[a] Procop. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 11. p. 30. Cedren. Agath. ubi supra. Evagr. lib. iv. c. 12. [b] Procop. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 13. p. 36. Cedren. ubi supra. Evagr. lib. iv. c. 13. [c] Procop. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 15. p. 43. Evagr. ubi supra.

Justinian, finding that himself and his collegues were able to do little good by force, began with better success to practise some of the frauds of war; for having found a person fit for his purpose, and having thoroughly taught him his lesson, he sent him into the *Persian* army, where coming privately to *Mermeroes*, he acquainted him, that the *Massagetæ*, whom *Cavades* had hired to fall into the *Roman* territories, had accepted a sum of money from *Justinian*, and were on the point of invading *Persia*. This greatly intimidated *Mermeroes*, engaged him first to turn his siege into a blockade, and afterwards to consent to a truce to the *Romans*; which was the reason that the *Massagetæ*, who remained firm to the *Persian* interest, made only a short incursion, and returned without doing much good to themselves, or hurt to the *Romans* [d].

Provides for the succession of his younger son.

In the mean time *Cavades*, who was oppressed with years, and whose activity had drawn upon him in his declining age many infirmities, began to feel the approach of death (R). Upon this he sent for *Mebodes*, his confident and minister, to whom having explained the reasons, why he desired to have *Chosroes* for his successor, he put his will, which contained the same things, into his hands, conjuring him to use his utmost endeavours to see it executed; which *Mebodes* then solemnly promised, and afterwards punctually performed. Thus died *Cavades*, after reigning thirty years from the time of his restoration, forty-one in the whole, and forty-five, if we take in the time of his imprisonment and exile. As soon as he was expired, *Caoses*, his eldest son, took upon him the title of king; but *Mebodes* interposed, representing, that the crown of *Persia* was never to be taken by stealth; that an assembly of the nobles was necessary to recognize his title, and that until this was done, his subjects could not lawfully obey him. Upon this an assembly was called, but whether by *Caoses* or *Mebodes*, does not appear. In this assembly the will of the king was produced and read, and such a regard was paid by the nobility to his memory, that the claim of *Caoses* was set aside, and *Chosroes*, in virtue of his father's designation, declared monarch of *Persia* [e] (S).

Chosroes

[d] Procop. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 16. p. 47. Agath. lib. iv. p. 140. Cedren. p. 365.

[e] Procop. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 21. p. 65.

(R) It is evident from this part of the *Persian* history, which is more entertaining and fuller of events, than the foregoing, that this people were at this time not only numerous and warlike, but prudent also and polite. The *Roman* authors, for so after the oriental custom we call those who treat of the *Roman* empire, are not fond of owning this; but affect to attribute all the success of the *Persians* to their vast armies, their sudden incursions, and the little respect which their monarchs had to treaties and to oaths. One thing, however, is certain, that the *Roman* emperors paid constantly certain subsidies to the *Persian* kings; and this seems to be a very strong proof of the prowess of those monarchs, since it was not the custom of those times to pay subsidies for nothing. This was one of the great causes of the wars which so frequently happened between these empires. As often as the *Roman* empire was in disorder, or had a pacific prince upon the throne, the *Persian* received these subsidies; but when the *Romans* were in a good condition, or a martial prince was at their head, then they were stopped, and of course the *Persians* began their incursions, till either they were beaten by the *Roman* armies, or bought off again with *Roman* money. On the other hand, it must be owned, that when ambitious and turbulent princes wore the *Persian* diadem, scarce any thing could content them. They knew well, that the *Constantinopolitan* empire could not for any length of time support a war with *Persia*, because of the immense expence to which it was put, by keeping a great army on the frontiers. Whenever therefore one of these princes wanted money, he began a war, and as soon as the *Romans* would come up to his price, he sold them a peace. Hitherto we have explained the *Persian* history and chronology; we intend this note as a key to their politics.

(S) Most of the *Greek* historians are silent as to the reasons which induced *Cavades* so vehemently to oppose the succession of his eldest son. It appears from what *Procopius* says, that it was not any sudden fit of anger, or the effect of the peevishness of old age, but a settled resolution, which he had taken many years before (50). We are obliged to *Theophanes* for unravelling in some measure this mystery, since from him we learn, that *Cavades* was jealous of the *Manichees*, who were in great favour with this son, and who were supposed to have drawn him to their party; for which great numbers of them, together with their bishop, suffered death (51). We are likewise told elsewhere, that these heretics, having once drawn *Caoses* to favour them, were next very impatient to hoist him to the throne, even before the death of his father; which intrigues of theirs were fatal to them and to him. To them, in drawing on a persecution, which they might otherwise have avoided: To him, in that it deprived him of his birth-right, as well as that of his father's affection. It is very probable, that these schemes were chiefly in the heads of the *Manichees* and their priests, and that *Caoses* had very little, if any, knowledge of them; for if it had been otherwise, it will be difficult to assign a cause why he escaped, or at least how he came to remain still in the kingdom, nay even at court, and in a condition to appear as a competitor with *Chosroes* for the death of his father. It has also the appearance of reason, that the true ground of rejecting and of exalting *Chosroes* was, the difficulties the nobility might have of him as to his religion; for it appears from the history of *Agathias*, that

(50) *De bell. Persic. lib.* i. (51) *Theophan. chronograph. p.* 145. 146. *Cedren hist. comp.*

Choſroes, being ſettled on the *Perſian* throne, quickly received an embaſſy from *Juſtinian*, compoſed of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, at the head of whom was *Ruſinus*. The intent of this embaſſy was not only to compliment the king on his acceſſion, but alſo to treat of peace. *Choſroes*, who was a prince of quick parts, received the firſt kindly, and entered readily into the ſecond; but when they came to adjuſt the articles of the peace, then it was he diſcovered his true intention, by inſiſting, that a ſum of money ſhould be given him; that the pretenſions of the *Perſians* and *Romans* ſhould be thoroughly canvaſſed and finally ſettled; all places taken on either ſide reſtored, and this peace declared to be perpetual. Some delays happened in the negotiations, and a report being ſpread that *Juſtinian* had put *Ruſinus* to death, who, at the requeſt of the *Perſian* king, had returned to *Conſtantinople* for inſtructions, *Choſroes* inſtantly took the field with a mighty army, which ſtruck ſuch a terror, that the inhabitants began to retire from the villages in all the frontier provinces, ſuppoſing that the war would become more bloody than ever. But, before *Choſroes* proceeded to hoſtilities, *Ruſinus* arrived and perfected the treaty; whereupon the *Perſians* retired, and the inhabitants of the frontier provinces returned to their habitations[f]. Choſroes II. Year of Chriſt 532.

The morning of this great prince's reign, like that of his father, was not only darkened with flying clouds, but its luſtre in danger of being totally obſcured. The *Perſian* nobles, perceiving that *Choſroes* had much in him of the ſame ſpirit which had made *Cavades* terrible to his ſubjects, when he aſcended the throne, determined amongſt themſelves to procure their own ſafety at the expence of the king's, by depoſing him, and ſetting up in his ſtead one more tractable. This was *Zames* the brother of *Choſroes*. The law incapacitated him from being king, but they had a ſalvo for that; he had a ſon whoſe name was *Cavades*, who was extremely like his grandfather; him they reſolved to proclaim king, and to veſt the regal authority in *Zames*, as his tutor and protector. Into this ſcheme, when it was communicated to *Zames*, he readily came, and encouraged the conſpirators, to act in all things according to their councils. As *Choſroes* made it a rule throughout his life to ſpare no money for intelligence, ſo it was a long time before he was informed of all theſe machinations. He ſuffered them, however, to go on, that he might by this means diſcover who were, and who were not, devoted to his ſervice; for as he had the troops intirely at his devotion, and knew exactly his enemies took, he was not in any great pain for his own ſafety. When things grew ripe for execution, he ſeized the conſpirators at once, and had no ſooner ſeized them, than he put them to death. His executions were as wide as the conſpiracy; he had no idea of reconciling traitors; but every man, who had the leaſt ſhare therein, or the leaſt knowledge thereof, paid for it with his life[g]. *Diſcovers and defeats a conſpiracy againſt him.*

The young *Cavades* alone eſcaped, and eſcaped only by accident. He was not in the king's power immediately, being brought up by *Adergudunbades*, to whom therefore *Choſroes* diſpatched orders to put him out of the way. This extremely grieved the good old man, who had educated him as carefully as if he had been his own ſon; but the royal orders and the royal ſafety were things not to be trifled with. But when he came to acquaint his wife with the command he had received from court, ſhe, who had nurſed *Cavades*, forgot all concerns, but for his ſafety; and as her huſband was naturally inclined to pity the unfortunate child, ſhe prevailed upon him to think of concealing the youth in their houſe, and to diſpatch a meſſenger to court to inform *Choſroes* that his orders had been exactly complied with. This was happily executed for *Cavades*, who thereby eſcaped a death he no way deſerved. It was no leſs prudently conducted by his wife and generous protector, who intruſted none with the ſecret, but his eldeſt ſon and an old ſervant. In proceſs of time, when *Cavades* was *The hiſtory of Cavades the younger.*

[f] Procop. de bell. Peſic. lib. i. c. 22, 23.

[g] Procop. de bell. Perſic. lib. i. prop. fin.

had not only a great influence in all affairs civil and eccleſiaſtical, but that in the recognition of kings ſpecially, they had a ſort of negative voice. Plato, and indeed all the *Greek* writers, cenſure the Perſians in terms, that ſhew that they did not underſtand it (52). The *Perſian* magi did not interfere as clergymen, but as men of learning and experience. Politics was with them a ſcience, not learned, as amongſt us, by a long obſervance of facts, but by contemplations of certain maxims, and by acquiring a ſkill of applying theſe to the management of public affairs. It is not our buſineſs here to enter into any farther detail of this matter, which we mentioned only to prevent the reader's being tinged with the prejudice of the *Greeks*. He who would be further acquainted with this curious ſubject, may conſult the learned book of the preſident *Briſſon*; as alſo the no leſs learned and curious treatiſe of the celebrated lord *Bacon*, written in imitation of the magical policy of the *Perſians*.

(52) *Hiſt. lib.* iv

was grown to years of discretion, *Adergudunbades* furnished him with a considerable sum of money, advised him to retire out of *Persia*, and to be careful of his safety, as his own. Sometime afterwards *Varrhames*, this nobleman's eldest son, discovered this secret to *Chosroes*, and produced the servant who was privy to it. The king, who was then employed in an expedition against the *Hunns*, sent instantly for *Adergudunbades* to attend him. That excellent man, being now far in years, fell through weakness from his horse, as he hastened to attend *Chosroes*, and broke his thigh. The king, being informed of it, ordered him to be sent to a certain castle, under pretence of taking care of his cure, but in truth to have him privately murdered; which was done, and his office given to his son *Varrhames* (T). As for *Cavades*, he retired to *Constantinople*, where he was treated by the emperor *Justinian* with all the respect due to his birth. We have digressed a little, in order to follow so remarkable a transaction to its close; let us now return to the thread of our history [h].

Chosroes *resolves to make war upon the* Romans.

As a peace with the *Romans* was at first very convenient to *Chosroes*, so he very faithfully observed it; and when he was informed of the victories obtained by *Belisarius* in *Africa*, he sent embassadors to congratulate *Justinian* thereupon; and, by way of raillery, directed them to tell the emperor, that he had a right to share the spoils of his enemies, since, had he not been at peace with *Persia*, he could not have had either forces or leisure to make these conquests in *Afric*. *Justinian* received these embassadors kindly, assured them of his great affection for their master, and, on hearing his message, presented *Chosroes* with a considerable sum of money. But this fair correspondence did not last long. The *Saracens*, encouraged by the *Persian* king, made several incursions into the *Roman* territories; of which when *Justinian* by his embassadors made loud complaints, *Chosroes* returned for answer, that he believed what they alledged was not altogether without foundation; but that he could scarce believe his brother *Justinian* took this amiss, because they were arts of empire himself had taught him, having practised, not only on the *Saracens*, but the *Hunns*, to invade *Persia*, as he could prove by his own letters; so that he had only turned his weapons upon him, as he was obliged to do to preserve his subjects. For a time, however, he suffered himself to be pacified, yet not without making the necessary preparations for carrying on the war whenever he thought fit; to this he was principally excited by *Vittiges* king of the *Goths*, who sent an embassy on purpose to represent the formidable power of *Justinian*, and how much it was the interest of *Chosroes*, as well as himself, to see it reduced. On the heels of this came an application from the *Arsacides*, or petty princes of *Armenia*. They set forth abundance of grievances under which they laboured from the *Roman* power; they painted the methods taken by *Justinian* in attaining universal empire in the strongest light, and besought *Chosroes* to consider it as much their case as his own. This determined the *Persian* monarch to break the peace, and to fall upon *Justinian* before he was at leisure to fall upon him. [i]

[h] Procop. ubi supra.

(T) This conspiracy against *Chosroes* was an event remarkably fortunate to him, if we consider it in a political light. It gave him an opportunity of freeing himself from all who were disaffected to him, and he used it without reserve, sparing not his own uncle, who had been in the number of the conspirators. But the most cruel of all his actions was, the putting to death this old general, who had been the faithful servant of his father, and who had subdued twelve barbarous nations, and made them tributaries to the *Persians*. There seems, however, to have been some justice in giving to his son *Varrhames* the government which *Adergudunbades* had possessed. But it is to be observed, that the *Persians* were extremely strict in two of their maxims, *viz.* in punishing treason without mercy, and in preserving governments in the hands of one family, so long as they continued faithful to their sovereigns. These customs are so opposite to ours, that of course we have an indifferent opinion of them; but if it be considered, that in the east the slightest disaffection, if disregarded, ripens presently into a general revolt, fatal alike to the person and government of the reigning prince, the reason of this will be no more a secret, nor can we with any of justice deny, that it is full as justifiable as [illegible] of our political maxims. As to the other, it is generally supposed, that it arose thus: The Persian empire, though extremely wide in extent, was little more than an aggregate body of little princes, some some united to it for the sake of protection, others, after long wars, by capitulation; these princes who were originally independent, by this means became only governors for the king, monarchs, but hereditary governors, with many of their old prerogatives, which in case of treason, however, were forfeited; and this it was which made the children of governors so many checks upon their fathers, as appears, not only in the instance of *Varrhames*, but in what we have heretofore read in the conduct of *Cavades*, who by the same policy drew a nobleman to sacrifice his parent to the preservation of the family interest. We cannot pretend to justify such extraordinary transactions. All we have to do is, to account for them; and this, we hope, is effectually done (53).

(53) *Procop. de bell. Persic.* lib. i. *Theophan. Cedren.* &c.

a ſeaſon of the year did not permit this reſolution to be executed as ſoon as it was formed; but it influenced *Choſroes* to aſſemble ſuch an army as might be able to act in the beginning of the ſpring, notwithſtanding he was adviſed of the death of *Hyriges*, and the abſolute ruin of his kingdom. *Juſtinian*, being informed of the preparations made in *Perſia*, found himſelf under a neceſſity of providing for the worſt; yet, not willing to have recourſe immediately to arms, he wrote letters to *Choſroes*, wherein he deſcribed at large the bad conſequences, which would attend a haſty and unjuſt breach of the peace ſubſiſting between them. To which letters *Choſroes*, being already fixed in his reſolution, returned no anſwer; but went on with his military preparations, as openly and as vigorouſly, as if there had been a war declared[i].

His great ſucceſs in his firſt war.

b In the beginning of the ſpring, *Choſroes*, at the head of a great army, entered the *Roman* territories. He did not, as it was generally expected he would, fall into *Meſopotamia*; but, on the contrary, made the provinces of *Syria* and *Cilicia* the ſeat of the war. The firſt place of conſequence which he reduced was *Sura*, ſeated on the *Euphrates*, a place of great ſtrength, rich, and populous; yet *Choſroes* quickly maſtered it, rather by fraud than force, and treated the inhabitants very indifferently, notwithſtanding that he married a woman from among the priſoners taken there, for whoſe ſake it might have been expected he would have better treated her country. From hence he moved on, uſing ſeverity where any reſiſtance provoked him, and uſing great clemency towards the inhabitants of ſuch places as readily ſubmitted, impoſing, however, heavy contributions upon all. At length finding no *Roman* army in the field, he proceeded to *Antioch*, and encamped in its neighbourhood, on the banks of the river *Orontes*. Thence he ſent to acquaint the *Antiochians*, that, if they paid him a large ſum of money, he would ſpare them, and retire from before their city. As it was very ſtrong, its fortifications newly repaired, and a numerous garriſon in it, the mob were ſo elate, that they not only rejected the *Perſian* monarch's propoſition, but alſo mal-treated thoſe he ſent, and threw out unmannerly and impudent ſpeeches, againſt *Choſroes* and his family. This irritated him ſo far, that, quite contrary to his intention, he inveſted the place, and, againſt the ordinary rules of war and even the dictates of reaſon, ſtormed the city, before the walls were at all c battered, making uſe of machines to raiſe his ſoldiers againſt them. This was a raſh and deſperate attempt, and notwithſtanding the preſence of *Choſroes*, who did all that man could do to encourage his ſoldiers, they were beaten off with a miſerable ſlaughter. When they returned to the charge, a worſe accident happened; for the beſieged, encouraged by their former ſucceſs, attacked thoſe who had the keeping of the machines, and having cut the ropes and chains which held them, precipitated them and all who were upon them from the top of the walls over the craggy mountains, on which they were erected, into the diſtant plain underneath. This proved the deſtruction of the city; for the dreadful noiſe of the rolling machines, and the horrid cries of the dying ſoldiers, being heard in the city, and the cauſe not known, the d garriſon cauſed the gates to be thrown open, ſuppoſing the walls on the other ſide had fallen down, and, without ſtaying for better information, haſtily riding over women and children, they abandoned the place. Thoſe on the walls ſeeing this apprehended, that the *Perſians* had made ſome other attack, and thereupon quitted their poſt to retire, into the market-place. *Choſroes* did not neglect ſo fair an opportunity; but, drawing freſh forces out of his camp, ſcaled the undefended walls, and, after a bloody ſtruggle in the market-place, inflicted all the ſeverities that could be expected from an incenſed enemy on the miſerable inhabitants of *Antioch*. Soon after this, and while the *Perſian* army ſtill remained at *Antioch*, came embaſſadors from *Juſtinian*, to expoſtulate with *Choſroes* on this breach of peace, and to treat of an e accommodation. The *Perſian* monarch received them with much civility; he heard them patiently, and ſeemed to pay a great regard to what they ſaid. When they had done ſpeaking, he began to anſwer them with tears in his eyes; he made a more pathetic deſcription of the miſeries induced by the war, than they had done: he declared it was with the utmoſt reluctance he had taken arms; that he was, in a manner, compelled to it by the nobility of *Perſia*, who could no longer ſee, with patience, *Juſtinian* ſtirring up enemies againſt them on every ſide, and encouraging his ſubjects to treat them, on all occaſions, with outrageous contempt. He deli-

vered

[i] Procop. de bell. Perſic. l. ii. anecdot. l. i. Theophan. chronograph. p. 149. Zonar. annal. l. xiv. p. 57. Evagr. l. iv. c. 17. Jornand. de regn. ſucceſſ. in vita Juſtinian.

vered all this with such a solemn sadness in his countenance, with such vehement gestures, and with expressions so calculated to stir the passions, that the embassadors were quite confounded, openly confessing, that the eloquence of *Chosroes* was more dreadful to the *Romans* than his arms. In the end, however, he began to intimate, that a considerable sum of money in hand and an annual tribute would send him back into *Persia*, and fix the peace between the empires. As the embassadors demurred a little upon this, *Chosroes*, to quicken them, burnt the city of *Antioch* to the ground, and, not long after concluded a peace very advantagious to himself, as well as very ignominious to the *Romans*. However, he did not even keep this; but, burning with a mistaken desire of accumulating wealth, went on taking city after city, and raised contributions where-ever he came. He did not indeed pretend to keep, but, on the contrary, slighted all the places he took, after he had extorted what he could from the inhabitants; but, by this means, he alarmed and terrified the *Romans*, raised the courage of the *Persians*, and filled his coffers. The last city he besieged was *Dara*, a place of mighty importance, and which he was very desirous of having in his power; but whether he intended to keep or demolish it, is uncertain. The citizens, however, weighing within themselves the treatment which other people had received from the *Persians*, and considering also the strength and advantagious situation of the place, determined to defend themselves to the utmost; in which they succeeded so well, that *Chosroes*, finding his troops fatigued, his forces diminished, and the season far advanced, raised the siege, and returned, loaded with wealth, into his own territories [k].

Defection of Romanus and of Colchis.

As he had now answered all the ends he proposed in the war, he was well enough inclined to let peace take place; to which end he endeavoured to renew the negotiations, and to establish things on the plan of a treaty he had concluded. But *Justinian*, by this time, had quite altered his opinion; and, having recalled *Belisarius*, determined to make the *Persians* feel the weight of the *Roman* power, since, without it, there seemed no probability of preserving peace for any length of time (V). The seat of the war was now suddenly transferred to *Cholchis*, much to the disadvantage of the *Romans*, and yet intirely through their own management. This region was at that time inhabited by the *Lazi*, a rude and barbarous people; but who had notwithstanding, for a long course of years, adhered steadily to the *Roman* interest. This they did merely out of choice, the *Romans* having never subdued them; for the princes of this country observing, that by the situation of their dominions, they should, some time or other, be reduced, either under the power of the *Persian* kings, or of the emperors of *Constantinople*, conceived it to be alike for their own and their subjects good, to demand the protection of the latter; which was readily granted them,

[k] PROCOP. de bell. Persic. l. ii. EVAGR. l. iv. c. 25. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 371, THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 152. ZONAR. annal. l. xiv. p. 68.

(V) The history of all these wars, treaties and disputes between the *Romans* and *Persians*, are to be found at large in *Procopius*, who wrote expresly on this topic, who had himself a perfect knowledge of all these transactions, and as little partiality for his countrymen, as is to be found in any *Greek* writer. From thence we might indeed have taken much more than we have done; but then this part of our history would have exceeded its natural size; for it is one thing to use memoirs, and another to transcribe them; and therefore we have endeavoured to reduce what we have taken from *Procopius* within such bounds, as might suit it to this history. In this note, however, we shall attempt to explain some particulars in the text, which need illustration. We have followed *Procopius* cautiously in what he says of the dissimulation and insatiable ambition of *Chosroes*, and for this reason. We find in all the *Greek* historians, and in *Procopius* himself, that the *Persian* king pretended to be compelled to act in the manner he did, by the formidable power of *Justinian*, and by the attempts he had made to the prejudice of his empire, both in his own days, and those of his father. Now, if this charge was true, either in whole, or in part, then was *Chosroes* more or less culpable in his conduct. But tho' *Procopius*, in his memoirs of the *Persian* war, seems generally to excuse the emperor his master; yet, in his anecdotes, he plainly confesses, that *Justinian* was a prince boundless in his ambition, and who acted under no very strict ties of conscience; yet, as this piece hath the air of a satire, we ought not to give full credit to it, but rather believe on the whole that each of these princes had different qualities; that there were faults on both sides, and that their subjects suffered through the restless and unquiet tempers of their governors. As to the complaints of the *Armenian* princes, they were, in all probability, pretty well founded; but, in order to discover this, we must remember who these princes were. In the foregoing period, we have shewn how the *Arsacidæ*, after losing the *Parthian* empire, came to be contented with small principalities in *Armenia*, where they sometimes pretended to be independent, sometimes submitted to the *Persians*, and sometimes also chose the emperors of *Constantinople* for their protectors: no wonder then, that they were not perfectly easy, or that under so ambitious a prince as *Justinian*, they were anxious for those shadows of sovereignty, which they still preserved (54).

(54) *Procop. Evagr. Theophan. Zonar. &c.*

a them, without prejudice, however, to their liberties; for they were neither charged with any taxes, nor obliged to admit any new magistrates as a conquered people. The emperor of the east, however, on the death of any of their princes, appointed his successor, and thereby manifested a kind of superiority, rather honourable than of any great consequence. But the emperor *Justinian*, having thoroughly considered the importance of that district which those people inhabited, and which, as it lay upon what is called the *Black-sea*, was a kind of frontier to his empire, and, at the same time, covered his metropolis; moved therefore with the apprehension of the consequences that might follow, if this nation should, at any time, prove unfaithful, he resolved to make some further provision for his security on that side. To this end
b he recommended it to one *Tzibus*, whom he named a prince of the *Lazi*, to build a city, well fortified and secured by a strong citadel, on the shore of the *Euxine* sea, that it might be a check on the *Lazi*, if they should be at any time inclined to revolt. This commission *Tzibus* very faithfully executed, his countrymen assisting him to the utmost of their power, rejoicing to behold so large and fine a city built in their country at the expence of the *Romans*; but when they found to what end it was erected, and saw that *Tzibus* had received into it a *Roman* garison, they began to be quite of another opinion; and thus all the pains and expence employed about this city and fortress, turned to no other account than producing that very effect, which they were erected to prevent; for the *Lazi* instantly dispatched their deputies into *Persia*, to invite *Chosroes* to their assistance. This they did in the name of *Gabazes*, the greatest of their princes, who besought him to take under his protection a free people, whom *Justinian* was about to enslave. There wanted not much intreaty to induce so enterprizing a monarch to undertake an expedition so visibly for his service. He therefore closed speedily with the proposal of the deputies; and having given out, that the *Huns* were about to invade the frontiers of his kingdom, he suddenly assembled a great army, with which he marched towards *Iberia*; but, turning short when it was least expected, he entered *Colchis*, through a thick, and, till then, impenetrable forest, which he caused to be cut down before him. As soon as he descended into the plain country, *Gabazes* met and paid his compliments to him, acknow-
c ledged him for his sovereign, and joining his army with a considerable reinforcement, they marched together towards *Petra*. *Tzibus*, with the *Roman* garison, made at first a gallant defence; but finding at last, that the place would be infallibly taken, they made their escape by sea, and left to the enemy not only the city and fortress, but also all the treasures and valuable merchandize, which had been laid up therein [1].

Belisarius *checks his success.*

While *Chosroes* was victorious on this side, the *Roman* general *Belisarius* assembled an army and laid siege to *Nisibis*; but to little purpose, for *Nabades*, the *Persian* governor, made so firm a defence and so many vigorous sallies, that *Belisarius* was, in a short time, obliged to raise the siege, and, to console himself for that misfortune, to march farther into *Persia*, where ravaging the country, taking some inconsiderable
e places, and carrying off some spoil, he sent advice to *Constantinople*, that he had triumphed over the *Persians*, tho', in fact, his expedition was rather honourable than advantagious, the enemy having no army in the field. As soon as *Chosroes* had intelligence of this incursion, he made all imaginable haste back again into *Persia* with his army, that he might, early the next year, be ready to return the *Romans* this favour, by an irruption into their dominions. This he accordingly performed, and having wasted a great part of the frontier country, and raised vast contributions, he at last entered *Comagene*, intending to march from thence into *Palestine*, there to sack and plunder the city of *Jerusalem*. And in this design, if we consider the terror and confusion of the *Romans*, we must allow that he had a fair prospect of success; but *Belisarius*, having, with incredible diligence, posted quite athwart the empire to the banks of the *Euphrates*, there unexpectedly assembled an army, which checked the progress of *Chosroes*, and forced him to have recourse to his old method of negotiating, since nothing was to be got by force. Another reason concurred to drive *Chosroes* home into *Persia*; for the pestilence, which had wasted *Egypt*, passing over into *Asia*, made such a havock in the *Roman* territories, that the *Persian* king retired hastily out of *Assyria*, and directed his march towards the north. At first the *Romans* conceived, they were intirely rid of this formidable enemy; but it quickly appeared, that their hopes were vain; for having recruited his army in the northern provinces,

[1] Procop. ubi supra. Cedren. hist. comp. p. 372. Theophan. chronogr. ubi supra. Zonar. ubi supra.

provinces, he began to discover his true design, which was to fall into *Armenia*. *Justinian*, being informed of this, ordered an army to assemble on that side, and sent likewise embassadors to endeavour, by all means, to engage *Chosroes* to think of peace [m].

His general Nabades *beats the* Romans *under* Narses.

IN the mean time, *Narses*, being appointed general of the *Roman* forces, and finding the *Persians* not yet in the field, determined to make himself master of *Anglon*, a little town, but of great strength; in which *Nabades*, a *Persian* general, had taken up his quarters, with four thousand men. Full of this conquest, he marched, against the advice of many of his officers, with the utmost diligence to reach the place. When he drew near it, he sent out parties to make prisoners; and these reporting that *Nabades* was retired, *Narses*, reproaching his officers with timidity, pushed on to take possession of the place. The van-guard of the *Roman* army consisted of a body of the *Heruli*, lightly armed. These entering the skirts of *Anglon*, and perceiving the *Persian* troops regularly drawn up and ready to charge them, broke, even before they were attacked, and fled. The *Persians* made the best use of this advantage, following them close at the heels; and charging the *Roman* forces vigorously, disordered them also, and soon after compelled them to a plain flight, in which numbers were slain, and more would have been slain, if the *Persians* had not been apprehensive of the ill consequences that might attend their pursuing them too far. With this action ended that campaign; for *Chosroes*, having changed his views, did not endeavour to penetrate any farther on that side; and the *Romans*, taught by their misfortunes, forbore also the siege of this place [n].

Chosroes *shamefully repulsed at* Edessa.

THE next year *Chosroes* made his fourth expedition into the *Roman* territories, and, if we may credit *Procopius*, upon a very extraordinary account. He had, in his first expedition, besieged the city of *Edessa*, and, tho' he had taken much stronger and more considerable places, was constrained to raise that siege. This was said to be owing to the particular favour of Jesus Christ to that city, whose letter to their prince *Abgarus* was inscribed over the principal gate of the place. This report so irritated *Chosres*, that he made this expedition, not so much against the *Romans*, or against *Justinian*, as against the GOD of the christians, who had been said to have driven him from *Edessa*. His army was very numerous; and it is certain, that tho' he might have done many things more for his glory and the advantage of the *Persian* empire, yet he chose, after ravaging the open country, to encamp in the neighbourhood of *Edessa*. In that camp, however, having either formed some new project, or doubting of the event of this, he sent deputies to demand of the inhabitants of *Edessa* a large sum of money; which if immediately paid him, he offered to turn his arms another way. But as what he demanded was not in their power to yield unto, *Chosroes* was forced to carry his first design into execution, tho' now against his will. We have, in the memoirs of *Procopius*, a long and circumstantial account of this siege, which was by far the warmest that any *Roman* city had sustained; and, after all, tho' it was not either succoured or relieved, the vigorous defence made by its citizens so diminished the *Persian* army, that, as the season advanced, *Chosroes* lost all hopes, and was compelled, notwithstanding the boast he had made, of turning *Edessa* into sheep-cotes and placing all its inhabitants in the heart of *Persia*, shamefully to raise the siege and retire into his own dominions (X). Thither he was quickly followed by the *Roman* embassadors,

[m] PROCOP. de bell. Persic. l. ii. CEDREN. hist. compend. p. 372. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 166. ZONAR. l. xiv. p. 68. GLYCAS ann. l. iv. p. 267. EVAGR. hist. eccles. l. iv. c. 26. [n] PROCOP. de bell. Persic. l. ii.

(X) As to the miracle which was wrought at the siege of *Edessa*, it makes a great figure, as well in the memoirs of *Procopius*, as in the writings of ecclesiastical historians. As it is a fact which very nearly concerns the *Persian* history, we might justly have been censured with want of exactness, had we omitted it; and therefore we chose to give it place in a note, in which we shall relate it, as we find it recorded in the history of *Evagrius*. There was an old report, that Christ had promised to *Abgarus* king of *Edessa*, that that city should be inexpugnable. It is true, that no such promise appears in the letter said to have been written by Christ to *Abgarus*, and which is printed at large in the history of *Eusebius*; but, notwithstanding that, the report spread of this prophecy was believed, and some extraordinary deliverances which the city had met with contributed to keep up its credit. To destroy this report, and thereby to wound, as he apprehended, the honour of the christian religion, *Chosroes* sat down before this place. When all the attempts he had made to induce the people to surrender had failed, and his forces had been repulsed in several assaults, he at length determined to enter upon a laborious and troublesome undertaking; which he did, however, the more patiently, because he made no question that by it he should effect his purpose. He ordered his soldiers to cut down a vast quantity of timber, with which he began to erect a mount over-against the town-walls; to which when it was become equal in

a embassadors, whom, as he had often done before, he drew into an insidious treaty, more destructive to their master than an open war [b].

The Colchian war concluded by a general peace.

THINGS, however, did not remain long in this situation: *Chosroes* was too stirring a prince to indulge his neighbours with much quiet. He had discovered, that his new subjects the *Lazi* were become already disaffected; and, upon examining the reasons, he found cause to apprehend, that their discontents were such as could never be removed. The country they inhabited stood in need of corn, of salt, and of wine. With these, on account of the badness of the roads, they could not well be furnished from *Persia*; whereas the *Romans* easily supplied them by sea and at a moderate price, which preserved an intimacy between the nations. On the other hand, the b *Lazi*, who were zealous christians, endeavoured to convert the *Persians* who dwelt among them; by which means they became obnoxious to the magi, who did not fail to insinuate, that difference in religion would everlastingly hinder them from being good subjects to the *Persian* crown. *Chosroes* thereupon formed a project of transporting them from their own country of *Colchis* into the heart of *Persia*, and to settle a colony of *Persians* in their stead. Previous, however, to the execution of this grand project, he determined to build a navy in the port of *Petra*, which might be able to guard the coasts, and prevent too strict an intercourse between the *Lazi* and the inhabitants of the *Roman* provinces; but knowing that this could not be accomplished, if the people were timely apprised thereof, he caused great quantities of timber to be sent to *Petra*, under pretence of repairing the fortifications and constructing military machines. However, *Gubazes* king of the *Lazi*, taking offence at these preparations and doubting the safety of his person, besought the protection of the *Romans*. This was quickly afforded him, and the emperor *Justinian* immediately dispatched a considerable army to his relief. This army was commanded by *Dagisthæus*, a young man very indifferently skilled in the art of war. *Gubazes* kept his word; for as soon as the *Roman* forces appeared, he joined them, and compelled the *Persians* to shut themselves up in *Petra*, the only fortified place in the kingdom. The reduction of this place therefore was the sole point in question; for this once effected, the war was at an end. *Gubazes* quickly invested it on one side, as the *Romans* did on the other, to whom *Gubazes* most pathetically recommended the custody c of the straights called *Chisuræ*, through which only the *Persians*, if they sent an army, could enter, if they attempted the relief of *Petra*. The *Roman* general, having viewed these difficult passages, conceived them to be so strong in their nature, that he left but a hundred men to guard them. As soon as *Chosroes* was informed of this strange turn in his affairs, and that *Petra* was blocked up, he ordered *Mermeroes*, one of the best officers in *Persia*, to march with an army to its relief. This took up a great deal of time, and in this space the *Persian* garison was reduced to the last extremity; nay, the *Romans* actually entered the city, and might have taken it, if the governor of the citadel had not drawn them into a treaty for rendering that fortress, at the same time with the city, into their hands. *Mermeroes*, from the time he entered *Colchis* with his army, directed his march according to his own private intelligence, avoiding any correspondence with the *Lazi*, who pretended to be in the *Persian* interest; so that he arrived at the mouth of the *Chisuræ* before he was at all expected; and finding how small a guard the *Roman* general had left there, he caused it to be attacked

[b] PROCOP. de bell. Persic. l. ii. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 186. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 372. EVAGR. hist. eccles. l. iv. c. 27.

height, his view was, by the help of engines, to make a bridge of communication, over which he might pass as great a part of his army as he pleased into the place. The inhabitants of *Edessa*, perceiving the drift of this design, instantly began to undermine the new raised work, in hopes they might be able to set it on fire; but when they had done this, they found their labour lost, not being able to make the fire burn for want of air, a circumstance they had not before considered. This put them to their wits, and at last they bethought themselves of the miraculous print of our Saviour's face, which he sent to their king *Abgarus* and was preserved in their church. This they brought into their mine, poured water over it, and then this water upon the fire and the wood, which instantly lighted and burnt intensely. Then, to prevent the enemy from apprehending whence the smoke came, they threw all sorts of fire-works from the walls. After three days, however, the *Persians* perceived, that the very heart of their mount was consumed. *Chosroes* ordered water to be poured upon it in vast quantities; but when it was observed, that, instead of slackening, it increased the fire, as much as if so much oil had been thrown thereon, he in despair suffered the mount to burn on; and, having sent away his baggage, demolished his works and raised the siege (55).

(55) *Evagr. hist. eccles. l.* iv. *c.* 27. *Cedren. hist. compend. p.* 372.

attacked again and again, till, with the loss of a thousand men, he carried the pass, and then, without halting, marched directly to *Petra*. There he found of five thousand men, only nine hundred remaining, and of these three hundred and fifty disabled. The dead bodies they had piled up against the narrow walls of the citadel, that the *Romans* might not be acquainted with their loss, and from thence be encouraged to storm the place. The *Romans* conceived that this was but a slight reprieve, the walls being every-where broken, and the place, as it were, in ruins; *Mermeroes*, however, repaired it in the best manner he was able, and when he had so done and left a fresh garison in it, he withdrew his troops from thence, having made a truce with the *Lazi*, though the *Roman* forces still continued the war. When the place was put into a state of defence, *Mermeroes* drew his troops towards *Iberia*, whence he hoped to receive such supplies of provisions, as might be necessary for the occasions of his own army, as well as of *Petra*. Here incamping with a rapid river behind him, he conceived his forces to be in safety. But it so happened, that *Gubazes* devised a method of passing this river, and having informed the *Romans* thereof, and also furnished them with bridges, they fell upon the *Persian* army, and made a dreadful slaughter. *Mermeroes*, however, repaired this mistake, by incamping more cautiously for the future, and so kept the war alive, notwithstanding the great disadvantages he laboured under. It would oblige us to carry this history into an extraordinary length, if we should relate all that passed in this *Colchian* war, of which we have very large memoirs in *Procopius* and *Agathias*. We shall content ourselves therefore with observing, that in the end the *Romans* were successful, by reason of their having the empire of the sea, which enabled them to supply their armies with provisions and recruits, as often as they stood in need of them; whereas the *Persians* were obliged to make long and fatiguing marches by land, and to bring all their provisions in carriages. *Mermeroes*, so long as he lived, preserved the superiority of the *Persian* power, and a little before his death gave the *Romans* a signal defeat; but his successor *Nachoraganus*, a rash and haughty general, fell as far short of him in his performances, as in his boasting promises he surpassed him. His ill conduct was one of the great causes of the success of the *Romans*; and therefore *Chosroes*, on his return into *Persia*, ordered him to be flayed alive; and, perceiving that his affairs were on a declining condition on this side, resolved to make peace with the *Romans*. With this view he sent an embassador to the court of *Justinian*, who received him graciously, and entered readily into a treaty with his master, whereby it was provided, that each party should keep what they were possessed of in *Colchis* at the time of its conclusion; and thus the *Lazi* were deprived of their liberties, by calling in their too powerful neighbours, *Gubazes* having been assassinated sometime before, who was extremely careful of his subjects, and who, in all the changes of his fortune, constantly sought their good [p] (Y).

Towards

[p] Procop. de bell. Persic. lib. ii. Agath. Scholast. lib. iii, iv. Cedren. &c.

(Y) The history of the *Colchian* war hath, as we noted in the text, employed the pens of many eminent writers. *Procopius*, in the second book of his memoirs of the wars with the *Persians*, enters into a long detail of the causes, why the *Constantinopolitan* emperors on the one hand, and the *Persian* monarchs on the other, were so solicitous to maintain themselves in the possession of this country. He also prosecutes the account of the military expeditions on both sides, till such time as *Mermeroes* was first obliged to retire into *Iberia* (56). *Agathias*, who continued the history of *Procopius*, resumes the thread here, and describes at large all that happened afterwards in this country, till the conclusion of the peace between the *Romans* and the *Persians*. To him we owe the character of the *Persian* general before-mentioned. *Mermeroes*, says he, was of all the *Persian* officers the most distinguished for his thorough understanding of the art of war. He died full of years and glory, after having for a long space of time intirely lost the use of his limbs, so that he was carried up and down in a litter; yet was he so dreadful to the *Romans*, that they never thought themselves in any security, while he was at the head of the *Persian* troops (57). The curious reader, who will take the pains of perusing the authors I have mentioned, will plainly perceive, that the art of war was at this time extremely well understood, as it appears also the art of negotiating must have been, since the conferences for bringing this treaty of partition to a conclusion afforded matter for the fourth book of *Menander*'s history of embassies. Of this we have yet an abstract remaining, wherein the principal arguments made use of on both sides, the characters of the *Roman* and *Persian* plenipotentiaries are elegantly described, and the heads of the treaty, which consisted of ten articles, are briefly set down; but yet with such clearness, as demonstrates the skill of the politicians in those times, not to have been inferior to those who have been most famous for this kind of science in succeeding ages (58). We should have inserted some quotations from those valuable pieces, if we had not been apprehensive of extending the history of this period too far; but we could not avoid writing this note, to shew the carelessness of the former writers of the *Persian* history, who have slipped over all these things, as if the accounts of them had been buried in utter oblivion.

(56) *Ap. histor. Byzant. Vol. I Protect. ap. hist. Byzant. Vol. I.*

(57) *Agath. Scholast. hist. lib.* iii. & iv.

(58) *Menand.*

a TOWARDS the end of the reign of *Justinian*, *Chosroes* fell sick of a dangerous distemper; and depending more on the skill of the *Roman* physicians than his own, he requested, that some should be sent from *Constantinople*, which demand of his was readily complied with. On the accession, however, of the emperor *Justin*, new troubles arose. The inhabitants of the *Greater Armenia*, who were subjects to the king of *Persia*, were by this time become generally christians; and therefore rather inclined to put themselves under the protection of the *Romans*, to which *Justin* rashly consented; and having privately encouraged them to revolt, the *Armenians*, under the command of *Varamus*, one of their petty princes, suddenly took arms, and, having murdered all the *Persians* amongst them, declared themselves allies and dependents of the emperor of *Constantinople*. *Chosroes* immediately complained of this, and the emperor *Justin* pretended to colour his conduct by his zeal for the christian religion; and, being deceived by the intelligence which the bishop of *Nisibis* sent him, gave orders to his general *Marcian* to enter the *Persian* territories with an army, and to lay siege to that city, which was accordingly done. The *Persian* governor, incensed at the folly and rashness of the action, did not so much as shut the gates, but contented himself with relieving the guards at them twice a day, the *Roman* army being scarce numerous enough to invest the place. In the mean time *Chosroes* passed the *Euphrates*, and marched directly towards *Nisibis*, having first made a great detachment under *Adermanes*, who laid waste the *Roman* provinces with fire and sword. The *Roman* army before *Nisibis*, being dissatisfied with the emperor's measures and his changing their commander, suddenly, and without any reason given, broke up, and retired the best way they could; whereupon *Chosroes*, finding no body in the field to resist him, took and sacked all the great cities in *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*, and gave the plunder to his soldiers. He also besieged and reduced *Dara*, a fortress that had always been a curb upon his subjects, and in the fortifying of which the emperor *Justinian* had expended vast sums. Into this place he put a great garison, knowing its importance, and resolving to make use of it for a barrier against its old masters (Z). But while he was meditating new exploits, *Trajan*, a senator of *Rome*, presented to him letters from the empress *Sopha*, her husband *Justin* being run mad. In these letters the empress pathetically described the misery of the *Roman* empire, beseeching *Chosroes* to remember the kindness of former emperors, particularly the sending him physicians, the incertainty of all worldly greatness, and the little glory that would result to him from conquests, made from a *headless nation* and a *helpless woman*. *Chosroes*, having read the letters, immediately withdrew with his troops from the frontiers of the *Roman* empire, consenting to a truce for three years, *Armenia*, however, being excluded [q].

Chosroes makes war on the Romans afresh with success.

THIS respite was very favourable to the *Romans*, who quickly saw their affairs absolutely re-established by the diligence and prosperous success of *Tiberius*, the successor of *Justin*. He was not only an active and vigilant prince and one of a martial disposition, but a person well skilled in the art of war, and a horse-officer of great experience.

Refuses to make a peace, and is miserably beaten.

[q] AGATH. SCHOLAST. lib. iv. p. 140. THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 208. EVAGR. hist. eccles. lib. iv. c. 7—13.

(Z) We are obliged to *Evagrius* for the history of this war, which he seems to have written very candidly, since it is plain enough from his relation, that hostilities were begun by the emperor *Justin*, without any just grounds, and that, notwithstanding the complaints of *Chosroes*, he refused to desist from the measures he had taken to gratify his ambition. There is, however, just cause to believe, that he was a little disordered in his senses, even before this war. During the time it was carried on, nothing could be more wild than his conduct. He fancied all the little advantages that were gained, before the *Persians* well knew that the *Romans* were their enemies, so many victories. He commanded his general to lay siege to *Nisibis* with a small army, badly furnished with provisions; and being informed by the bishop of *Antioch*, that his affairs in the east took a very bad turn, he dispatched *Acaces*, an ignorant and assuming man, to demand of his general the keys of *Nisibis*, as if fortune had been subject to his commands. This man executing the orders of his master with the same temper, that is, with the same stupidity with which he gave them, the consequence was, that the army were afraid to trust either their new general or their distracted emperor, and therefore retired the best way they could. *John* the son of *Timostrates* yielded up *Dara*, either through fear, or from a worse motive; and *Chosroes*, as soon as he was master of it, put part of the inhabitants to the sword, made the rest prisoners, and, having disposed of every thing as he thought fit in the place, put a strong garison therein, it being held, the best fortress in all that part of the world. *Chosroes* also treated all the frontier provinces in the empire with great severity, assigning the emperor's breach of faith for a reason; for, it seems, he could not bear with patience that sort of behaviour from others, which he was himself but too apt to exercise. This, however, was the last fortunate campaign he made, and indeed his conquests therein were of very great importance (59).

(59) *Evagr. hist. ecclesiast. lib.* iv. *c.* 7—13.

rience. The first thing he did was to put the cavalry into better order than they had ever been before, knowing that the eastern provinces of the empire were better defended by them than by foot; and as he found the treasury full, through the extortions of his predecessors, it was no hard matter to make quick levies, especially for one so well acquainted with discipline. *Chosroes*, who had not the least suspicion of these mighty changes, prepared early the next spring to enter *Armenia*, resolving to penetrate *Cappadocia*, and to make himself master of *Cæsarea*, and such other cities in those parts as were of any consideration. The *Roman* emperor, foreseeing the consequences of such an irruption, sent embassadors to persuade *Chosroes* from this expedition, and to engage him to make a solid and lasting peace; but at the same time that he sent these embassadors, he dispatched *Justinian* with directions to assemble all the forces in the eastern provinces, in order, if it was necessary, to repel force by force. When the *Roman* embassadors came into the camp of *Chosroes*, he was so far from receiving them as he was wont, that he refused to give them any audience, commanding them to follow him to *Cæsarea*, where he should be at leisure to hear them. Not long after he was informed, that the *Roman* army was at no great distance, and that they designed to give him battle. He looked upon this as an act of rashness in them, and as an accident favourable to himself; and therefore continued his march with the utmost expedition, that he might not lose this advantage. But when he drew near them, and saw their cavalry extremely numerous, disposed in excellent order, and the soldiers eager to engage, he fetched a deep sigh, shewing by the heaviness of his countenance how very much his mind was affected by this disappointment. On this account therefore he would, in all probability, have retired into some convenient camp, instead of fighting immediately; if *Curtius* a *Scythian*, who commanded the right wing of the *Roman* army, had not charged the left of the *Persians*, where *Chosroes* was in person. The combat was sharp and bloody, but in the end the *Persians* were beaten, the royal treasure and the *sacred fire*, before which the king worshipped, taken in his sight. In all probability, things would have gone still worse, had not the night come on, which gave the *Persians* an opportunity of retiring. The next night, or rather evening, *Chosroes* having intelligence that the *Romans* were encamped in two separate bodies, he fell upon one of them at midnight, routed them effectually with a prodigious slaughter, and having taken and set a village on fire that was behind their camp, he marched directly to the *Euphrates*, that, by repassing that river, he might winter in his own dominions. But *Justinian* the *Roman* general, penetrating his design, followed him so closely, that he was himself forced to pass the river on an elephant, and many of those who were immediately about him were drowned. After this the *Romans* wintered for the first time in the *Persian* provinces, and *Chosroes*, retiring to *Seleucia*, was so much affected therewith, that, he broke his heart, when he had reigned forty-eight years. This is the account which most of the *Greek* writers have given us, and the collectors of general history have followed them without scruple; yet there is just reason to believe, that this narration is wide of the truth, and therefore we take the liberty of subjoining what we apprehend comes nearer it[r]. *Chosroes* did indeed die of discontent, but not so hastily as most of the *Greek* writers assert; on the contrary, he lingered on till the following spring, and actually saw a treaty brought to a conclusion, which he had begun with the emperor *Tiberius*, so that he had a prospect of leaving his kingdom in peace. Of this he was the more desirous, on account of the mighty disorders occasioned by the depredations daily committed by the *Roman* vessels in the *Caspian* sea, as also from the mutinous behaviour of his soldiers and the general discontent of the *Persians*, too prone to murmur when fortune was against their princes (A). *Chosroes*, as he had lived, so he died, like a great prince, after enacting, that

[r] Agath. Scholast. lib. iv. p. 144. Evagr. hist. eccles. lib. v. c. 15. Cedren. hist. compend. p. 393. Theophan. chronogr. p. 207, 208.

(A) We have more than once observed, that the *Greek* writers are excessively partial, and we have more than once commended *Agathias Scholasticus* for digressing from the custom of his country in this particular. However, with regard to *Chosroes*, who was his cotemporary, and with whose character he had many and great opportunities of being fully acquainted, he is at least as faulty as any of the *Greek* writers; and, with a sort of absurd malice, first relates the excellent things said of that monarch, by those who were perfectly well acquainted with him, and then endeavours to destroy their characters, as well as that of *Chosroes*, by a number of weak, as well as ill-natured, reflections (60). *Procopius*, who had still better opportunities of knowing the true character of this prince than *Agathias*, could have treated him in a quite different manner; for he every-where magnifies his abilities, though he some-times

(60) *Agath. Scholast. lib.* ii, iii, iv.

a that none of his successors should expose their persons in any general engagement against the *Romans*, and after giving his son the most wholesome instructions for the government of his people, for the management of foreign wars, and for the conduct of himself [s].

Hormisdas succeeded his father in his dominions, but had neither his abilities nor his fortune. Hasty in his temper, haughty in his behaviour, cruel in his disposition, obstinate in all things, he no sooner put on the diadem, than he proclaimed himself unworthy of it. He was always addicted to a silly curiosity as to future events, and his diviners having suggested to him that his subjects were not well affected, he began to conceive suspicions of most of the great men in the kingdom, and to treat them as b if suspicion and conviction was with him the same thing. As to foreign princes, he kept no measures with them at all; he never notified his succession to the emperor *Tiberius*, but left him to learn it from common fame. When that monarch sent embassadors to compliment him and to renew the peace, he treated them disdainfully, and refused to grant their request, unless he had a sum of money given him by way of tribute. A demand, considering the circumstances of things, most unreasonable, and which therefore opened afresh those wounds which had been lately healed up, and equally disposed both *Romans* and *Persians* to enter on a new war, and which in the end proved very disadvantagious to both (B). At first the military operations were not of any great consequence; an action happened near the river *Nymphium*, in which c neither party had any great advantage. The *Persians* soon after besieged a fortress called *Aphumum*, and the *Romans* invested another fortress called *Acbas*, which siege, however, was raised by the *Persian* general *Cardariganus*. But when the *Roman* army had received the recruits from *Constantinople*, and *Philippicus*, whom the emperor *Maurice* sent to command, arrived on the frontiers, the *Persians* were obliged to withdraw into

Hormisdas II.

[s] Theophylact. lib. iii. c. 16. See the history of this reign in the next section.

times bears hard upon his morals (61). According to *Procopius*, *Chosroes* was a very wise, but a very ambitious, prince; according to *Agathias*, he was very fortunate and very vain-glorious. That the latter was not his true character, may be made appear from facts. His conduct towards the *Roman* embassadors, his harangues, his letters, but above all, his success against the emperor *Justinian*, are so many incontestible proofs of his skill in the art of reigning. As to his knowledge of war, *Agathias* himself confesses it in these words: In the field, no man knew better than *Chosroes* how to contrive; nor did any officer execute his orders with greater alacrity, than *Chosroes* did his own projects; and what was very wonderful, his activity did not forsake him, even in his old age; but he was as quick, or rather quicker, in his last campaign, than in his first. It was not his reputation, as a soldier, that offended *Agathias*; but he could not bear, that a barbarous prince should be cried up for a philosopher and a man of letters. This, we shall elsewhere shew, was, however, a tribute justly due to the merit of *Chosroes*; and when we do shew this, it will unquestionably prove, that we were not too rash in censuring the veracity of the *Greek* writers. The ecclesiastical historians fall not at all short in this respect of the authors of civil history. In the present case particularly, *Evagrius* tells us, that *Chosroes* died miserably, over-born by sorrow and grief, and covered with infamy, by making the law taken notice of in the text (62).

(B) It is to *Theophylact* we owe the account given in the text of the character of *Hormisdas*, and his conduct in the beginning of his reign. This author was an *Egyptian* by birth, a man of letters, and one who proposed to write of things, which either himself was well acquainted with, or of which he had an authentic account from those who were perfectly well acquainted with them. He begins his memoirs with the succession of the emperor *Maurice*, by virtue of his predecessor's nomination, and consequently a good deal later than the times of which we are now speaking. But in the latter end of this third book, he goes back to the succession of *Hormisdas*, that the remaining part of his history might be rendered clear and perspicuous; which it would not have been, if the death of *Chosroes* and the character and succession of his son had not been made known to his readers. He assures us, that *Hormisdas* was at once a most ambitious and the most cruel prince that ever held a sceptre; that he loaded his subjects with taxes, at the same time that he had no mercy on their persons; that the severities he was drawn into by his wizzards, were not only excessive in their nature, but also spread incredibly wide, since he massacred thousands upon his foolish suspicions (63). *Evagrius* the ecclesiastical historian, who was cotemporary with *Hormisdas*, though he mentions him often in his history, doth not enter so particularly into his character, but contents himself with saying, that he was the most unjust king the *Persians* ever had; and that, not content with exhausting their fortunes, he invented new tortures to imbitter the deaths of such as he suspected (64). *Theophylact* gives us likewise the character of *Varamus*, whose rebellion proved so fatal to *Hormisdas*. He observes, that he was a man of great quality, had served for many years in the army, was most successful in his expeditions against the *Turks*, and by his wisdom and valour rose so high in the favour of this very prince, that he not only continued him general in chief of his troops, but promoted him also to the office of *mayor of the palace* (65). These particulars would have swelled the text of the history too much, and yet are of too great consequence to be totally omitted; wherefore we have placed them here.

(61) *De bell. Persic. & in anecdot.* (62) *Evagr. hist. eccles. lib.* v. *c.* 15. (63) *Theophylact. hist. lib.* iii. *c.* 17. *p.* 85. (64) *Evagr. hist. eccles. lib.* vi. *c.* 16. (65) *Theophylact. lib.* iii. *cap. ult.*

into the mountains, and leave the open country at the mercy of the enemy. *Philippicus* gratified his soldiers with the plunder of all the places he could take; but the thirst of spoil having drawn them too far into the *Persian* dominions, they were in the utmost danger of being vanquished, without so much as seeing an enemy, for want of water. This prompted them to a very extraordinary action, *viz.* putting all the men and women they had made prisoners to the sword, reserving only the children, whom they intended to sell for slaves; but they died in the march, and thereby escaped miseries worse than death. After this *Philippicus* was more cautious, and though he plundered other provinces, yet he took care not to march far from cities. The next year he had the command again, and defeated *Cardariganus* in a pitched battle, from which he escaped with a handful of men, rather through the inadvertency of the *Romans*, than any courage or conduct of his own; and with these he fled to *Dara*, but the citizens shut their gates upon him, and the *Romans* at the close of the campaign again made incursions into *Persia*, burnt the villages, and plundered the people. The next spring the *Persians* gained some advantages, upon which *Philippicus* was removed and *Comentiolus* sent to command in his place, who managed the war rather worse. At length *Philippicus* was sent to restore the ancient *Roman* discipline; but the army was so far corrupted, that they refused to obey their general; but having chosen *Germanus* against his will to command them, they threw off all regards to the orders sent them from *Constantinople*. The *Persians* receiving news of this, attempted to take *Martyropolis*; but the *Romans*, under the command of *Germanus*, having penetrated their design, marched directly and gave them battle, whereby they saved the city for that time. However, it soon after fell into the hands of *Mebodes* the *Persian* general; for he having an intelligence with *Sittas*, an architect in the place, by his advice sent four hundred men thither, who pretended to desert from the *Persian* army, and were thereupon readily admitted. These men, by the direction of him who received them, surprised the place; and the *Romans* making a quick march to recover it, were engaged, and beaten by *Mebodes*; whereupon *Philippicus* was again removed, and *Comentiolus* was once more trusted with the army. This man quickly lost his reputation; for coming to a battle with the *Persians*, he fled at the very beginning of it; but *Heraclius*, who commanded under him, managed things so well, that the *Persians* were intirely defeated with the loss of *Aphraates* and *Nabades*, two of their best generals [t].

He by his impudence excites a civil war.

In the mean time, the *Persians* were engaged in war with the *Turks*, now first mentioned by the *Greek* writers, and under the conduct of *Varamus* had been very successful. To him therefore orders were sent to pass the river *Araxes*, and to fall on the *Roman* territories on that side. To oppose him, the emperor sent *Romanus*; but before he could assemble an army sufficient to take the field, *Varamus* had done a great deal of mischief. At length, however, *Romanus* found himself in a condition to give the *Persians* battle, which he accordingly did; for *Varamus*, presuming on his former success, desired nothing more ardently than an engagement. This proved fatal to his master's affairs; for the *Persian* cavalry being defeated, *Varamus*, with all his skill, had much ado to make an indifferent retreat. As soon as *Hormisdas* received advice of this disaster, he gave a signal proof of his small capacity for government. He sent to *Varamus*, instead of a vest of honour, a woman's garment, and threatened the troops with decimation; this inflamed their general, and united them to his interest. The issue of this business was, that *Varamus* wrote a letter to his master, in which he used always the feminine gender, as if he had been writing to a female slave, and prepared at the same time to treat him worse. *Hormisdas*, who began to see his error, sent *Sarames*, a man of great quality, to take upon him the command of the army, ordering him to pacify the soldiers at any rate, and to send him *Varamus* in chains. This *Sarames* would have done; but as soon as he arrived in the camp and had declared the nature of his commission, *Varamus* ordered him to be thrown down from his elephant, and by provoking the beast, caused it to trample him to pieces. He spent the winter preparing for the execution of his purposes, and at the same time took all the care he could to hinder the progress of the *Roman* arms. The garison of *Nisibis* declared for him, and the malecontents began every-where to commit such disorders, that when *Hormisda* was informed of them, and saw how unable he was to repress them, he began almost to lose his wits, breaking out into such furious fits of passion, as frighted all who were near him, and contributed no less to increase his misfortunes, than the arts of his enemies.

[t] Theophylact. lib. i, ii, iii. Evagr. lib. v. c. 20. Theophan. chronogr. p. 217. Cedren hist com. p. 396. Zonar. annal. lib. xiv. p. 74.

enemies. *Pherocanes* commanded the troops which were still faithful, and he seemed inclined to attempt the reducing *Varamus* to his duty by force; but when the two armies were near each other, *Varamus* sent deputies to harangue the king's army, and to inform them, that his revolt, far from having any tendency to the destruction of the *Persian* empire, had no other motive than its conservation; that *Hormisdas* was no longer worthy to rule them; and that he sought only to bring about such a revolution, as the ill conduct of that prince had made necessary for the safety of the state. The general himself made no answer to these representations, but the army, easily debauched from its duty, began visibly to waver; so that in the night, *Zoanab*, who was of the guard to the general, fearing that he would head the defection, stabbed him in his tent, and gave the plunder of it to the soldiers [u].

Which occasions his being deposed and murdered.

Hormisdas having intelligence of this fact, and not knowing what consequences it might have, retired out of *Persia Proper* to *Ctesiphon*, where he kept his court. The people in the mean time revolted in all the royal cities and plundered the palaces, which afforded the nobility an opportunity of rescuing their relations from prison; and amongst those, who were at this time released, was a person of the royal blood, whom *Hormisdas* for a slight offence had loaded with chains, named *Bindoes*. This man making all the haste he could to the troops formerly commanded by *Pherocanes*, was by them readily received for their chief. In three days they reached *Ctesiphon*, whither they no sooner came, than *Bindoes*, well attended, entered the royal palace, and forced themselves into the presence of the king. It was after dinner, and *Hormisdas* was sitting in the hall, clad in his robes of state and with his tiara on his head. As soon as he saw *Bindoes*, he asked him, how he escaped out of prison, and wherefore he came thither? He answered by a torrent of injurious language, upbraiding his master with his ill conduct, and exciting all who were present to reject him from being their king. *Hormisdas* ordered some of his servants, who were present, to seize *Bindoes*; but they were afraid to execute his commands. On the other hand, *Bindoes* taking the king by the arm, drew him out of his chair, took the tiara from off his head, and ordered some of his soldiers to conduct him to prison; which they did without the least reluctance, though he was their prince. In the midst of this tumult, *Chosroes* the son of *Hormisdas* made his escape out of the palace, being apprehensive that his own life was not safe; but *Bindoes* having intelligence where he was, dispatched a person to assure him, that he was so far from having any intentions against his person, that his design was to set him upon the throne. Upon this *Chosroes* returned, and they took their measures together; but while they were consulting, *Hormisdas* sent a message from his prison, requesting, that a great council of the nobility might be called, and that he might have the liberty of speaking to them freely. When the *Persian* lords were acquainted with this demand, they instantly assembled at the palace, and then ordered, that *Hormisdas* should be brought from his prison, and have liberty given him to say what he pleased. The king, after looking several times round on the assembly, made a long and vehement speech, in which he deplored his own calamity much, but the misery of the people more, inveighing bitterly against the authors of this anarchy and confusion, exhorting them to save the state from that destruction with which it was threatened, and to beware of establishing a tyranny, while they endeavoured to avoid it. He then adjured them not to think of making *Chosroes* his successor, because he knew him to be of a haughty, turbulent, and cruel nature, prone to all sorts of vices, and equally careless of his own honour and the public good. His other son, however, he recommended as young prince of a mild and docible nature, one who was inclined to think right and to do well. Lastly, he entered into a detail of the services he had himself rendered his country, in subduing many provinces, and in reducing several of their barbarous neighbours so low as to pay them tribute. When he had finished all he had to say, *Bindoes* made a long insulting answer, exhorted the people to have no regard to his words, but to act in such a manner as might best insure their own safety. This language suited well the genius of the people, ever prone either to slavish submission, or to licentious insolence; they followed implicitly the directions of their leader, who caused the young prince *Hormisdas* had recommended to be murdered in his presence, and afterwards to be cut to pieces. Then they sacrificed the unhappy woman his mother in the same manner; and that fortune might never restore *Hormisdas* to his former dignity, they ordered his eyes to be put out with a hot iron.

All

[u] Theophylact. lib. iv. Evagr. lib. vi. c. 14. Theophan. chronogr. p. 221. Cedren. hist. comp. p. 396.

All which was performed with the same ready barbarity with which it was directed. This end had the reign of *Hormisdas*, when it had continued one and twenty years [x] (C).

Chosroes II. *Year of Christ* 589.

Chosroes, as soon as these objects of popular cruelty were removed, was seated on his father's throne; whence rising up, he came and stood under a golden arch, according to the *Persian* custom, and having received the homage of the principal persons present, the rest with loud acclamations celebrated the accession of their new king, and made vows for his felicity. At first he treated his father with the utmost lenity, sent him diet from his table, ordered him proper attendants, gave him rich wines, and provided for him many amusements; but this prevailing nothing over the spirit of *Hormisdas*, who continued to reproach his son with his barbarity and unnatural baseness, *Chosroes*, doubting what effect his reproaches might have, caused him to be cudgelled to death. Then, supposing himself firmly seated on the throne, he gave sumptuous entertainments, and distributed most profusely the royal treasures amongst those he thought most capable of assisting him; mighty largesses he likewise bestowed upon the people, and ordered the prison doors to be every-where set open, that the fame of his lenity and liberality might effectually secure the hearts of his subjects. On the sixth day after his accession, he wrote letters to *Varamus*, and sent him also magnificent presents, exhorting him to come speedily and pay his duty to him, promising him, in case he did so, to make him the second man in his kingdom. *Varamus* refused his presents, and in a haughty letter, at the head of which, among a multitude of other titles, he called himself *the friend of God*, *the glorious conqueror*, and *the scourge of tyrants*, he rejected his proposal, ordered him to lay down the crown, to come immediately and pay his respects to him, on which condition he should have a government given him. *Chosroes* having exhibited these letters to his council, they were extremely provoked, and gave it as their opinions, that he ought to be punished. *Chosroes*, however, wrote again to him, signifying his apprehension that his secretary had imposed upon him, and written rather his own dreams than what was dictated to him by *Varamus*, exhorting him by his future conduct to redeem his credit, and not to persist in his design of making his country a field of blood. *Varamus*, however, prepared for war, and *Chosroes*, since it could not be avoided, advanced to meet him. They faced each other near *Nisibis*, the city being in the power of the king, while *Varamus* encamped before it. Here a negotiation was begun, but it proved ineffectual; and *Chosroes*, suspecting some of the nobility about him, put them to death without hesitation, which created him many more enemies than it delivered him from; so that shortly after, when *Varamus* attacked the suburbs, and put part of the army quartered

[x] Theophylact. lib. iv. c. 6. Theophan. chronogr. p. 223. Evagr. lib. vi. c. 16. Cedren. hist. comp. p. 397.

(C) It is impossible to read this part of the *Persian* history without emotion. One may safely number this among those extraordinary revolutions, which appear but rarely in the records of nations; and when they do, strike the judicious reader with an amazement mixed with horror. The *Greek* historian, *Theophylact*, relates the whole of this extraordinary transaction very circumspectly, and inserts at large the speeches of *Hormisdas* and *Bindoes* (66). One would be apt to think from the many rhetorical turns which are in them both, but in that of the king's especially, that they were not genuine; but when we find the rest of the *Greek* writers, and, which is still more extraordinary, the oriental historians, putting the same words into the same persons mouths, one is constrained to banish suspicion, and to admit, that one of the most excellent harangues that was perhaps ever composed, flowed from the mouth of a *Persian* prince, in a situation, when eloquence would have been least expected. But there seems to be something fatal in distressing majesty, and that the divine character of kings, like the essential qualities of gold, appear most clearly from the severest trials. The speech of *Hormisdas*, too long to be transcribed, but faithfully abridged in the text, proved a sort of prophecy; for after this sedition the reader will perceive the *Persians* were never quiet. *Chosroes* was indeed just such a king as his father foresaw he would be, and the people suffered from his ill conduct much greater evils, than they had ever felt under this unfortunate prince his father. Authors do not agree about the manner in which *Hormisdas* was put to death. Some say, that he earnestly desired it himself, rather than to have his eyes burnt out with a hot iron, which was thought necessary to prevent his escaping, as *Cavades* had done (67). These add, that his son, provoked by his reproaches, ordered him to be beat to death (68). Others affirm, that *Hormisdas* refusing food, *Chosroes* directed him to be slain (69). However it was, the people detested the cruelty of their new king, and he had the mortification to see himself abandoned by those who had lately saluted him with the loudest acclamations. It is probable, that his resentment for this continued with him as long as he reigned.

(66) *Theophylact. hist. lib.* iv. *c.* 3, 4. (67) *Theophan. chronogr. p.* 223. *Theophylact. ubi supra.*
(68) *Cedren. hist. comp. p.* 396. *Zonar. annal. lib.* xiv. *p.* 75. (69) *See an account of his death in the next period.*

a quartered therein to the sword, the rest presently joined him, and shewed a strong disposition to treat *Chosroes* as ill as they had done his father; to avoid which, he fled, as privately as possible, exceedingly dejected under his misfortune, and the more so, because he had scarce any friends to share it with him. His women, menial servants, and a few of his guards, about thirty persons in the whole, fled with him, they knew not where; sometimes he had thoughts of retiring among the *Scythians*, at others he hoped to hide himself in the mountains [y].

At length, committing himself and his affairs wholly to providence, he came as it were by accident to a frontier post in the *Roman* dominions, and that too far in the night. *Probus*, who commanded there for the emperor, received him, and all who b were with him, kindly and courteously, permitting the king to write immediately to the *Roman* general, who as readily consented to his sending an express with his letters to the emperor. In these he besought *Mauritius*, who then possessed the imperial dignity, to assist him against his rebellious subjects, preserving in the midst of a most pathetic supplication all the dignity of a king. While *Chosroes* was in this distress, *Varamus* entered the city of *Ctesiphon* in great splendor. *Bindoes* he seized and threw into prison, treating all such as had shewn any affection to the royal family with great severity; but towards the rest of the *Persians*, he affected the greatest humanity and a superabundant condescension. He did not fail, however, to issue his orders for apprehending *Chosroes*, if it was possible; and when he found that all his caution in this c respect was vain and fruitless, he turned his thoughts to the securing of the frontier garisons and the most considerable cities in *Persia*, in which he had better success. He likewise gave great feasts, and very bountifully bestowed that treasure he had so easily obtained; yet, in the midst of all this pomp and splendor, he saw with concern, that the nobility were greatly dissatisfied, and the people not to be relied on. He could not, however, either extinguish or contain the violent desire he had to be a king. On a religious festival therefore, when of course there was a grand assembly of the nobility at the palace, he took upon him to use the royal ornaments and furniture with all the state of a monarch, though he forbore the title with reluctance. The *Persian* nobility seeing clearly what he intended, and disdaining to become the subjects of one born their equal, they began to cabal together, in order to concert measures for emancipating themselves and their country, and for restoring the ancient lustre of the *Persian* empire. In their conferences upon this subject, it was unanimously agreed, that *Bindoes* was the most proper person to conduct an affair of this kind; and therefore they immediately delivered him out of prison, and acknowledged him for their chief. By his advice they came to a resolution to attack *Varamus* in the palace in the dead time of the night. This they performed with great courage; but *Varamus* and his attendants defending themselves gallantly, the engagement was very obstinate, and at last the nobility were vanquished, many of them being slain upon the spot, and the rest thrown to the elephants; only *Bindoes*, with a few who fought about his c person, escaped, and, marching towards *Media*, endeavoured to raise forces for *Chosroes* [z].

Flies into the Roman territories.

After this victory, *Varamus* thought fit to send embassadors to court the friendship of the *Roman* emperor *Mauritius*; but they were sent back without answer; the emperor having already made a treaty with *Chosroes*, and ordered the governors of his frontier provinces to furnish him with whatever might be necessary for his restoration. These timely supplies had a proper effect; for the *Persians*, seeing their king now in a condition to protect them, began almost every-where to acknowledge him, and to open their gates to receive his forces. Among the rest, *Nisibis* submitted to the king, and *Martyropolis* was recovered by the *Romans*, to whom likewise *Chosroes* himself delivered *Sittas* the architect, who had betrayed the place to his father *Hormisdas*, for which traiterous act he was now burnt alive. On the other hand, *Varamus* continued to raise forces, chusing rather to hazard all things, in order to make himself a prince, than to descend again to the condition of a private man. The christian writers suggest, that *Chosroes*, during his distress, seemed to abandon the religion of the magi; and not only worshipped God after the christian manner, but also vowed to dedicate a cross of pure gold in the church of a certain martyr, in case he proved victorious against his enemy. *Zadespras*, one of *Varamus*'s commanders, having attempted to

He enters Persia in conjunction with the Romans.

[y] Theophylact. lib. iv. c. 7. Theophan. chronogr. ubi supra. Evagr. lib. vi. Cedren. hist. comp. ubi supra. [z] Theophanes chronogr. p. 223. Evagr. hist. eccles. lib. vi. c. 17. Cedren. hist. comp. p. 397. Zonar. annal. lib. xiv. p. 77. Glyc. annal. p. 274.

to enter the quarters of one of the lords who had declared for *Choſroes*, was defeated and put to death, and his head, and the ſpoils of his army, ſent to the king. The ſame fate had *Anathonus* very ſhortly after, of which *Choſroes* adviſed the emperor his protector by *Sarames*, one of the principal lords of his party; by whom likewiſe he ſignified, that *Comentiolus* was very backward in aſſiſting him in the recovery of his dominions; whereupon the emperor ſent an order, forbidding that general to meddle any more in the king of *Perſia*'s affairs, appointing at the ſame time *Narſes* to have the command of the *Roman* auxiliaries, deſtined to the ſervice of the *Perſian* king[a].

Beats the rebels, and ſettles himſelf on the throne.

This was very grateful to *Choſroes*, who early the next ſpring, with his own forces, and thoſe lent him by the emperor, under the command of *Narſes*, marched into *Perſia* with an intent to decide the war at once. Moſt of the frontier places on his approach rendered to *Choſroes*, as did the great and ſtrong city *Dara*, formerly the chief bulwark of the *Romans* on this ſide. *Choſroes*, in teſtimony of his ſincere gratitude and cordial affection towards the emperor *Mauritius*, determined to deliver it into his hands. About the ſame time, the *Perſian* king received from his protector a tiara, richly ſet with jewels, golden houſhold utenſils of all ſorts, and a choſen guard to attend upon his perſon. When the emperor learned that *Dara* was given up to him, he was ſo well pleaſed with the conduct of *Choſroes*, that he honoured him with the title of his ſon. In the mean time the *Perſians*, in great multitudes, quitted the ſervice of *Varamus*, and went to ſerve under the banners of their prince, who now ſought to bring *Varamus* to a battle. Before this could be brought to paſs, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened, and among the reſt one, in which *Beyzacius*, a great officer in the army of *Varamus*, was taken priſoner; and, after his noſe and ears were cut off, brought to their king by the *Perſians*, by whoſe command he was ſoon after put to death. A ſhort ſpace after, *Seleucia* and moſt of the great cities near the river *Euphrates* ſubmitted to the king, and *Varamus* was forced to retire and to avoid fighting. His army conſiſted of about forty thouſand men, whereas the *Romans* and *Perſians* under the command of *Choſroes* were upwards of ſixty thouſand. The former, however, often attempted to fall upon the latter in the night, but were prevented through the vigilance of the *Roman* officers; ſometimes alſo they preſented themſelves in the field by day, ſo diſpoſed as if they intended immediately to give battle and, after haraſſing and fatiguing the confederates, withdrew at laſt into their camp. The *Roman* officers all this time had much ado to reſtrain the ardor of *Choſroes*, who was always for attacking the enemy, though on diſadvantagious terms. At laſt, however, an opportunity offered, and the *Roman* officers conſenting, he attacked the army of *Varamus*, defeated it, and took ſix thouſand priſoners, moſt of whom he ordered to be put to the ſword, or to be thrown to his elephants. The very tent of *Varamus* was taken with all his golden furniture, which the *Romans* preſented to *Choſroes*, who, on the other hand, attributed all his ſucceſs to them, and choſe a thouſand of them for his body guard, and in every other reſpect did all he could to teſtify his gratitude towards them. *Choſroes* likewiſe took this opportunity to ſend to the church of *Sergius* the martyr the golden croſs, ſet with jewels, which he had vowed, and with it one taken away by *Choſroes* the ſon of *Cavades*, together with a letter, which is ſtill extant in the hiſtory written by *Theophylact* (D). *Choſroes* alſo married a chriſtian woman,

[a] Zonar. annal. ubi ſupra. Theophylact. lib. v. c. 1. Evagr. hiſt. eccleſ. lib. vii. c. 7. Cedren. hiſt. comp. p. 397. Theophan. chronogr. p. 224.

(D) *Evagrius*, the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian, aſſures us, that *Choſroes* ſent back to *Gregory*, biſhop of *Antioch*, a croſs of gold inriched with precious ſtones, which had been taken out of the church of *Sergius* the martyr by his grandfather *Choſroes*, and that he alſo ſent therewith another croſs of gold with the following inſcription: "It fell out, that when I "*Choſroes*, king of kings, ſon of *Hormiſdas*, was "obliged by the criminal infidelity of the accurſed "*Varamus*, and certain troops of horſe who adhered "to him, to fly for ſafety to the *Romans*, and that "I ſent ſome troops of my cavalry to the city of "*Carcas*, under the command of a certain officer, "to traverſe the deſigns of the accurſed *Zadeſpras*, "who was come from *Niſibis* with an intent to de-"bauch the troops I had in that city from my "ſervice, I having heard that the moſt celebrated "martyr *Sergius* granted to every one, who ſought "his protection, whatſoever on their parts was de-"ſired, beſought him on the ſeventh day of *January*, "in the firſt year of my reign, to grant me victory "againſt *Zadeſpras*, promiſing, that in caſe my troops "either killed that rebel, or took him alive, that I "would give to his church a croſs of gold, inriched "with precious ſtones. On the ninth day of the "month of *February* the troops of horſe I had diſ-"patched againſt him returned, and preſented me "with the head of *Zadeſpras*. Having obtained my "petition, and being willing to give the moſt public "as well as ſincere, marks of gratitude and thank-"fulneſs, I have ſent to his church this croſs, which "I cauſed to be made on purpoſe, together with "one given by the emperor *Juſtinian*, and taken by "my grandfather *Choſroes* the ſon of *Cavades*, which "I found

a woman, whose name was *Sira*, and honoured her with the title of queen, notwithstanding the prohibition of the *Persian* laws, shewing on all occasions such favour to the christians, that many were of opinion he himself was that way inclined; though, in a few years after, he gave the strongest demonstrations, not only of his zealous attachment to the religion of his ancestors, but of his peculiar aversion to the faith of Christ [b].

Alters his conduct intirely.

From the moment he was settled on his throne, he laid aside the foreign customs he had hitherto made use of to ingratiate himself with the *Romans*, and put on the state and behaviour of a *Persian* prince, as if he had never experienced what adversity was. The *Roman* general *Narses* intimated to him, before he left his dominions, the

b vast obligations he was under to the emperor *Maurice* and to the *Roman* people, whose power that general highly magnified, and spoke of them as lords of the universe. *Chosroes* modestly answered, that he was very sensible of the kindness shewed him by the emperor; but as to the *Roman* power, he predicted so exactly its declension and destruction, that the *Greek* writers will needs have it *Chosroes* was a great astrologer, and drew his knowledge of future events from the skill he had in that science. As to his own subjects, *Chosroes* treated them with great rigour, or, as others phrase it, with unreasonable severity; he prosecuted without mercy all such as had any share either in the favour, or in the government, while *Varamus* held the supreme power. By this method he quite extinguished that faction, and, by restoring

c the ancient *Persian* constitution, he aggrandized himself so as to become terrible to his neighbours; whence it came to pass, that the barbarous prince, with whom *Varamus* had sheltered himself, and who had at first thoughts of lending him troops to invade *Persia*, began to grow so apprehensive of the vengeance of *Chosroes*, that he ordered his competitor to be poisoned [c].

Is with difficulty hindered from making war on the Romans.

When the *Persian* monarch found all things quiet at home, and himself at leisure to lay hold of any advantages that might offer, he began to threaten the *Roman* provinces on account of the excursions made by the *Saracens* into his dominions, by the encouragement, as he pretended of the *Roman* generals, who commanded on the frontiers. When the emperor *Maurice*, whose affairs were already in disorder, was informed of this, he sent embassadors to *Chosroes* to set this matter in a true light, and to prevent, if possible, a war on this side, which he knew, as things were circumstanced, could not but be fatal to the empire. On the arrival of the *Roman* embassadors, *Chosroes* treated them but indifferently, suffering them to remain a long time at court without an audience. At last, he who was at the head of the embassy, took an opportunity of speaking to the king, and, after a short recapitulation of the favours done him by the *Romans*, he proceeded to shew the weakness of the grounds *Chosroes* pretended to have for making war, and the injustice of such a proceeding towards his benefactor; which free representation so affected *Chosroes*, that, far from taking it amiss, he told the embassador, whatever causes he might have for the measures he

t meant to take, he would for the present lay aside his resentment for his sake; and thus for this time war was prevented [d].

Invades the Roman *territories.*

It was not long, however, before a fresh opportunity offered for the gratifying of the ambition of the *Persian*. This was the murder of *Maurice* the emperor by *Phocas*, an impiety which filled the *Roman* empire with blood-shed and confusion, and gave at the same time *Chosroes* a fair opportunity of taking arms, under colour of revenging the death of his protector and father; for so he was wont to call the emperor *Maurice*. In vain did *Phocas*, by his embassador *Bilius*, endeavour to appease him with large presents and larger promises; he regarded neither; but having sent a rude answer

[b] Theophylact. lib. v. c. 5. Theophan. chronogr. p. 225. Evagr. hist. eccles. lib. vi. c. 21. Zonar. annal. ubi supra. Cedren. hist. comp. 404. Glycas. annal. ubi supra. [c] Zonar. annal. t. xiv. p. 80. Theophylact. lib. v. c. 7. Theophan. chronogr. p. 243. Evagr. hist. eccles. lib. vi. c. 23. Cedren. hist. comp. ubi supra. [d] Theophylact. lib. viii. c. 1. Glyc. annal. p. 276. Theophan. chronogr. p. 244. Cedren. hist. comp. ubi supra. Zonar. annal. ubi supra.

"I found deposited among my treasure" (70). There is another pompous inscription in the history cited below; but this is sufficient to shew the hypocrisy of *Chosroes*, who afterwards declared himself the open enemy of Christ and of christians, not only by persecuting them in his own dominions, but by endeavouring to oblige the *Greeks* to quit that religion, the principles of which induced them to set him upon the throne of his fathers. We shall hereafter see, that he had reason to say with the emperor *Julian*, *Vicisti ô Galilæi!*

(70) *Evagr. hist. eccles. lib.* vi. *c.* 21.

anſwer to *Phocas*'s letters by a meſſenger of his own, threw the embaſſador into priſon, making all the preparations poſſible for entering ſpeedily the *Roman* frontiers. At firſt he gave out, that he had no other view than revenging the murder of *Maurice*, and reſtoring the empire to his family; but this ſoon appeared to be only a pretence, ſince the king refuſed to ſend aſſiſtance to *Narſes*, who at this time had taken arms againſt *Phocas*. The true intent with which *Choſroes* made war was, the enlarging of his own dominions, while the *Romans* were divided and in no condition to reſiſt him. In his firſt campaign he met with ſome trouble, the *Roman* troops endeavouring to make the beſt defence they could; but, their general being ſlain and themſelves indifferently ſupplied, he at length triumphed over them, and laid all the frontiers under contribution. In the ſeventeenth year of his reign, he continued the war, and reduced ſeveral fortreſſes. The next year, he recovered the ſtrong city of *Dara*, plundered all *Meſopotamia* and *Syria*, and carried off ſuch immenſe riches, that no computation could be made of them. In his nineteenth year, he paſſed the *Euphrates*, ravaged *Syria*, *Paleſtine*, and part of *Phœnicia*, waſting all places, where-ever he came, with fire and ſword. The year following, his general *Cardaregas* waſted *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, defeated the *Roman* army with a great ſlaughter, and then, meeting no oppoſition, deſtroyed *Galatia*, *Paphlagonia*, and all the country as far as *Chalcedon*, burning cities, and putting people to death without any reſpect to ſex or age [e].

Makes a rapid conqueſt of its principal provinces.

IN the two and twentieth year of his reign, *Choſroes* took *Apamea* and *Edeſſa*, and blocked up *Antioch*. This induced the *Romans* to hazard a battle, though they were much inferior in ſtrength; wherein they were ſo totally defeated, that it is ſaid the *Perſians* ſcarce left any to mourn the death of their companions. The year following he took *Cæſarea*, and carried away myriads of people into captivity. *Syria* had in the next campaign the ſame fate that *Cappadocia* felt in this. In his twenty-fifth year, *Choſroes* made himſelf maſter of *Damaſcus*, to which city the emperor *Heraclius* ſent embaſſadors, beſeeching him to have mercy upon his ſubjects, and ſupplicating a peace on any terms he would impoſe; but *Choſroes* would not afford his embaſſador ſo much as an anſwer. The year following, he conquered *Judæa*, took and plundered the city of *Jeruſalem*, carried away the croſs on which Chriſt ſuffered, and the patriarch *Zacharias*, into *Perſia*. In this campaign he ſold ninety thouſand chriſtians for ſlaves to the *Jews* in his dominions, who, out of their wonted humanity, cut every one of their throats. Theſe vaſt conqueſts ſerved only to increaſe the ambition of the *Perſian*, and to ſwell his imagination with mighty ideas of his own power; inſomuch, that, in the twenty-ſeventh year of his reign, he made an expedition into *Egypt*, and having divided his forces, with one part of his army he took *Alexandria*, and ſubdued all the country towards *Libya*, while the other was employed in the reduction of the *Upper Egypt*; wherein he puſhed his conqueſts to the very frontiers of *Ethiopia*; adding thus the empire of *Africa* to that of *Aſia*, executing in the ſpace of a few years what all his anceſtors from *Artaxerxes* had been ſo long endeavouring at in vain. The year following, he once more turned his forces againſt the *Conſtantinopolitan* empire, and that with ſuch ſucceſs, that he reduced the city of *Chalcedon*, which he had long blocked up. The remaining part of that year, and all the next, was employed in thoroughly ſubduing and regulating in all reſpects the government of the conquered provinces. As for the emperor *Heraclius*, incapable of reſiſting, and at the ſame time extremely afflicted at the ſight of the horrible cruelties every-where practiſed by the *Perſians*, he reſolved once more to make an effort towards obtaining peace. With this view he ſent deputies to *Choſroes*, with inſtructions to lay before him the miſerable condition of *Aſia*, the deplorable conſequences of continuing the war any longer, and the earneſt deſire that himſelf had to purchaſe quiet upon any terms. To all this *Choſroes* made a very ſhort and plain anſwer; that he would never ſpare the ſubjects of *Heraclius*, or grant him peace, till he and they abjured their crucified God, and embraced the religion of the *Perſians* [f].

Forces the emperor Heraclius to take up arms.

IN the thirty-firſt year of his reign, *Choſroes* beſieged and reduced the city of *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, and prepared againſt the next year to carry his conqueſts farther. Indeed, there was no probability that any check could be put to them, the emperor being ſo embaraſſed in *Europe* by other barbarous enemies, that he was only able to lament, without having it at all in his power to remedy, the miſchiefs ſuffered by his ſubjects

[e] CEDREN. hiſt. comp. p. 410. ZONAR. annal. ubi ſupra. THEOPHYLACT. lib. viii. c. 3. GLYC. annal. ubi ſupra. THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 245.

[f] GLYC. annal. ubi ſupra. THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 246. ZONAR. annal. lib. xiv. p. 84. CEDREN. hiſt. comp. p. 413. GREGOR. ABUL PHAR. hiſt. dynaſt. p. 157.

a jects in *Asia*. Yet when things were come to this extremity, and nothing could be more apparent, than that *Chosroes* intended the utter destruction of his monarchy, *Heraclius* determined to put all to the hazard, and, having granted his enemies in *Europe* what terms they thought fit, began to make the necessary dispositions for turning the whole of his force, such as it was, upon the *Persians*. This happened in the thirty-second year of the reign of *Chosroes*, who, far from being displeased, rejoiced at this news, believing that it would afford him the opportunity he had so long sought of conquering all the *Roman* dominions, without appearing to make war on an unarmed and defenceless people. After *Easter*, in the succeeding year, the emperor *Heraclius* marched with all his forces towards the frontiers of his empire. *Sarbanazas* at that b time commanded the *Persian* forces, and lay incamped in *Armenia*, where he was every day committing new outrages, having nothing else in view but the amassing money, and plundering the helpless inhabitants of what little they had left. On the approach of the *Roman* army the *Persian* general sent out spies to discover its strength; and on their report that it was very numerous, and that the emperor *Heraclius* had inflamed his men with a sort of religious enthusiasm, he thought it expedient to recal his parties, and to intrench his forces on the summit of a hill, where they could not be attacked, but at a great disadvantage. This he did, supposing that the emperor could not long keep the field, especially in that season. But in this he was mistaken, as he was afterwards in his notion of breaking through the *Roman* army, which he attempted in the c night, but without success. At last, weary of being besieged, he determined at all events to fight. This resolution once taken, he divided his army into three bodies, and attacked the *Roman* camp in as many different places. *Heraclius*, who had previous intelligence of what the *Persian* general intended, suffered the *Persians* to prevail in every one of their attempts. By this means he effectually divided them, and then falling upon the rear of each corps, cut the far greatest part of them to pieces. This victory was so far from making *Heraclius* elate, that it served only to encourage him to make new propositions of peace and friendship to the *Persians*, which were received, as all the former were, that is, with the utmost contempt and indignation [g].

Chosroes, to repair the mistakes of his former general, appointed *Sais*, a noble *Persian*, to command in chief a more numerous army, than that which had been defeated the last spring; and to make all things secure, when the season for action drew on, *Sarbanazas* was sent again to the army with a considerable reinforcement; nay, the king himself went thither soon after in person. However, *Heraclius* did not fail pressing as hard upon this army, as he did upon that which he had defeated in *Armenia*; and the *Persians*, wearied with long service and corrupted through their neglect of discipline, gave such evident tokens of timidity, when the enemy drew near and had skirmished against them with some success, that *Chosroes* thought it high time to provide for the safety of his person; which he did by leaving the army, and thereby increased the general consternation so much, that the *Persians* were quickly after totally defeated (E). It is said, that no less than fifty thousand persons were taken

Loses all his former conquests.

[g] Zonar. annal. ubi supra. Cedren. hist. comp. p. 414. Theophan. chronogr. p. 253. Glyc. annal. ubi supra. Gregor. Abul-Phar. hist. dynast. p. 158.

(E) There cannot at first sight be any thing more surprising, than this sudden extinction of the *Persian* power in less than twenty years, after it had been carried to a greater height by *Chosroes* the second, than it had ever attained since the demise of *Alexander the Great*. A little attention, however, to the facts preceding this destruction of the *Persian* empire, will lead us to a satisfactory account of its causes. From the death of *Chosroes the Great* the minds of the people had never been thoroughly settled. At the very beginning of the reign of *Hormidas*, they were prejudiced against his government by the strange measures he took, and the infamous company of diviners, sorcerers, and necromancers, that he kept about him. During the time that *Varamus* was at the head of affairs, who, by the way, is by some authors reckoned one of the kings of *Persia*, things went still in a worse channel. His title to the crown was very indifferent; and therefore, to support it, he first lavished immense sums among the nobles; but finding this method unsuccessful, he had recourse to its contrary; that is to say, he oppressed the nobility, and turned the streams of his bounty on the lowest sort of people. This answered his purpose better; but it made the condition of the *Persians* much worse, by spreading the poison of corruption through the mass of the people. The severity of *Chosroes*, or rather his cruelty, kept up a constant spirit of disaffection, which all his numerous conquests could not allay; though these served to waste his veteran troops, and to exhaust *Persia* of able men, to such a degree, that it was with great difficulty, and not without having recourse to the harshest methods, that he set armies on foot, sufficient to struggle with the *Romans*, as he did; and yet these struggles put the last hand to the exhausting of *Persia*, and left it in a deplorable condition, when *Siroes* came to the crown. If that prince had lived, he would, in all probability, have restored the lustre of the *Persia* diadem. As it was, he only procured

taken prisoners by *Heraclius*, who, when he found it impracticable to maintain them, a
first distributed amongst them all that could be possibly spared them, and then gave them their liberties, whereby he gained great reputation. *Chosroes* now found it necessary to exert his utmost strength, and having in the winter gathered as great a number of forces as he possibly could, he sent them under the command of *Sarabaras* and *Perozites*, two of his best general officers, into *Albania*. He likewise took care to recruit his other army in *Armenia*, and when he understood that the emperor *Heraclius* was determined to penetrate into the *Persian* dominions, he sent orders to his forces in *Armenia* to advance behind the *Romans*, as they pressed upon the grand army in *Albania*. This scheme, as it was well contrived, so it was also faithfully and exactly executed; insomuch, that the emperor found himself in the deepest distress, and in b
all probability would have perished with all his army, if the *Persian* generals had not been jealous of each other, which tempted them to engage the *Romans* separately; an act of rashness so apparent, that it revived the drooping courage of *Heraclius*'s soldiers, and was the chief cause of gaining such a victory, as left not a *Persian* officer of distinction at liberty; so that *Heraclius* was forced to release one of his prisoners to carry the news of the defeat. After this the inhabitants of *Albania* rose upon the *Persians*, so that they were obliged totally to abandon *Albania*, where the *Romans* wintered [h].

Makes new efforts to no purpose.

THE two succeeding years the war was carried on in the same way, and with the same success; that it is to say, *Chosroes* made prodigious efforts, which yet were altogether ineffectual, or rather served to increase the power and reputation of *Heraclius*, who c
was alike successful in pitched battles and in long and painful expeditions. For his soldiers, flushed with conquests, and fully persuaded that victory attended them on account of the justice of their cause and the strictness of their discipline, made no scruple of undertaking whatever the emperor commanded. In this manner he penetrated into *Assyria*, passed the rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, after routing several times the *Persian* armies, which endeavoured to obstruct his passage. In the mean time, *Chosroes* abated nothing either of his cruelty, or of his haughtiness. The christian churches he plundered throughout his dominions, and compelled all such of his subjects as had embraced the faith to profess themselves *Nestorians*. He exhausted likewise all his provinces, in order to form new armies to oppose *Heraclius*, who defeated them as soon as he met them in the field, proceeding so rapidly in his conquests, that *Chosroes* saw himself obliged to abandon two of his palaces, burning the rich furniture he could not carry away, and with his wives and concubines to fly first to *Ctesiphon*, and then to *Seleucia*. There he received intelligence, that his general *Sarbaras* corresponded with the *Romans*; which, though a calumny, he easily gave into, and, in consequence thereof, dispatched orders to his collegue then before *Chalcedon* to put him to death, and to march his army back into *Persia*. The courier, who carried this order, being taken by the emperor's party, they opened his letters, and, having read them, sent them to the general, who was intended to be cut off. He, by interpolating these orders, signified the pleasure of *Chosroes*, that four hundred officers of distinction should be put to death with him, and then caused them to be delivered to his collegue. On reading these dispatches, the whole army was in a tumult, and great numbers began openly to cry out, that *Chosroes* was unworthy to reign. Among these, *Gundabunas*, a principal officer, made the greatest figure; who, to secure himself from the resentment of so blood-thirsty a prince, retired with a considerable body of men to the camp of the emperor, where he remained in safety [i].

Attempts to alter the succession, and is deposed.

AGE, fatigue, and sorrow, having by this time much weakened *Chosroes*, he began to think of settling the succession; but, as he had ever acted on very odd principles, so now, out of some pique to his eldest son *Siroes*, he determined to transfer the crown to *Merdasas*, the youngest of his sons. This scheme of his could not be long kept a f
secret, and therefore, as soon as it reached the ears of *Siroes*, he immediately projected to hinder it from being carried into execution. With this view he entered into a correspondence with *Gundabunas*, who, as was observed, remained in the emperor's camp

[h] THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 263. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. histor. dynast. viii. p. 158. CEDREN. ZONAR. &c. [i] THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 264. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. ubi supra. ZONAR. &c.

procured recruits, by the exchange of prisoners, sufficient to keep up such an army, as enabled his general to destroy his family, and to seal the ruin of his empire. The last monarch had visibly no force capable of opposing the mighty armies of the *Saracens*; therefore we must look on the battles he fought as the last efforts of a languishing people. From whence it follows, that though they might be brisk and vigorous, yet they could not be either lasting or effectual.

camp with a body of *Persian* troops. The issue of this negotiation was, that applia cation was made to the emperor *Heraclius* to increase the forces under the command of *Gundabunas*, by setting at liberty the *Persian* prisoners, on a promise, that *Siroes* would instantly put himself at the head of that army, and march against his father. This proposition was no sooner made than accepted; and, as all the parties concerned therein were alike interested in its speedy execution, all things were quickly ready, and *Siroes* in a condition to perform his part of the agreement, which he did very effectually. As for *Chosroes*, his tyranny had rendered him so hateful, that, as he wanted an army to support him, he was not only disappointed in its fidelity, but also found himself so destitute of friends, that to escape appeared as impracticable as to b resist. In a word, he was seized by his own soldiers, imprisoned, and deposed by his own son, when he had reigned thirty-nine years. We shall quickly see, that these were but the beginnings of his misfortunes [k].

Siroes, having assumed the regal dignity, during the life-time of his father, and while he was a prisoner, as his father had done in prejudice to his father *Hormisdas*, began instantly to endeavour the rectifying of those miscarriages, which had brought the flourishing kingdom of *Persia* into so miserable a condition. In the first place, he ordered his father should have his legs, arms, and neck, loaded with chains, and that he should be exposed in the dungeon, where he lay to all the scoffs and insults of an incensed unthinking populace. These, forgetting the indelible majesty of c kings, upbraided him with his insatiable avarice, reproached him with his present abject condition, telling him, that, as he had acted like the common enemy of mankind, and the peculiar curse of the *Persian* people, he now justly tasted that bitter cup, of which he had made whole nations drink, and was deservedly degraded from a throne to a dungeon, who, while he sat on his throne, had filled all the dungeons in his dominions. Five days he languished in this miserable way; having only bread and water allowed him for a subsistance; then his beloved son *Merdasas*, whom he would have raised to the throne in prejudice to *Siroes*, was put to death before his face, together with his other sons. After all this and sustaining a fresh load of indignities, *Siroes* gave orders that he should be shot with arrows, and left to expire of his d wounds [l]. Of all these severities, as well as of the cruel death of his father, *Siroes* advised the emperor *Heraclius* by letter, desiring his friendship, and that the league between their empires might be perpetual. As a proof of his sincerity in all his promises, he set the patriarch of *Jerusalem*, *Zacharias*, at liberty, and sent him, together with the holy cross, back into *Palestine*, well attended and with rich presents. On the other hand, *Heraclius* received the *Persian* embassadors with great kindness, and readily embraced the peace offered him by their master. The next year, in consequence of this league, all the *Persians*, who were prisoners in any part of the *Roman* dominions, were set at liberty; and notwithstanding they were many thousands in number, yet in their return to their own country, no ill accident happened; so soon e were those nations reconciled, who were inveterate enemies so long. But as there is not any thing so precarious as human happiness, while on the one hand the *Romans*, and on the other the *Persians*, promised themselves nothing but peace, plenty, and mutual good offices, from the union which subsisted between their princes; all their hopes were blasted by the death of *Siroes*, when he had reigned little more than a year, and had scarce effaced, by his mildness towards his subjects, the terror arising from his unnatural treatment of his father [m].

Siroes, Year of Christ 626.

Ardeser the son of *Siroes*, according to the *Greek* writers, succeeded his father. They might as well have called him *Artaxerxes*, since the name they give him is only a corruption of that *Persian* appellation, which the ancient *Greeks*, to accommodate it to their own way of speaking, changed into *Artaxerxes*. We may be indulged this criticism on names, where we have little to say of things. This hapless prince was but seven years old when he was set upon a throne, where he remained but seven months, before he was barbarously murdered by the command of *Sarbarazas*, who had commanded the armies of *Chosroes* his grandfather. This ambitious man had still the chief command of the troops, when *Siroes* died. He thereupon pretended a right of being consulted, before the son of his master was exalted to the throne of his ancestors; and on this

Ardeser or Arhesyr Year of Christ 627.

[k] Theophan. chronogr. p. 272. Gregor. Abul-Phar. ubi supra. Cedren. Glyc. &c. [l] Theophanes chronogr. ubi supra. Gregor. Abul-Phar. ubi supra. Cedren. Zonar. &c. [m] Theophan. chronogr. p. 273. Gregor. Abul-phar. ubi supra. Glyc. &c.

this slight foundation rebelled against the child, slew him, and seated himself in his place [n].

Sarbarazas *and* Bornarim. *Year of Christ* 628.

Sarbarazas, or, as some authors call him, *Sarbaras*, having seized the diadem stained with blood, found himself immediately involved in new crimes to keep it on his head. An opposite faction had set up *Bornarim*, a prince of the blood-royal, who for six or seven months had the shadow of royalty, and then lost it, together with his life, leaving the throne once more empty to this *Sarbarazas*. He held it now about six months, but always in fear, the friends of the royal family, and especially a sister of the deceased *Artaxerxes*, endeavouring, all that in their power lay, to disturb his reign. These contrivances broke at last out into several insurrections, till the flame of civil war catched almost every province in the kingdom, and all *Persia* began to swim with the blood of its inhabitants. This opened the eyes of the nobility, who now clearly saw that peace could never be restored whilst this usurper lived. They therefore made choice of the nephew of *Siroes*, the son of the only one of his brothers, who escaped his rage, when he put his father to death; and having once determined to raise this young prince to the throne, they opened him a passage to it by the death of *Sarbarazas*, the implacable enemy of his family [o].

Isdigertes. *Year of Christ* 630.

Hormisdas, or, as most writers call him, *Isdigertes*, was by this means raised to the regal dignity, as well by the free election of the people, as in consequence of his right of descent. He did not, however, enjoy the kingdom long, I may say, scarce at all, in quiet; for by the same time that the domestic stirs of the late factions in *Persia* were thoroughly quelled, he found a new and most formidable enemy ready to over-run his country. These were the *Saracens* under the conduct of the successors of *Mohammed*. We shall elsewhere treat expressly of these people, their religion, government, and exploits. At present, we shall only remark on such circumstances of their affairs, as have a connection with their conquest of *Persia*, concerning which we have very different accounts from the several *Greek* writers, who have mentioned it. Some report, that the emperor *Heraclius* had a great body of *Saracens* in his army, when he invaded the *Persian* dominions; and that after the peace was made, they, on their return home, inflamed their countrymen with a desire of making themselves masters of so pleasant a country, as this of *Persia* was represented to be. Others affirm, that *Mohammed* himself, when he was thoroughly settled in his principality, made an irruption into *Persia* in the days of *Chosroes*; but that this monarch, with the assistance of the *Turks*, totally defeated the *Saracen* army, after a very long and very obstinate engagement, which so far broke their spirits, that they did not renew the war till now. But the general opinion is, that the *Saracens* did not invade *Persia* till after the reduction of *Jerusalem*, and that then the war lasted some time, and with variety of success. Some authors represent *Hormisdas*, or *Isdigertes*, as an effeminate and indolent prince, while others again assert, that he defended his country with the utmost intrepidity, till after various defeats the spirits of the *Persians* were intirely broken; nay, some say, that he was himself killed in the field. However, there appears to be no just cause for censuring either the courage or conduct of this prince, unless it was criminal in him to be unfortunate. He was the last of the line of *Artaxerxes*, who sat upon the *Persian* throne; and with him fell that empire, which had subsisted with so much glory for upwards of four hundred years [p] (F).

The

[n] Theophan. chronogr. ubi supra. Zonar. Cedren. Glyc. &c. [o] Theophan. chronogr. p. 275. Gregor. Abul-Phar. ubi supra. [p] Theophan. chronogr. p. 278. Cedren. Zonar. &c.

(F) As, at the opening of this period, we endeavoured in a note to point out the advantages the reader would receive from the method pursued therein, so we judged it necessary to close it, by briefly exhibiting a view of those deficiencies, which have made the following section, not only expedient, but necessary. In the first place, as we have confined ourselves therein to the materials furnished us by the *Greek* authors, the reader must necessarily observe many wide chasms in the narration, occasioned either by the ignorance or carelessness of the *Greek* historians, as to such affairs of their neighbours, as did not immediately concern themselves. Secondly, the judicious perusor must have observed very imperfect accounts of very important transactions, and not a few, which carry in themselves the strongest appearances of falsehood. These defects flow from the same cause, and there was a necessity of suffering this part of the history to appear in this dress, that the reader might know in what light the *Greek* writers set these transactions. Thirdly, the proper names, titles of honour, wars, and conquests of the *Persians*, are so disfigured by the mistakes of the authors, from whom we were obliged to take our accounts, that, if we had published them alone, they must have tended, rather to the propagating of error, than of knowledge; since it is better to know nothing, than to apprehend we know what we know not. All these deficiencies, misrepresentations, and mistakes, will be supplied and corrected in the following history; which will effectually demonstrate the great use of studying the oriental writers, hitherto much neglected, and, which is stranger, still despised amongst us.

THE total subversion of so great a monarchy in so short a space must appear somewhat wonderful in our eyes, who are accustomed to see provinces defended for a much longer time, than was taken up by the *Saracens* in the conquest of *Persia*; but we ought to consider, that the successors of *Mohammed* led vast armies of a needy starving people, who fought for new habitations, and who easily settled themselves in the countries they subdued. In this empire of *Persia* especially, they had no sooner defeated *Isdigertes*, than they began immediately to canton out his dominions, and to make as exact a survey of them, as *the Conqueror* did of our country, when he framed what we call the doom's day book; such a record, and for the same purposes, being taken here. Besides, the *Persian* prince, as the best authors assure us, though he laid aside
b the ensigns of majesty, after the great defeat he had received, yet he sheltered himself in one of the distant provinces of his empire, and died there about the year 640 or 642. As to the condition of the native *Persians* since, we need not wonder that it hath been always very abject and depressed, since nothing can be more visible, than that it hath been the chief maxim among all *Mohammedan* conquerors, without exception, to break the spirits, and exhaust the substance of the natives of all the countries which fall under their dominion. This they were particularly led to do in *Persia*, on account of the difference in religion between them and the natives. At this time the *Saracens* were not only rude and barbarous, but a furious and enthusiastic people; they were therefore incapable of distinguishing the true doctrines of the magian sect,
c or of reclaiming, by gentle means, those whom they conceived to be idolaters. They therefore persecuted the natives through a misguided zeal, and, having stamped on them opprobrious names, transmitted to their posterity the same brutal disposition which they had exercised themselves, as will be shewn in the following, and in several other sections.

SECT. II.

The history of the Persians, *from their recovering the empire to their being subdued by the* Arabs.

According to the oriental historians.

a THE wide difference there is between the histories of eastern nations, as written by *European* authors and by their own, obliged us originally to distinguish the history of *Persia* into two sections; the first, according to the former; the second, consonant to the memoirs furnished us by the latter. When we last treated of this subject from the oriental authors, we ended with the conquest of the *Persian* dominions by *Escander*, or *Alexander the Great* [a]. In order therefore to connect this period with that, it is necessary, previous to our account of the kings, who succeeded *Ardshir-Babegan* or *Artaxares*, to speak of those who reigned in the intermediate space, between the death of *Alexander* and the accession of the before-mentioned *Artaxares*. The former part of our history contained the succession of the *Persian* kings of the two first dynasties, and the third dynasty is called by the oriental writers *Molouk-al-Thaouaif*, i. e. *The kings of the nations*. In order to have a just idea of the sense and meaning of this term, we must observe, that the word *Molouk* signifies *kings*, and that all the oriental historians assure us, there were in the courts of the ancient kings of *Persia* *Aulak-Molouk-Fars*, i. e. *Children of the Persian kings*, or *princes of the blood*, who were honoured with the chief governments, and, when they resided in them, lived like princes. When therefore the captains of *Alexander the Great* cantoned all his conquests among themselves, and set themselves up for so many independent princes, the eastern writers gave to this new race of monarchs the general title of *Molouk al Thaouaif*, or *kings of the nations* [b]. Some, however, of the *Persian* writers incline rather to call this the dynasty of the *vizers*, and it must be allowed, that it is by far the darkest and least intelligible period of the *Persian* history, according to the orientals. This, however,

[a] See the history of the *Persians*, according to the oriental writers, in the *Universal History*, Vol. II.
[b] MIRKHOND. sect. xxii. D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orient. tit. MOLOUK AL THAOUAIF. SCHIKARD. tarich. p. 102.

ever, is no reaſon, that, like ſome modern hiſtorians, we ſhould hurry over it, and leave it juſt as dark as we found it. Had the great men of the laſt century been of this lazy diſpoſition, all ancient, nay, and all modern, hiſtory, had been a chaos. But to proceed; ſome of the writers of the *Perſian* hiſtory ſplit this dynaſty into two, and conſequently call them the third and fourth dynaſties of the *Perſian* kings: the firſt they diſtinguiſh by the name of *Aſchkaniens*: the latter, by that of *Aſchganides*[c]. To the firſt they allow twelve kings, who, according to them, reigned altogether one hundred and ſixty-five years. Of the ſecond race, they ſay, there were eight kings, and that they reigned altogether one hundred and fifty years. The truth ſeems to be, that theſe two dynaſties were invented to fill up the time between the death of *Alexander* and the commencement of the fifth dynaſty. Our opinion therefore is, that the *Aſchkaniens* and *Aſchganides* are in fact one and the ſame ſucceſſion, and no other than that called by the *Latin* writers *Arſacidæ*; *Aſchek*, whom the eaſtern writers make the firſt monarch of this houſe, being, as we believe, no other than *Arſaces* the firſt of the *Parthian* kings. But as the proof of this propoſition, and the ſhorteſt detail poſſible of the princes of this family, would exceedingly embarraſs the thread of our narration, the reader will find what we have farther to ſay on this point in a note. In the mean time, we will paſs on to the proper ſubject of this ſection: The hiſtory of the fourth dynaſty of the *Perſian* kings, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Saſſaniens* (A).

[c] D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orient. tit. ASCHKANIENS.

(A) The deſign of this note is to give a ſhort account of the *Parthian* kingdom from the oriental hiſtorians. Previous to this, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that though it is an error of a very old date, and an error univerſally embraced by all the *Latin* and *Greek* writers, yet it is ſtill an error, to ſuppoſe that there was any real diſtinction between the *Parthians* and the *Perſians*. Therefore, notwithſtanding the titles of the three laſt ſections, in which, for the ſake of conforming to the received hiſtory of theſe times, we have admitted this diſtinction, yet here we give our readers notice, that it is groundleſs in itſelf, and took birth from the ignorance of the weſtern writers, who would make diſtinct kingdoms of two provinces in the ſame kingdom.

Khondemir, the *Perſian* hiſtorian, very wiſely makes but one dynaſty of the kings who ſucceeded after *Alexander* to the ſucceſſion of *Artaxarts*. The firſt of theſe was *Aſchek*, or rather *Arſchak*, who is the ſame with *Arſaces*. He is ſaid to have been deſcended from *Darius* the laſt king of *Perſia*, and to have taken thence his claim to the throne. He revolted therefore from *Antiochus*, whom the oriental writers call *Anthakaſh*, or rather from the *Seleucidæ* his ſucceſſors, about the year 248 before Chriſt, in the third year of the hundred and thirty-ſecond olympiad, and from the building of *Rome* the five hundred and third.

To him ſucceeded *Aſchek* the ſecond, whom the *Greeks* alſo called *Arſaces*; but how long he reigned, we find not.

Schabour ſucceeded his father *Aſchek*, and was the firſt of that name who governed *Perſia*. He was ſurnamed *Padiſchahi Buzurk*, that is, *The Great King*, becauſe he recovered the treaſures of the ancient *Perſian* monarchs from the *Greeks*, and brought them back to the royal palaces at *Suſa* and *Perſepolis*. He reigned fifteen years, and was ſucceeded by his grandſon

Baharam I. This word is properly the name of the planet we call *Mars*. The monarch of whom we ſpeak ruled eleven years, and then left the throne to be filled by

Balas. He governed eleven years likewiſe, and was ſucceeded by

Firouz, which, in the *Perſian* language, ſignifies, *good luck*, or *victory*. He was a very gallant prince, and we meet with various particulars relating to his reign in the eaſtern hiſtories. Of theſe the moſt remarkable is, his diſcovering, as he was hunting, a cave, wherein *Feridoun*, one of the ancient *Perſian* monarchs, had buried a great quantity of gold and ſilver, which *Feroüz* took from thence, and made uſe of in paying his ſoldiers. He held the kingdom nineteen years, and then left it to his brother

Narſi or *Narſes*, a warlike prince, who made very conſiderable conqueſts on the ſide of *Tartary*. He held the ſceptre fourteen years, and then tranſmitted it to his nephew

Ferouz II. who was the ſon of *Ferouz* I. who, after governing ſeventeen years, incurred ſome way or other the diſpleaſure of his ſubjects, and loſt his life by a conſpiracy. To him ſucceeded his ſon

Balas II. Of whom we find nothing remarkable; only we are told, that he reigned twelve years. He had for his ſucceſſor

Ardevan, whom the *Latins* and *Greeks* call *Artabanus*. Some writers, as we apprehend, give this prince the title of *Khoſrou*, which, amongſt the *Perſian* princes, was both a proper name and a ſurname; whence hath ſprung great confuſion. This prince governed thirteen years, and by ſuch of the oriental hiſtorians as divide the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* into two dynaſties, he is held to be the laſt of the firſt. He was ſucceeded by

Aſchek III. but how long he governed is uncertain. Some authors report, that he was deſcended from the ancient kings of the ſecond dynaſty. There are others, however, who affirm, that he was of the ſame family with his predeceſſors, who, inſtead of *Parthians*, were *Armenians* by birth, and only made choice of *Parthia* for the ſeat of their empire, becauſe it was in the heart of their dominions. After him reigned

Choſroes II. his ſon, who governed the empire for twelve years in peace. The eaſtern writers place the birth of our Saviour under his reign. He was ſucceeded by

Balas III. his ſon, or his grandſon, the time of whoſe reign is uncertain; but he left his throne to his ſon

Gudarez, who performed nothing of note, but after reigning twenty-one years, left the throne vacant to his ſon *Narſi* or *Narſes* the ſecond.

This *Narſes* II. was a very warlike prince, and made great conqueſts in *Khoraſſan*, governed with great reputation twenty years, and then left the crown to

Narſes III. who reigned ten years, and extended his father's conqueſts. He was ſucceeded by

a A TABLE *of the fourth dynasty of the* Persian *kings called* Sassaniens *or* Khosronians, *according to the* Persian *historian* Khondemir.

I. *Ardeschir Ben Babek* or *Babegan*, who reigned fourteen years after the defeat of *Ardevan*, the last king of the third dynasty.
II. *Schabour Ben Ardeschir*, who reigned thirty-one years.
III. *Hormouz Ben Schabour*, who also reigned thirty-one years.
IV. *Babaram Ben Hormouz*, who reigned three years and three months.
V. *Babarem Ben Babaram*, who reigned seventy years.
b VI. *Babaram Ben Babaram*, *Ben Babaram*, who reigned thirty years and four months.
VII. *Narsi Ben Babaram*, who reigned nine years.
VIII. *Hormouz Ben Narsi* reigned seven years and five months.
IX. *Schabour Dhoulakthaf*, who reigned seventy-two years.
X. *Ardeschir*, grandson to *Hormouz Ben Narsi*, who reigned four years.
XI. *Schabour Ben Schabour Dhoulakthaf*, who reigned near five years.
XII. *Baharam Ben Schabour*, surnamed *Kerman Schah*, who reigned thirteen years.
XIII. *Jezdegerd' Al Athim*, or, *The Wicked*, who reigned twenty-one years.
XIV. *Baharam Gour Ben Jezdegerd*, who reigned twenty-three years.
XV. *Jezdegerd Ben Baharam Gour*, who reigned eighteen years.
c XVI. *Hormouz Ben Jezdegerd*, who reigned one year.
XVII. *Firouz* the brother of *Hormouz*, who reigned twenty-eight or thirty years.
XVIII. *Balasch Ben Firouz*, who reigned somewhat less than fourteen years.
XIX. *Cobad Ben Ferouz*, who reigned forty-three years.
XX. *Nouschirvan Ben Cobad*, who reigned forty-eight years.
XXI. *Hormouz Ben Nouschirvan*, who reigned twelve years.
Baharam Tchoubin, who held the sovereign power some years, and is therefore by some reckoned amongst the kings.
XXII. *Khosrou Perviz Ben Hormouz*, who reigned thirty-two years.
XXIII. *Schirouieh Ben Khosrou Parviz* reigned six or eight months. There is a
d tradition in the east, that parricides, such as this king was, survive not their parents above six months.
XXIV. *Ardeschir Ben Schirouieh*, who reigned one year and six months.
XXV. *Scheheriar*, who was not of the royal family. He reigned two years and twenty days.
XXVI. *Touran Dokht Benat Khosrou Parviz*, who reigned but two months.
XXVII. *Azurmi Dokht*, sister to the last-mentioned king, who reigned one year and four months.
XXVIII. *Farakhzad Ben Khosrou*, who reigned only one month.
XXIX. *Jezdegerd Ben Scheheriar*, *Ben Khosrou Parviz*, who, according to some
e writers, reigned twenty years, and was the last king of this dynasty [d].

THOUGH we have followed *Khondemir* exactly in this table of the *Persian* kings, yet we do not conceive ourselves bound to submit always to his authority in our subsequent history. We followed him in the table, because he is more consistent and exact in his list of kings than any other writer; but in respect of facts, we must take the liberty of dissenting from him, as often as probability and better authority than his shall

[d] KHONDEMIR in KHELASSAT ALAKHBAR.

Ardevan II. who governed long, and in whose days idolatry, or rather polytheism, after the *Greek* manner, became the prevailing religion of the east. He is said to have had for his successor.

Ardevan III. who, after a reign of twenty-three years, was defeated and slain, as we have shewn in the text, by *Ardschir Barbegan* (1). To have attempted the reconciling all these names and dates to the accounts given us by the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, would have required a volume, and perhaps nothing of certainty would have resulted from such an attempt at last. A very learned *German* hath taken a great deal of pains in this way, whose work the inquisitive may consult (2). Our business was to make this note an introduction to the following history, by connecting it to the last period of the *Persian* affairs, according to the oriental writers; and this being effected, our end is answered.

(1) *Khondemir, Lebtarikh, Mirkhond, D'Herbelot, bibl. orient. Art. Molouk, Thaouaif, Aschkanians, &c.*
(2) *Turich.* i. e. *Series Regum Persiæ, &c Auctore W. Schikardo, 4to. Tubingæ A. D.* 1628.

shall require it. This being premised, we proceed to speak of these kings, and of the principal transactions in their reigns, according to the order in which they are placed above.

Ardshir Babegan.

Ardshir, or rather, according to our orthography, *Ardshir Babegan*, according to the most ancient histories, was the grandson of *Sassan*, the brother of a certain queen of *Persia*, who, seeing himself excluded from the throne, and being a little apprehensive that his life was not perfectly safe, thought fit to travel; and, having spent many years abroad, died at last in exile, and left among other children the father of this *Ardshir*, who having a curiosity to see his native country, returned thither privately, and entered into the service of *Babec*, who was governor of a province for *Ardavan*, or, as the *Greeks* call him, *Artabanus*, the last monarch of the *Parthians*. This nobleman, after some time, perceiving in this youth the evident tokens of an extraordinary genius, resolved to fix him in his family, and with that view gave him his daughter in marriage, by whom he had *Ardshir*, who, in gratitude to his mother's family, took the surname of *Babegan*.

His adventures at the court of Ardavan.

He was educated by his grandfather with great care, in all the learning of the *Persians*, and was also taught by his father all the exercises becoming a person of quality; and being equally assiduous in acquiring both, he became, while a very youth, the wonder of the province; and, in fine, was so much talked of, that his fame reached the ears of *Ardavan*, who sent for him to court, where he became so highly in his favour, that he ordered him to remain constantly about the young princes his sons, and seemed to love him as tenderly as he did them. One day, however, when the young princes went a hunting, *Ardavan* followed them privately, that he might have a better opportunity of observing their behaviour; and having by this means an occasion of seeing how much they were excelled in horsemanship and archery, as well as in strength and gracefulness, by their companion *Ardshir*, he from that moment entertained a jealousy of him, and determined within himself to remove him from court, by bestowing upon him some office, which should require his constant attendance. Accordingly, he gave him the command of his forces in a distant province, whither he went immediately, and remained there till such time as he was informed of the death of his grandfather *Babec*, which made him return to court, in hopes of procuring his government. *Ardavan*, far from listening to his intreaties, immediately bestowed it upon the prince his eldest son.

His flight from thence.

This misfortune was quickly followed by another; the king was much disturbed by a dream, and on consulting the most eminent diviners in his court, they told him, it portended, that a certain fugitive from his court would deprive him of his life and crown. It so fell out, that there was in the king's serail a lady, who was passionately in love with *Ardshir*, and she, being apprehensive that this interpretation might be fatal to him, immediately gave him notice of it, upon which he instantly retired with all imaginable secrecy. His flight alarmed the king, who never thought of him before; but it was too late, for *Ardshir* was gone into *Persia Proper*, the province of which his grandfather had been governor. He was met at the city *Estbechar*, or *Persepolis*, by a croud of the nobility of the province, who were all devoted to his family, and who readily offered him their service in any thing he desired. In all probability, the interpretation of the king's dream was what first put it into the head of *Ardshir* to attempt the recovery of the kingdom of his ancestors; wherefore taking council from ambition on the one hand, and a just sense of the extreme danger he was in on the other, *Ardshir* began to set before the eyes of the *Persian* nobility the advantages that would accrue to them from an intire revolution, and he was so fortunate in his applications as to bring them over intirely to his interest. From the moment he entered the province, the young prince, who was governor of it, conceived a jealousy of him; but before he could get any thorough information of his designs, *Ardshir* took the field with a considerable army. The prince presently drew together such of his father's forces as remained faithful, in order to oppose him; but after several engagements, there happened at last one which was decisive; his army being totally defeated, and the prince himself slain upon the spot. The like fate soon after befel *Ardavan* himself, who, entering the province of *Fars* with all the forces of his empire, was there presently defeated and slain by the victorious *Ardshir*, who thereupon immediately assumed the regal dignity, and soon after the swelling title of *Shah-in-Shah*, or *king of kings* [c].

THIS

[c] TARICH KOZIDEH & RINA KITI ap. KHONDEMIR. MIRKHOND. sect. xxiv. GREGOR. ABULPHAR. H. D. dynast. vii. p. 126.

Acquires a son and successor by the prudence of his vizier.

THIS monarch, in the beginning of his reign, very artfully tempered the severity of a conqueror with the mildness of a natural prince. Where-ever he found resistance, he destroyed it by the sword; but to such as submitted to his government, he shewed all imaginable kindness, without any respect of persons. On this account he spared all the family of *Ardavan*; and, to do them still greater pleasure, he married the eldest daughter of that prince. This lady, however, conceived such a hatred towards him, for depriving her family of the empire, that within a very short space after her marriage, she attempted to poison him, in order to set the imperial crown on her brother's head. Being detected in the fact, *Ardshir* gave orders to his prime minister to cause her to be put to death. When he came to acquaint the unhappy lady with her sentence, she told him she was with child; upon which the minister, without acquainting his master, concealed her privately, and caused the son of which she was delivered to be brought up with the utmost care, giving him the name of *Schabour*, i. e. *king's son*, the same name as the *Greek Sapor*. The vizier waited a long time for a favourable opportunity of breaking this secret to his master. At length, observing the king to be one day in high good humour, after exercising on horseback with many of the nobility, he brought forth the young prince, introduced him to his father, and, not without some apprehension, entered into the whole detail of his preservation. *Ardshir*, on the other hand, received the young prince with the utmost tenderness, and, after reflecting severely on himself for his rashness, highly commended the prudence of his minister; and having caused *Schabour* to be conducted to the palace, declared him not long after his heir, and took all imaginable pains to instruct him in the arts of government[f].

His character as a legislator.

THE *Oriental* historians agree in affirming, that the character of *Ardshir* was that of a complete hero; one no less distinguished for knowledge and virtue, than for valour and military skill. From the moment he was seated on his throne, he conceived the important design of restoring all the dominions which had belonged to his predecessors in the *Persian* throne. By arms he recovered large provinces from his neighbours; and, when he had recovered them, he took care to make the people very sensible of the difference between his government and that which they had been under before. He erected new cities, where-ever he found inviting situations; he fortified all the considerable towns on his frontiers; he divided the inhabitants of his empire into several classes or tribes, according to their professions, and not only appointed magistrates to govern them, but also counsellors, whose business it was to instruct them in their true interest, to procure for them the redress of their grievances, as also such grants and privileges as might be for their service. *Ardshir* likewise rebated the edge of the law, taking away the excessive use of capital punishments, in order to make way for milder chastisements, pursuant to a maxim frequently in his mouth, *That the sword was never to be employed where the cane might do as well.* But the greatest of his performances as a lawgiver was in the literary way. He composed a book, intitled, *Adab alaisch*, i. e. *Rules for attaining a happy Life.* In this treatise he laid down the maxims necessary to conduct a man in every station, from that of a monarch to that of a mechanic; and this he did with such penetration and perspicuity, that *Nouschirvan*, the wisest and greatest of his successors, caused this book to be solemnly published throughout all his territories, obliging every family in *Persia* to have a copy thereof[g] (B).

THE

[f] LEBTARIKH. [g] KHONDEMIR. LEBTARIKH. RAOUDHAT. AL AKHIAR.

(B) The true orthography of this prince's name is, *Ardshîr Bâbecân*. The reason we have not writ it so in the text, is this; all the authorities that we have quoted make use of that manner of spelling which is inserted therein, and which consequently became necessary in our text. He was not only the restorer of the *Persian* monarchy in respect to its civil concerns, by assuming the antient title, following the antient customs, and laying claim to all the dominions of the antient kings; but he was likewise so in respect to the religion of the *Persians*, which by this time, was miserably corrrupted. For the purging out all idolatry and superstition, the king assembled a general council of all the wise men in his kingdom; the number of these was forty thousand. Out of these were selected four thousand; from these four hundred; from them forty; and from these seven. Among these was a young man, whose name was *Erdâvirâph*, of unspotted reputation, and perfectly versed in the writings of *Zerdâsht*. This man, having drank three glasses of a certain odoriferous wine, remained, in the presence of the king and of the other six learned men, seven nights and days in an ecstasy or trance. Then rising up, he dictated to a secretary all that he had seen in his vision, and a very large recapitulation of the magian faith. This miracle, or pretended miracle, wrought so strongly on the king *Ardshir*, that he immediately cancelled all the laws which had been made from the time of *Alexander the Great* in favour of *idolatry* or *polytheism*, and fully re-established the religion of *Zerdâsht*. This, as the reader will perceive

He dies in peace and glory.

THE wisdom, moderation, and success of *Ardshir Babegan*, as they made him almost adored by his subjects in his life-time, so they caused his character to be regarded as a model by those who succeeded him in his throne, which he left vacant, after a reign of fourteen years. A certain historian says, he reigned forty; but, if any regard be paid to his assertion, we must suppose that term to commence from his first taking up arms against *Ardavan*; whereas most of the historians reckon, as they ought to do, from his accession to the throne on the defeat and death of that prince [h].

Schabour I.

Schabour, or *Shah-pour*, whom the *Greeks* call *Sapor*, succeeded his father, having been preserved, as we have related before, by the tenderness of his prime minister. He was very young when he came to the throne, and therefore the nobility thought it necessary to give him a guardian or protector, who was his uncle by his mother's side, b and might consequently have pretended to the crown. He not only executed his charge with integrity and reputation; but when the *Persian* nobility besought him to change his title and assume that of king, he absolutely refused it, giving up the government to his nephew, as soon as he was of an age capable of ruling his subjects. *Schabour* was so well educated, that, after he came to the exercise of the sovereign authority, he did not pretend to use his uncle as a counsellor, but rather affected to consult him as a parent; and whenever he had occasion, either to go into the field against the *Romans*, or to make a progress into any distant province of his dominions, he left his uncle cloathed with a royal authority; so that the *Persian* historians have actually accounted this *Ardshir* one of the kings of *Persia*. There cannot be any c thing more different from another than the character of *Schabour*, as it is drawn by the *Oriental* historians, and that of *Sapor*, as it stands in the *Latin* and *Greek* writers. We have already seen what the latter say; our business at present lies with the former. They report, that this *Schabour* was a prince of a magnificent disposition, who sought above all things, to adorn his country with fine cities and stately public buildings. With this view he made frequent visits to all the provinces of his empire, that he might be the better acquainted with their situation, their trade, and manufactures, and consequently have it more in his power to confer upon them real benefits. In the province of *Khoubistan*, which we call *Susiana*, he built a fine new city, restored also its antient capital to its pristine beauty, and caused a most stupendous dike to be d erected, to bear the weight of a river, which he brought to run over it, for the sake of supplying the adjacent country with water. In the province of *Fars*, or *Persia proper*, he built the city of *Naoubendgian*, in one of the finest plains in the universe; which city, in gratitude to its founder, was a long time called *Casbah Schabour*. But the most famous, and by far the greatest city of all he built, was that *Nischabour* in *Korassan*. It seems the king was marching his army through that province, and by accident encamped near the ruins of an antient city, which had been destroyed by *Alexander the Great*, the remains of which were almost every-where over-grown by

[h] LEBTARIKH.

ceive by our quotations, we have from the very best authorities among the eastern writers (3). It is, however, very singular and worthy of observation, that a *Rabbinical* writer also hath conserved the memory of this very fact: "*Orschir*, the son of *Bábec*, "the first prince of that family, caused it to be pro- "claimed throughout all *Persia*, that he had taken "away the sword of *Aristotle* the philosopher, "which had devoured the inhabitants of that em- "pire five hundred years (4)." By the sword of *Aristotle* are to be understood the political maxims of *Alexander* and his successors, which, by this reformation, *Ardschir* thoroughly extinguished; and on this account the *Oriental* writers attribute to him the subversion of the third dynasty, which they called *Molouk Thaouaif*, i. e. *the kings of the nations*; because tho' the *Arsacidæ* were *Persians*, yet they adhered to the *Macedonian* maxims, and suffered all the petty princes, to whom *Alexander* had given dominions, to retain them; whereas *Ardschir* resumed them all, assumed the title of *Shâh-in-Shâh*, or *king of kings*, and transmitted a new set of maxims to his succes- sors, who followed them very carefully. As to the famous book mentioned in our text, it may not be amiss to quote from thence some maxims relating to the conduct of princes, as a taste of that excellent work, which was, and is still, so highly esteemed throughout the east. It begins thus: *So long as a prince applies himself with diligence to the administration of public affairs, and the rendering justice to all degrees of people, his subjects continue affectionate to him, and look upon obedience in the light of their own interest.* Elsewhere he says, *The worst of all princes is he, from whom the wicked have all things to hope, and the good all things to fear. That all the branches of society are inseparably united to the trunk, and that neither can be affected independent of the other; whence it follows, that kings have their cares, and subjects their duties, which reciprocally answer each other, and which when neglected on either side, produce ruin and confusion to both* (5). The *Greeks* certainly knew nothing of this book, otherwise they would never have stiled *Artaxerxes* a barbarous prince.

(3) *Vide lib. cui titul. Erdâvirâph-nâma Shabnâma-nesr.* (4) *R. Abrab. in Kab. ap. Tarikh Schichard.* p. 108. (5) *D'Herbelot. B. O. Artic. Ardschir. Babegan.*

by rose-bushes. The king, charmed with the situation of the place, returned thither
a again as soon as the campaign was over; and, after having ordered all the rose-bushes
to be cut up, cleared away the ruins, and by sending regular detachments from his
army to work upon the foundations of his new city, he, in a short space, saw it in
such a forwardness, as invited all the inhabitants of the adjoining country to come
and settle in it. On account of the rose-bushes, he called it *Nischabour*, i. e. *the rose*
of Sapor, *nei* signifying, in the *Persian* tongue, *a rose*. As the *Latin* and *Greek* wri-
ters are very silent as to his victories, so the *Persian* historians say as little of his vices,
and not a syllable of his ordering the emperor *Valerian* to be flayed alive [i]. *Mirkhond*
is the only writer who gives us any account of his death, which, according to him,
b happened in a very surprising manner. His severe justice so much alarmed some
rapacious courtiers, that they took the opportunity offered them by a stormy night,
to enter the royal tent, where they murdered *Schabour* and his attendants; which
when they had done, they cut its cords, and set it on fire; so that the guards appre-
hended his tent had been set on fire by lightning. There are different accounts of
the years of his reign; but the best writers agree, that he held the sceptre thirty-one
years [k].

Hormouz, whom the *Greeks* call *Hormisdas*, succeeded his father *Schabour*, and was a Hormouz I.
most generous prince; insomuch, that most of the ancient historians call him *Hormouz*,
al Horri, i. e. *Hormisdas the liberal*. We are told of him, that when one of the gover-
c nors of his provinces on the frontiers of the *Indies* sent him an express, to inform him,
that he could purchase a quantity of very fine diamonds for a hundred thousand pieces
of gold, the king wrote him back, that he should let them alone. Upon this the
governor sent him a second express, to acquaint him, that they might be sold for
two hundred thousand, so that his majesty might gain *cent. per cent.* *Hormouz* replied,
A hundred or a hundred per cent. *will not tempt me. If I become a trader, who must take*
up the trade of being a king? Or what will become of the Persian *merchants, if the royal*
treasures are employed to forestal them? He was one of the handsomest princes of his
time, and exceedingly beloved by his subjects, tho' it does not appear, that he was a
very martial monarch, or that he made any conquests. It is said, that he shewed a
d great deal of favour to the famous heretic *Manes*, and that he built for him, on the
borders of the province of *Susiana*, a castle or place of retreat, called *Dascarah*; and
it is further reported, that he embraced his opinions. This, we apprehend, ought
to be understood in a limited sense, and be construed only as to the notions that arch-
heretic held in philosophy; for tho' it be true, that *Manes*, or, as the *Orientals* call
him, *Mani* held very pernicious tenets in theology, yet it is as true, that he was a
very great methematician, and, by constant practice, attained such a facility of
drawing geometrical figures, that he would strike circles of any given diameter with
a pencil only, without the assistance of compasses. During the reign of *Sapor*, he was
obliged to abscond, that prince being an enemy to the setting up of all new religions
e in his country; and on this account it was, that *Mani* fled into *Turquestan*. There,
by dint of his eloquence and skill in the sciences, he acquired many disciples. He
affected great austerity of life, and used to retire sometimes for a day or two to me-
ditate in the desert. This was very advantagious to him; for it made the people
believe him a very holy person, and gave him leisure to study how to confirm them
more and more in that belief. Once, as he was rambling in this manner, he discovered
a cave, which, tho' it had a narrow entrance, was very large within, and had a fine
stream running through it. Thither he privately transported his books and papers,
with as much bread and dried fruits as might serve him for a year. These measures
taken, he told his disciples, that God would call him for a time up into heaven; but
f that, after a year, he would return and meet them in such a plain. Upon this he
withdrew into his cave, and, during the twelve-month that he lived there, he wrote
a large book of *enigmatical schemes and pretended revelations*; which book, at the end
of the year, he produced to his disciples, affirming, that he brought it from heaven.
Shortly after, hearing that *Schabour* was dead, and that his son *Hormouz* was a very
learned man and a great patron of the sciences, he returned into *Persia*, and, as we
have observed, ingratiated himself so with the king, that he built for him a herm-
tage, which was so well fortified, that, so long as he remained therein, his enemies
were not able to do him any hurt. If *Hormouz* had reigned long, in all probability

Mani

[i] Khondemir. Lebtarikh. [k] Mirkhond, sect. 25

Mani would have secured to himself a party strong enough to have supported him; but his protector died before he had reigned two years, with the reputation, however, of having been an excellent prince, one equally tender of his subjects welfare and of the prerogative of the crown [m] (C).

Baharam I. *Baharam*, the son of *Hormuz*, succeeded him. This is the name which the Greeks endeavour to express by the several appellations of *Varanes*, *Varbaranes*, and *Vararanes*. At the beginning of his reign he affected to treat *Mani* with greater deference than ever his father did, and even suggested to him a design of settling his opinions as the national religion of *Persia*; in order to which he invited him to a conference with his magi, that the people might be the better convinced of their monarch's caution in so important an affair. His vanity engaged *Mani* to comply with the king's request; so that, leaving his fortress, he went, without the least apprehension, to court, in order to dispute with such learned men as he supposed would be assembled there. On his arrival, *Baharam* ordered him to be seized; shortly after he caused him to be flayed alive, and his skin being stuffed with straw, he ordered it to be set on the top of a hill, with a good guard, as a signal to the *Manichees* of his kind intentions towards them. This had the proposed effect; for all the disciples of *Mani* retired immediately out of *Persia*, and not believing themselves safe even on its frontiers, they fled into the very heart of the *Indies*, and some of them as far as *China* [n]. This seems to have been the greatest exploit that *Baharam* performed, tho' he was a prince of parts, and who earnestly sought the welfare of his people, as we may gather from the saying of his; *That humanity was not to be defined, because therein were comprehended all the other virtues*. He reigned with great applause three years and three months, at the end of which he was murdered in the basest manner that can be imagined. A tumult happening in his capital, he went in person to appease it; which when he had effected, a kinsman of his took the advantage of the crowd and contrived to let fly an arrow, which struck the king to the heart, to the great grief, as well as to the great loss, of his subjects [o] (D).

Baharam II. *Baharam* II. succeeded his father *Baharam* I. Some writers say, he was only the adopted son of the last king. However that might be, it is generally agreed, that, at the beginning of his reign, he gave his subjects no great hopes of him. On the contrary,

[m] KHONDEMIR. LEBTARIKH. D'HERBELOT. B. O. art Hormouz. [n] D'HERBELOT. B. O. art. Mani. [o] LEBTARIKH. KHONDEMIR. MIRKHOND, sect. 26.

(C) Besides what is said in the text, we shall add here some anecdotes concerning the heroic *Manes*. The learned *Schikard* is much mistaken, when he affirms, that his name was not *Manes*, but *Manichæus*, quasi *mannam fundens* (6). The great *Epiphanius* is as much out. He would needs suggest, that this heretic assumed the name of *Manes*, because, in the *Chaldaic* tongue, *Man* signifies *a vessel*; whereby he would intimate, that he was a pure and chosen vessel. The truth is, he was a *Persian* by birth, and his name *Mani*. Had he been a *Chaldean*, or had he lived on the borders of *Chaldea*, when he first vented his heresy, there might have been some ground for this conjecture; but as he spread his heresy first in the desert towards *Turquestan*, what probability is there, that he should assume a name, the etymology whereof could not there be understood (7)? He was by profession a painter; and we are told, that he could draw a line with a pencil twenty yards exactly streight. His excellency in drawing made him convert most of his lectures in religion into emblematical devices, not unlike those of *Jacob Boehm*. Hence the book he pretended to bring from heaven, was called *Ertenghi*, *tenghi* signifying *a picture* (8). What we have recorded of him in the text, we have transcribed verbatim from *Khondemir*, who opens his account with these words: Mani *the* Sadducee *was a man excellently skilled in painting and sculpture, who when he heard that* Jesus *had promised the* Comforter *should come, the* devil *suggested to him, that he should pretend to be that Comforter; which accordingly he did*, &c. As to the notions of him and his disciples, all the *Oriental* writers agree, that they were a mixture of the magian and christian doctrines; and that, in a very short space of time, they split into several sects, according as they entertained different explications of their master's principles (9). The *Oriental* writers likewise agree, that his patron *Hormouz* was a most learned and beneficent prince; his favourite saying was this, *That kings were like fire, they warmed those who stood at a distance, and scorched such as ventured too near* (10).

(D) As we often quote the excellent work of *D'Herbelot* in this history, it is necessary to give the reader notice, to prevent his suspecting him or us of a mistake, that we do not reckon the *Baharams* kings of *Persia* in the same order as he does; but so, that his *Baharam* III. is our *Baharam* II. his *Baharam* IV. our *Baharam* III. and so on. The reason is this: He reckons *Baharam* of the third dynasty *Baharam* I. which, his method considered, is very just; but as the periods of *Persian* history in this work are at a distance one from another, such a mingling of dynasties would occasion confusion; which to avoid, we have taken a contrary method. We likewise take this opportunity of noting, that we cite the *Oriental* historians as we use them; so that the reader may at all times distinguish on what authority any remarkable fact is built (11).

(6) *Tarikh. Schikard*, p. 111. (7) *Herel.* (8) *Hide relig. vet Pers. c.* xxi. *p.* 281. (9) *Sharistani in lib. de relig. Orient.* (10) *D'Herbelot, B. O. artic. Hormouz Ben Schabour.* (11) *D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Baharam.*

contrary, he acted with such austerity, haughtiness, and cruelty, that the people gave him the surname of *Khalef*, i. e. *the unjust*. The nobility of *Persia*, who were never over-complaisant to tyrants, began to think of ridding themselves of so bad a master, by deposing him at least, if not by putting him to death. The magi, however, checked this design in its birth, offering to risque their own safety for the good of the people, by remonstrating to the king on the folly of his conduct. This they did with such warmth, and at the same time with such an evident display of loyalty, that *Baharam* acknowledged them for his counsellors and protectors, changed the whole bent of his conduct, and, from being a very bad, became a most excellent, prince, during the remainder of his reign. A certain christian author affirms, that this monarch vanquished the *Romans*, and that, having taken prisoner the son of the emperor *Galienus*, he caused him to be put to death. Of this, however, the *Oriental* writers say nothing; and there is reason to suspect, that this author was imposed on. Most authors agree, that this prince reigned but seventeen years [p].

Baharam III. succeeded *Baharam* II. During his father's life-time, he was governor of the province of *Seigistan*, which is the reason that the *Greek* writers call him *Sganssaa*. He reigned thirteen years, without performing any thing extraordinary; or, if he did, the *Oriental* historians, as well as the *Greeks*, have treated him very indifferently; for we find little said of him, even in their most copious authors; and as for *Mirkond*, he says nothing of him at all. Hence it is apparent, that the *Oriental* writers are not so fond of fiction, as they are generally represented to be; for, if they were, they would not certainly suffer such chasms in their histories, but rather try to fill them up with inventions of their own, as some of our northern writers have done [q]. Baharam III.

Narsi Ben Baharam, that is, *Narsi the son of Baharam*, succeeded *Baharam* the Narsi.
third his brother, tho' from his surname some authors have taken him for his father, as in truth he was the son, not of *Baharam* III. but of *Baharam* II. He proved a prince of a mild temper, gracious to his subjects, and desirous, as far as was in his power, of doing them good; but he had the misfortune to attack the *Romans*, when they had many great generals and several potent armies on foot; in consequence of which he was defeated, and lost all his frontier provinces; for grief of which, it is said, he broke his heart, when he had reigned nine years [r].

Hormouz the son of *Narsi*, or, according to the *Greeks*, *Hormisdas* the son of *Narses*, Hormouz II.
succeeded his father. All the *Oriental* historians agree, that he was a prince endued with all the virtues capable of adding lustre to a crown. Among these his justice was by far the most conspicuous. He saw with regret the ill use that too many of the nobility made of their great power and riches, in oppressing the meaner sort of people, and thereby discouraging industry and trade, the chief supports of all well-governed kingdoms. To eradicate so dangerous an evil, he fixed a particular tribunal or court of justice, wherein the complaint of the meanest man in *Persia* might be heard against the greatest; and for fear that interest or authority might beget partiality even here, he came frequently and presided in person. He likewise devised many new laws and regulations, for the benefit of the middling sort of people and for the encouragement of trade; out of regard to which he was extremely careful of the maritime coasts, and of all the ports of *Persia*. He likewise built in the province of *Kerman*, which the *Greeks* call *Caramania*, a very famous city and port, which he called by his own name *Hormouz*, or, as we pronounce it, *Ormus*. It was seated conveniently along the sea-shore, and, towards the land, was shaded by groves of palm-trees; so that, in process of time, it became equally remarkable for its being a trading city, and also the market for the commodities of a multitude of industrious people, who cultivated the fertile plain behind it. In the end, however, its riches proved its ruin; so that the inhabitants, finding themselves exposed to continual ravages, abandoned it, and transported themselves into an island in the *Persian* gulf, almost over-against their old place of residence; where they built a new city, which they likewise called *Ormuz*, the same that was afterwards conquered by the *Portuguese*, and of which, in the subsequent part of our history, together with its kings, we shall give a particular account. But to return to *Hormouz* or *Hormisdas*; he is said to have extended his dominions very considerably, and to have been no less fortunate in war, than he was wise and temperate in peace. The province of *Susiana* was peculiarly favoured

[p] Lebtarikh. Ebn. Batrik. in chron. [q] Lebtarikh. Khondamir. [r] D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Narsi.

favoured by this monarch; insomuch, that he built several cities therein, and repaired all such as were fallen to decay: more he would, without question, have done, if he had reigned longer; but, having sat on the throne nine years, he gave way to fate [s] (E).

Schabour II. *Schabour* II. surnamed *Dhoulactaf*, i. e. *Schabour of the shoulders*, succeeded his father even before he was born, the crown being placed on his mother's belly, and the nobles swearing to acknowledge for their sovereign the child she should bring forth. In his nonage the *Persians* were exposed to many disasters, more especially to the insults and ravages of the *Arabs*, who, under their king *Thair*, broke in vast numbers into *Persia*, and spread desolation where-ever they came, plundering the royal cities, and carrying off the sister of the late king *Hormouz* and the aunt of *Schabour* into captivity. When the young king came to attain the age which qualified him for martial exploits, he determined, at all events, to revenge the injuries which had been done him and his subjects during his infancy. With this view he, with a choice body of troops, made a quick march, and surprized *Thair* in one of his frontier provinces. The place was indeed invested, before the *Arab* prince had any notice of it; but it was so strong and the garison so well provided, that, in all probability, *Schabour* must have abandoned his enterprize, if *Malekah*, whom some call the sister, others affirm to have been the daughter, of *Thair*, had not betrayed the place to *Schabour*, with whom she fell in love, and thereby put the king, the nobility, and the garison into the hands of their mortal enemy. *Schabour* took this opportunity of revenging the cruelties committed by the *Arabs* in *Persia*, by putting *Thair*, and all who were with him, to the sword, assigning this as his reason, that if a king would so far forget his own dignity as to turn robber, he ought not to expect that his enemies should consider him in any other light. This prince was sovereign of *Yemen*, which province *Schabour* immediately over-ran, putting numbers of the inhabitants to the sword, and causing the *shoulder-bones* of all who were able to bear arms to be broke; whence he had the surname of *Dhoulactaf*, as the general opinion is. The *Arab* writers, however, give us somewhat a different account of this matter: they say, that, on *Schabour*'s return into *Persia*, *Malek Ben Nasser*, one of the ancestors of *Mohammed*, was deputed by the *Arabians* to intercede with the king, and to beseech him to treat them with greater lenity, or at least to discover the true cause of his implacable hatred. *Malek*, in pursuance of this commission, took all the pains he could to soften the inflexible temper of the *Persian* king, who at length told him, that his aversion to the *Arabs* proceeded from his being advised by his astrologers, that they would one day subvert the *Persian* empire, and inflict the greatest cruelties upon his people. *Malek Ben Nasser* took this occasion of remonstrating against the severity of his proceedings on so slight a pretence, since the predictions of such sort of people were at least as often false as true, and therefore could never be of weight enough to pass for reasons of state. On the other hand he remarked, that if there should be any grounds for believing this prophecy, the king's conduct was the most impolitic that could be; because his treating the *Arabs* so harshly could not fail of giving them the most inveterate hatred against the *Persians*, which must prove fatal to them, whenever they became subject to those whom they had thus maltreated. *Schabour*, having reflected upon this, altered his conduct intirely, and not only put an end to those miseries which he had inflicted on that unhappy people, but also favoured and encouraged them on all occasions; whence, as the *Arab* writers say, he acquired the surname of *Dhoulacnaf*, i. e. *on the wings*; by which the *Arabs* would signify, that he was their protector, because the eagles are said to carry their young ones on their wings [t].

Schabour, as we have already seen in our former period, was at continual enmity with the *Romans*; and tho', during the reign of *Constantine the Great*, he durst not attempt any thing very considerable, yet that did not hinder him from taking all the necessary

[s] Lebtarikh. Khondemir. D'Herbelot. B. O. art. Hormouz Ben Narsi. [t] Khondemir. Lebtarikh.

(E) The *Oriental* writers differ among themselves as to the foundation of the city of *Hormouz* on the continent, some attributing this to *Hormouz* the first, the son of *Schabour*; but we incline to think it was erected by this prince, because the most accurate historians are of that sentiment (12). A learned critic suggests, that the planet *Mercury* in the *Persian* language was called *Hormouz* (13); but we are of another opinion, for we apprehend it to have been an attribute or name of the Supreme Being (14).

(12) *Khozideh. Lebtarikh.* (13) *Schikard. Tarich. p.* 112. (14) *Hide relig. vet. Per. c.* xi. *p.* 177.

necessary steps to act effectually, whenever an opportunity should offer. The *Oriental* writers give us an instance of this, of which there is not the least trace to be found in any of the *Greek* historians, tho' it be more singular than any thing they have recorded: *Schabour* was so desirous of being thoroughly acquainted with the state of the *Roman* empire, that he went to *Constantinople* himself, under colour of being an embassador from *Persia*. He had not, however, been long there before he was suspected, and thereupon imprisoned; during which time the *Romans* made several incursions into the *Persian* provinces, and treated the people with great severity. At length *Schabour* having corrupted a lady of the court, she not only procured him his liberty, but fled with him. They were obliged to travel with great circumspection, and, not without much-ado and after many dangers passed, they arrived at a little hermitage in *Media*; which place hath ever since been called *Schabbouran*. It is not very clear, whether the religious *Persians*, who resided here, were of the christian, manichean, or magian religion; but, whatever they were, their chief was very loyal, acquainted the king with the present situation of things, took pains to convey his orders where-ever he directed; so that, by degrees, *Schabour* assembled a very considerable body of troops, and with them fell so opportunely on the *Roman* forces, that he gave them an entire defeat. The king's stay in *Media* gave him an opportunity of observing the situation of that country, and the improvements of which it was capable. This determined him to build a new city not far from the hermitage, where he had reposed himself after his return from *Constantinople*, hoping, that, when it became considerable and was thoroughly peopled, it would serve as a barrier, and protect the open country from the insults of neighbouring nations [u].

As soon therefore as the circumstances of the times would permit, *Schabour* laid the foundations of the city of *Cazvin*, which we call *Casbin*. When he first began this work, he found himself excessively annoyed by the *Delemites*, who began to be jealous of his undertaking. *Schabour*, who was a very wise prince, perceiving that it was not at all in his power to carry on the building of his city and a war with these people at the same time, resolved to bribe them; which accordingly he did, by considerable gifts for the present, and promises of still greater things hereafter. When *Cazvin* was finished, and the *Delemites* began to renew their incursions, *Schabour*, who was by this time at peace both with the *Romans* and the *Arabs*, turned his whole force upon them, and easily subdued them, adding thereby the province of *Deilem* to his empire, which had been an ancient and independent kingdom till then, and which became so again, after the *Arabians* made themselves masters of *Persia*. This monarch also beautified and inlarged the ancient city of *Scheustar* in the province of *Khoubistan*, where he likewise re-edified another ancient city, called *Corkh*, and which he afterwards called by his own name. He was one of the greatest and most fortunate monarchs of this dynasty, and, during his long reign of seventy-two years, not only made great conquests on all sides of his dominions, but also wonderfully improved his territories, by building cities and encouraging the trade of his subjects [x] (F).

Ardschir succeeded *Schabour*, and governed the *Persian* kingdom for twelve years. Ardschir II.
One author assures us, that he was uncle by the mother's side to the last king; another, that he was only his cousin; and a third, that he was brother by the mother's side to *Schabour Dhoulactaf*. However it was, he assumed the government at first as tutor only, or protector, to *Schabour* III. tho' afterwards the nobility prevailed upon him to take the title of king. The reader will easily perceive, that the *Persians* were

[u] Khondemir. D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Schabour Ben Hormouz. [x] Khondemir. D'Herbelot. artic. Hormouz Schabour Dhoulactaf.

(F) The learned *Schikard* (15) takes a great deal of pains in rectifying a mistake in the version of *Mirkhond* by *Teixera* (16). The surname of the *Persian* king is there written *Zabel Ketaf*, which, the judicious critic rightly conjectures, should have been *Dhul-Aktaf*; but then he is in a great mistake himself, for he attributes this surname to *Schabour* the first, to whom it did not belong. He is, however, perfectly just in his censure of *Reineccius* (17), who had condemned *Nicephorus*, an ancient writer, for calling *Schabour* the first *Chosroes*, since that was no mistake, all the kings of this dynasty preserving this appellation. The history of *Schabour*'s being crowned in his mother's belly, is not only to be found in the *Oriental* writers and in the *Greek* historians, but also in the writings of the *Rabbins*; and therefore, tho' the fact is an odd one, yet it cannot be called incredible (18). We thought it unnecessary to load this reign with recapitulations of facts mentioned in the former period, or with such immaterial circumstances, as might have swelled this part of our history beyond its due bounds.

(15) *Tarich. p.* 110. (16) *Lib.* i. *c.* 26. (17) *De gent. Arsacid.* (18) *Ben Dior. in Kab. apud Schikard. p.* 116.

were afraid of nothing so much as of being governed by a child, which was the true cause, that they were desirous of conferring the regal dignity on him, whose birth and abilities made him the most proper for discharging its essential functions. It may be, the miseries the kingdom had endured, under the minority of the last king, might the more strongly incline them to make use of this expedient, to prevent their falling under the like misfortunes a second time. It is also very remarkable, that the nobility did not suffer this *Ardschir* to transfer the crown to his family, though they gave it him for life; but immediately upon his demise called his kinsman the son of *Schabour* II. to the succession, who was by this time become a man, and capable of taking the reins of government into his own hands.

Schabour III. *Schabour* III. the son of *Schabour Dhoulactaf*, governed the kingdom of *Persia* five years and four months in great tranquillity. He was cotemporary with *Theodosius the Great*, with whom he made a strict alliance, and lived in the greatest friendship during his whole reign. As he was a very pacific prince, and sought nothing so much as to keep his kingdom from feeling the plague of war, that his subjects might have leisure to repair all former losses, we ought not to wonder, that the account we have of his reign is very succinct, and amounts to neither more or less than we have recorded[a].

Baharam IV. *Baharam* IV. succeeded his father *Schabour*, whom he very much resembled in his disposition. He had in his father's life-time been governor of the province of *Kerman*, and, according to the privilege of the royal family, was styled *Kerman-Schah*. This the *Greek* writers converted into a surname, which is the reason, that in their histories he is called *Varanes Cermansaa*. He governed the kingdom eleven years, in which space of time the *Persians* grew so extravagantly rich, that their pride inclined them to frequent revolts; in one of which the king, presenting himself suddenly amongst the rebels, and expostulating with them on the folly and madness of their behaviour, was basely shot with an arrow behind his back, and died upon the spot[b].

Jerdegerd. *Jezdegerd* succeeded his father *Baharam*, and proved a very bad prince. Equally cruel and avaricious, he distressed his subjects alike in their persons and their properties. This was the more grievous to the *Persians*, because in the life-time of his father he had affected so much modesty, humanity, and condescension, that never any monarch promised more at his accession, or performed less during his administration. Hence he was surnamed *Al Athim*, i. e. *The Wicked*, or, *The Abandoned*. There is some reason to suspect, that his character hath been injured through the malice of the magi, who could never forgive him his strong inclinations to the christians, and his keeping so strict a hand on the clergy of the established religion. This king had the misfortune to see all his children die within a month after they were born. This made him very uneasy; and therefore he consulted not only the *Persian* physicians, but also all the travellers who visited his dominions, as to the wholesomest air they were acquainted with, in order to try, whether, by removing a child as soon as possible thither, he might not conserve the succession in his family. The result of this inquiry was, that the province of *Hirah* was recommended to him, as that where the best air was to be found. This country was a part of *Chaldea*, which, on the falling out of *Alexander the Great*'s successors among themselves, an *Arab* prince had seized, and having built a city therein, called it *Hirah*, and made it the capital of a little principality, which in process of time became tributary to the *Persians*. The name of the present possessor of this small sovereignty was *Nooman*, for whom *Jezdegerd* sent as soon as his son *Baharam* was born. When he came to court, the king put the child, who was then about a month old, into his hands, acquainted him how unlucky he had been in the rest of his children, and told him, that what he expected from him was, the education of his son, after the manner of the *Arabs*, in all those exercises which usually increase the strength of the body, and render men healthy and robust. *Nooman* on his part promised to take all imaginable care of the child, whom he immediately carried home with him; and *Jezdegerd*, being now at ease in his mind, governed his dominions, according to his own maxims, and little to the satisfaction of the magi, twenty-one years. At the end of this space, as he was looking upon a horse extremely beautiful, and which he much valued, the beast suddenly struck him with one of its hind feet on the stomach, with such force, that he immediately fell down dead, and thereby delivered the discontented part of his subjects from a master, whose government they hated, and whom yet they were not able to depose. As soon as he was dead.

[a] KHONDEMIR, LEBTARIKH. [b] D'HERBELOT. art. Baharam Ben Schabour.

dead, those who were so much disaffected to him, having took advantage of the absence of the prince his son to transfer the regal dignity to another family. Accordingly, they fixed on *Kersa*, a nobleman of fair qualities and great fortune; from whom having drawn many advantagious concessions in their own favour, they saluted him king, and actually put him in possession, not only of the royal robes and ornaments, but also of the royal treasure, procured the submission of the forces then on foot, and the consent of the greatest part of the provinces of that extended empire [c].

Baharam V. surnamed *Gour*, or rather *Jur*, for a reason that will appear in the Baharam V. course of our history, was, as we have seen, sent in his infancy to the court of an Arabian prince, for the sake of establishing his constitution; which end was perfectly answered by the care his guardian took of his education. *Nooman Ben Mondir*, to whose care he was committed, caused two palaces to be built for his reception in the capital of his dominions. These were built by the greatest architect of the east, whose name was *Sennamar*. These castles or palaces were called *Sadir* and *Khaouarnak*, and the eastern writers tell us, that amongst other singularities, the stones of which they were built were hewn in such a manner, as to change their colour several times in a day, by their different reflections of light; and that they were so contrived, as to stand upon a single stone, which, if removed, the whole building would have fallen to the ground. *Nooman* most bountifully rewarded *Sennamar* for his care and skill; but that unfortunate person having indiscreetly given out, that he could have performed still greater things, if he had expected to have been paid in such a manner, *Nooman* began to doubt his fidelity, and whether he might not be induced by money to divulge the secret of the supporting stones in the palaces he had built; and therefore ordered him to be thrown from the top of one of them to the bottom, whereby the miserable man lost his life. In process of time, *Nooman*, the tutor of *Baharam*, became a convert to the christian religion, and, in consequence thereof, thought fit to retire from the world, and to spend the rest of his days in a hermitage in the desart, resigning the crown and the care of the young *Persian* prince to his son *Hendu*. This prince was no less careful of *Baharam* than his father had been; he provided for his education both in body and mind; he took care to have him taught all the exercises, and instructed in all the learning, with which a person of his high quality ought to be acquainted. He gave him lessons himself in the art of governing, and at the same time, that he discharged the duty of a governor, shewed himself on all occasions his friend in the circumstances of private life, as he was his constant companion in all his diversions. By this means *Baharam*, who had an excellent genius, grew one of the most accomplished princes of his age, and had a sagacity and resolution almost incredible, considering his tender years [d].

Enters Persia at the head of an army.

When the news of his father's death reached *Hirah*, the young prince could not forbear expressing, not only his amazement at the conduct of the *Persian* nobility, but his resolution not to part with the crown on such easy terms. He therefore addressed himself to *Hendu*, and besought him to furnish him with some troops, that he might endeavour by force to recover what was undoubtedly his right. The king of *Hirah*, who owed him his allegiance as being dependent on the *Persian* empire, promised him all the assistance in his power. When he was thus imbarqued in the business, he thought proper to invite all the *Arabian* princes his neighbours to a council, wherein he exposed the right of *Baharam* to the *Persian* throne, and the indignity offered them in his exclusion, on account of his being bred up among them. The petty princes, to whom he addressed himself, easily received the impressions he sought to make upon their minds, and, with great alacrity, promised to support the pretensions of his pupil with their utmost force. This point gained, *Baharam*, at the head of ten thousand *Arabian* horse, entered the *Persian* territories, and was shortly after followed by *Hendu* and the confederate princes with thirty thousand more. The *Persian* nobility, obstinate in their rebellion, drew together a great army, in order to maintain the king they had made choice of upon the throne. Things being in this situation, a general and decisive battle was daily expected, the armies being within half a day's march of each other; but, by the wisdom of *Hendu*, an negotiation was set on foot. Both parties were desirous of deciding the business without blood, and yet neither of them would recede in the least from their pretensions. In this critical juncture, *Baharam* proposed an expedient, which was instantly accepted. It was this; that the crown

[c] Lebtarikh. Mirkhond. sect. xxvii. [d] Khondemir. Mirkhond. sect. xxviii.

crown of *Persia* should be placed on a cushion between two hungry lions, and that the prince who would fetch it should wear it. On the day appointed the experiment was made, and the crown placed between the lions. Then *Baharam*, turning to his competitor, said, Kersa, *Why don't you go and fetch the crown? I need not*, answered he; *I am in possession of it already; you desire it, therefore do you go and take it.* *Baharam* instantly fell upon the lions, killed them both, and took up the crown. Upon which *Kersa* immediately ran towards him, embraced him, and did him homage. His example was followed by all the *Persian* lords; and thus this controversy, which had armed all the east, was determined without bloodshed, and to the satisfaction of all parties, the *Persians* being charmed with the generosity and valour of their new king; and *Hendu* and his *Arabian* confederates were no less pleased with the success of their undertaking, and with the vast presents, and other markes of gratitude, which were given them by *Baharam* at parting [c].

The Turks *invade the* Persians *with a prodigious army.*

Baharam, on taking possession of the throne, treated his subjects with such lenity, and excused them from so many duties and taxes, that the oriental historians say, he turned the heads of the whole nation; insomuch, that computing the hours between sun-rising and sun-set, they divided these into equal parts: the first for business, the second for diversion. The king was so far from disliking this, that he sent for twelve thousand musicians from *India*, not only to divert his subjects, but to prevent their becoming fidlers and dancers themselves; and it is said, that those who follow this profession at this day in *Persia* are descended from these *Indians*. *The khacan*, for so the orientals call the sovereign of *Turquestan*, having intelligence of the merry disposition the *Persians* were in, conceived, that a better opportunity would never offer for invading that rich and fertile country. Without therefore any previous declaration of war, he assembled a mighty army, some historians say, of three hundred thousand men, with which he broke into *Persia* like a torrent, spreading fire and sword, destruction and desolation, where-ever he came. *Baharam*, as soon as he had intelligence of this, knowing well, that it was impossible for him to raise any forces sufficient to repell them, left his capital, and with a thousand chosen horse fled to the mountains, leaving the government in the hands of his brother *Narsi*. The *Persians* instantly concluded, that the king had abdicated the government, and endeavoured to make the best terms they could with the conquerors; and thereupon sent deputies to acquaint the khacan with the desertion of their prince, and to implore his mercy. The khacan did not, however, take things upon trust; he sent out parties to observe the motions of *Baharam* and his horse; and these on their return having reported that they had followed the *Persian* king two days march into *Armenia*, their master concluded from thence, that he was fled into the *Roman* territories, and that *Persia* was absolutely subdued [f].

They are defeated and destroyed.

Baharam, in the mean time, pushed with his thousand horse through the streights of *Derbent*, and keeping close by the *Caspian* sea, came quite round into *Turquestan*; and having there refreshed and remounted his troops, he suddenly and silently stole into *Persia*; surprized the forces of the khacan, who no longer kept any discipline, in the dead of the night; advanced in person to that monarch's tent, where he found him scarce awake, huddling on his cloaths, so that he struck off his head without any resistance; and the *Persians* rising every-where upon the flying army, scarce a man of this huge multitude returned again into *Turquestan*. This wonderfully raised the reputation of *Baharam*; his subjects began to look upon him as a person inspired, and he on the other hand, being better satisfied with his brother's administration than his own, resolved to travel for a time, and leave to him the resettling of the affairs of *Persia*. This unaccountable vivacity in otherwise so great a prince cannot be accounted for any other way, than by considering where he received his education. This roving disposition is the very character of an *Arab* chief, and indeed all the accounts we have of this monarch shew, that his manners were exactly those of that nation. As for instance, the word *Jur* signifies *a wild ass*, and this prince was called *Baharam Jur*, because he spent the greatest part of his time in hunting that creature, a diversion he had learned among the *Arabs*. But to return to the current of our history, leaving the government of *Persia* in the hands of his brother, he appeared in the habit of a private person at the court of an *Indian* prince; where he quickly distinguished himself, so far as to merit the notice of the king, whose favourable inclinations towards him he greatly improved,

[c] LEBTARIKH. D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orient. art. Nooman Ben Mondir. [f] KHONDEMIR D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orient. orient. art. Baharam.

improved, by killing a monstrous wild elephant, which had done a prodigious deal of mischief. At length the king sent him at the head of an army to oppose a very potent neighbour of his, who, notwithstanding he had offered him tribute, invaded and plundered his country. This prince *Baharam* was so fortunate as to defeat, and he made so prudent a use of his victory, that he put it out of the enemy's power to think of renewing the war for a considerable number of years at least. On his return to court, the *Indian* king thought himself obliged to promote him to the office of *prime vizier*, and to give him his daughter to wife; which he accordingly did, with an immense fortune [g].

He returns into his dominions from India.

But as the graces of kings usually produce envy in the minds of their subjects, against those on whom they are conferred, so here the promotion of *Baharam* drew upon him the hatred of the *Indians*, though he had rescued them from oppression, and by his wise administration procured them as great felicity as a people could enjoy. When therefore he perceived this, he resolved to bear no longer with their ingratitude, especially when he found their whispers had pierced the king's ear, and inclined him to alter his conduct towards him, though on his side not the least occasion had been given. This resolution once taken, *Baharam* soon after discovered himself to the king, who was exceedingly alarmed, when he knew that the person, to whom he was so much indebted, was the king of *Persia*, his potent neighbour, and one whose ancestors had deprived him of a part of his dominions. The *Persian* monarch, to rid him of all apprehensions, acquainted him with his resolution of returning forthwith into his own territories; and that, as well out of tender affection for his wife, as in return for the many favours he had received, he was content to yield up the places in dispute. The *Indian* king received this declaration with the utmost joy, and *Baharam*, conceiving that no time was to be lost, quitted his court immediately, and returned with his wife and family, with all the immense treasures he had acquired, into *Persia*. His subjects received him with all the demonstrations of loyalty and cordial affection; and the king on his part promised to apply himself more assiduously to public affairs, than the vivacity of his disposition had hitherto allowed him to do [h].

Turns his army on the Greeks *and* Arabians.

The first step of importance he took after his return was, to send his brother *Narsi* with a great body of troops into *Rumestan*, so the *Persians* call the dominions of the *Greek* emperor; and being informed that his forces met with no great opposition on that side, he ventured to make an expedition in person into *Arabia*, where he reduced the kingdom of *Yemen* with all its dependencies. After this he returned into *Persia*, and reigned the rest of his life in peace, beloved by his subjects and revered by his neighbours. Authors differ very much concerning the manner of his death. Some, and indeed the most considerable, say, that, being exceedingly addicted to hunting and passing full speed through a wood, his horse fell with him into a deep pit, where he was stifled before any body came to his assistance [i]. Others affirm, that being engaged in a war with a neighbouring prince, and having defeated his army in battle, *Baharam*, in the pursuit, was so unlucky as to plunge his horse into a morass; whence being unable to extricate himself, he was either suffocated, or perished with hunger. The reason this point remains so full of doubt and uncertainty, is this; the body of *Baharam* was never found, and consequently all accounts of his death must be conjectural only [k]. It is, however, generally agreed, that this accident arrived in the twenty-third year of his reign, and that, notwithstanding the many irregularities in his conduct, he left behind him the character of being one of the bravest and most generous, as he was one of the most fortunate, princes that ever swayed the *Persian* sceptre [l].

Jezdegerd II. succeeded his father *Baharam Gour*. As he had been chiefly educated by his uncle *Narsi*, he became a prince of great knowledge and experience, though but a young man, when he ascended the throne. He followed his father's example, in placing his uncle at the head of all his councils, yet without neglecting business himself, or deserting any branch of it, to give himself up to another more agreeable to his temper. He was peculiarly strict in doing justice, especially between the great and such as depended upon them. He restored all the excellent constitutions of his ancestors, which in process of time were sunk into disuetude; where he found these insufficient, he framed new laws, by the advice of his council. The care of seeing these executed he took wholly upon himself. The army on the other hand he rendered

Jezdegerd II.

[g] Lebtarikh. Mirkhond. sect. xxix. [h] Khondemir. Lebtarikh. [i] Lebtarikh. [k] Mirkhond. ubi supra. [l] Lebtarikh, Khondemir, Mirkhond. ubi supra.

dered more affectionate to himself, than they had ever been to any of his predeces-
sors; for he caused it to be excellently paid, and though he took care to preserve dis-
cipline amongst his soldiers, yet he caused their duty to be so thoroughly explained to
them, and when he was obliged to punish, did it so gently, and with such visible
reluctancy, that he acquired the surname of *Sipahdost*, or *the lover of his soldiers*.
There is, however, but one expedition of his mentioned, and that is against the
Greeks, who, in his opinion, had broken the terms of their alliance with the *Persians*.
In order to convince them of the folly of this proceeding, *Jezdegerd* marched with a
very numerous army into the *Roman* territories. Far from suffering his troops to live
as in an enemy's country, he obliged his soldiers to pay for every thing they had,
to treat the inhabitants with the greatest civility, and to behave rather like strangers,
who came to see the country, than like enemies, disposed to destroy it. The *Greek*
emperor, fearing the consequences, in case his subjects should come to change their
opinion as to the *Persian* government, sent to acquaint *Jezdegerd*, that he was ready
to accept the terms he had formerly refused, and that he would pay the arrears of
the tribute which he demanded; upon which the *Persian* retired with his forces into
his own country, without committing the least disorder, which gained him more
reputation, than all their conquests had done his predecessors [m].

Makes choice of his younger son for his successor.

This great prince had two sons, the eldest called *Perouz*, and the younger *Hor-
mouz*. The latter was the favourite of his father, who took all imaginable care of
his education, and also very assiduously promoted his interest with the nobility, that
upon his own demise he might succeed him in the throne. This naturally induced
great disturbances in the kingdom, the elder brother taking all possible measures for
defeating the project of his father in favour of his brother. To cool these heats, as
also to pave the way to his own designs, the king thought fit to make his eldest son
governor of *Nimrouz*, an ancient province of the *Persian* empire, comprehending the
greatest part of those countries which are now called *Sigistan* and *Makran*, obliging him
also to go and reside in his government. This had a fair appearance, but was so far
from answering the purpose of *Jezdegerd*, that it proved the means of defeating all the
other precautions he had taken. This, however, did not happen in his life-time; for
the good king, after a reign of eighteen years, died suddenly, to the great grief, as
well as to the inexpressible loss, of his subjects, who saw themselves plunged upon his
death into a miserable situation, out of which they were not extricated, till they had
felt almost all the various calamities by which providence chastises offending na-
tions [n].

Hormouz III.

Hormouz III. being upon the spot, having a great interest through his father's
solicitations, and being himself a person of so great merit, as to have deserved the
name of *Firzaneh*, i. e. *The Sage*, seated himself upon the throne, and was acknow-
ledged by almost all the nobility. As he reigned but a very short time, most of the
Persian historians are silent as to his character. One of them, however, assures us, that
his conduct, after his accession, was very unlike his behaviour during the life-time of
his father; for that he no sooner found himself possessed of the sovereign authority,
but he began to tyrannize over his subjects, and to treat the nobility with equal con-
tempt and severity, though his title to the crown depended in a great measure upon
their choice. However it was, he did not long enjoy that dignity, which it had cost
him so much pains to acquire. His brother *Perouz* no sooner heard of his accession,
than he determined in himself not to lose tamely what he looked upon to be indubi-
tably his right. It so happened, that the province of which he was governor lay on
the frontiers of the country of the *Haiathelites*, who in the works of the *Greek* historians
are called *Nephtalites*, and by the translator of *Mirkhond Euthalites*. To the king of
this nation, whose name was *Khaschnaouar*, he applied himself, offering him a part,
at least, if not the whole, of his province, if he would assist him in taking the crown
from his brother's head to set it upon his own. This proposition was readily accepted,
and *Perouz* furnished by him with a body of thirty thousand horse. With these auxiliaries
he entered *Persia*, and was quickly joined by such as had a good opinion of his title,
and such as had not been well received at his brother's court. *Hormouz* was no sooner
acquainted with this step taken by his brother, than he immediately marched towards
him with all his father's forces. But it so fell out, that part of the *Persian* army being
disaffected, and the other part afraid of the *Barbarians Perouz* had brought along with
him,

[m] Lebtarikh. Khondemir. D'Herbelot, biblioth. orient. art. Jezdegerd. [n] Khondemir. Mirkhond, sect. xxix.

him, made but a poor resistance; so that, without much difficulty, the situation of things was intirely changed, and *Hormouz* was not only thrust from the throne, but also put into chains and committed to prison, when he had reigned but one year [o].

Ferouz. *Ferouz*, being now exalted to the regal dignity, could not think himself safe, while his brother lived, tho' in a prison; and therefore the first act of his reign was, the cutting off the head of *Hormouz*, together with the heads of three of his chief counsellors. As to his conduct afterwards, it was pretty much of a piece with this extraordinary severity, which darkened the very dawn of it: neither was it long before the *Persians* began to perceive, that heaven visibly punished them, as well for their own offences, as for the great wickedness of their prince. The rod by which they were chastised was, a most severe drought, all the brooks and small rivers being every-where dried up, the earth parched, and its fruits withered. It lasted six years, and in that space destroyed such multitudes, and brought the remainder into so miserable a situation, that we are told the king and the nobility consented to do open penance to avert the wrath of the Almighty. This they performed, and in the seventh year all the seasons were wonderfully kind and pleasant; the earth, being thoroughly moistened, bore the next year as it was wont, and the scourge being removed, *Ferouz* and his people returned to their old manner of living; that is to say, the king ruled according to his will, and his subjects, as soon as they had the utensils of luxury, plunged themselves into all sorts of excesses. The obligations conferred upon the *Persian* monarch by the king of the *Haiathelites* were so great, that one may easily judge of the disposition of *Ferouz*, by his behaviour towards his benefactor. The people were no sooner recovered from that misery and consternation, which had been spread amongst them by the late famine and drought, but presently *Ferouz* was for turning his arms against him who had set him on the throne. It is true, that some *Persian* authors allege, that the subjects of this prince entered the frontiers of *Persia*, and plundered them in a hostile manner; but there is little reason to believe this, because the best writers confess, that the *Persians* were out of comparison more powerful, and that the misfortunes they afterwards met with could not possibly have befallen them, but by their own temerity and ill conduct [p].

Invades the country of the Haiathelites. *Ferouz* was not long in executing his project; he drew together as numerous an army as the circumstances of the *Persian* affairs would allow, and as soon as he had drawn them together, he marched northwards in order to invade the country of the *Haiathelites*. The king of that people was under the greatest amazement, when he heard of the preparations *Ferouz* had made. An officer in his troops, as some historians say, but, as others affirm, his grand vizier took upon him to revive his courage, by promising him a victory without fighting, if he would listen to his advice. This man had, as some say, a hand wanting by an accident prior to this event; but others assure us, that when his master had promised him to be intirely guided by his counsels, he cut off his nose, his ears, a hand, and foot. In this mangled condition, he caused himself to be laid in a wood, through the skirts of which he knew that the *Persian* army must pass. When the vanguard of *Ferouz*'s army reached him, they took him up, and carried him to their king, who, struck with the miserable condition of the man, received him kindly, asked him, Who he was, and by whom he had been so cruelly mangled? The artful *Haiathelite* readily answered, that he had been thus treated by his king, for having exhorted him to give any kind of satisfaction to the king of *Persia*, rather than engage in a war, the more, because he was so excessively hated by his own subjects. *Ferouz* rejoiced at this account, inquired narrowly into the strength of the enemy, and where the king of the *Haiathelites* was incamped? The wounded man answered, that the king had with him the flower of all his people, and that they lay in ambuscade behind certain mountains, which were but a few days march from thence, if the king took his road through the woods; but if he continued in that wherein he now was, he would be obliged to pass on the other side of those mountains, and thereby give the *Haiathelites* an opportunity of falling upon his rear. *Ferouz*, not in the least suspecting the fidelity of his wounded guide, listened readily to the advice he gave him; and without more ado turned out of the ordinary road, and suffered himself to be led, sometimes through thick woods, at others through wide deserts, till at length his army was on the very point of being famished for want of necessary provisions. Then the *Haiathelites* appeared on all sides, and in such vast numbers,

[o] Khondemir. Mirkhond, sect. xxx. D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Hormouz. [p] Leb-tarikh, Mirkhond, sect. xxxi. Khondemir.

numbers, that *Ferouz* seeing it alike impossible to defend himself, or to escape, surrendered with the small remains of his army, throwing himself intirely on the mercy of his injured benefactors. The king of the *Haiathelites*, supposing that this disastrous expedition would prove a sufficient warning to *Ferouz*, offered to send him, and those that were with him, safely back into their own country, provided they took an oath never to invade his dominions any more. This they readily consented to do, and, as soon as they had done it, were permitted to return without the least injury done them [q].

Invades the Haiathelites a second time.

The first thing *Ferouz* projected after his return into his own kingdom was, the attacking the *Haiathelites* a second time, in breach of the solemn oath which he had so lately made. The chief reason which induced him to apprehend that he should be more successful in this expedition than his first was, the observation he had made of the number of forces about the king of that people, when he had assembled the whole force of his nation. The *Persian* army appeared to *Ferouz* capable of beating twice the number of *Haiathelites* he had seen, if they had not been circumvented by the policy of the wounded vizier. This fault therefore he determined to repair by marching directly into the heart of the country, without turning either this way or that. Accordingly as soon as the necessary levies could be made, he appointed *Saouk*, a prince descended from the ancient kings of *Persia*, regent in his absence; and with a prodigious army marched once more against the people, by whose assistance he was seated on the throne. There is no need of repeating here the same story, which hath been already inserted, in the history of this prince's life under the name of *Perozes*, in the former period. Let it suffice that he and his army were by a new stratagem buried altogether in a pit, and the *Haiathelites* delivered from all apprehensions of suffering any more by the incorrigible disposition of *Ferouz*. The oriental historians differ, however, widely from the text, in the accounts they give us of the consequences of this war; for they affirm, that *Saouk* the lieutenant of *Ferouz*, as soon as he received the news of his master's defeat, marched with a considerable body of horse he had drawn together from an apprehension of this disaster, and incamping with them on the borders of the *Haiathelites*, prevented their invading *Persia*, and even obtained from their king, who was a prince of great wisdom and justice, a peace upon honourable terms, on a suggestion that the *Persians* were by no means well affected to the measures of *Ferouz*, but were constrained to follow that unhappy prince, because he was their sovereign. The king of the *Haiathelites*, on this consideration, not only made peace, but sent back all the *Persians* he had taken prisoners without ransom, as thinking the death of *Ferouz* a sufficient satisfaction for the injuries he had done him. According to the best of the eastern historians, *Ferouz* reigned thirty, though some say, not above twenty-seven years [r].

Balasch II.

Balasch succeeded his father *Ferouz* or *Firouz*, and was not his brother, as the Greeks give out. His accession to the throne was very grateful to his subjects, but his younger brother *Cobad* was so dissatisfied therewith, that he instantly retired from court, and fled to *Turquestan* with the son of *Saouk*, who was his friend and counsellor. It does not appear, that *Balasch* either ordered his brother to be pursued, or attempted by any means to take away his life; but, on the contrary, left him at full liberty to live abroad at his ease, since he would not live at home. This, however, had no effect upon *Cobad*; his heart was full of ambition, and his head as full of sinister contrivances. His friend had prevailed upon him to marry his daughter, who is represented by the *Persian* historian, from whom we have these particulars, as a woman of exquisite beauty, and of as exquisite parts. By her *Cobad* had a son, whom he left with his mother, that he might return again to the court of the *Khacan*, in order to solicit his assistance against his brother. Having prevailed in his suit, and orders being issued for raising an army, at the head of which he was to make an irruption into *Persia*, *Cobad* thought fit to make a visit to his father-in-law's family, in order to have his sentiments of this expedition; and while he was there seeking to draw the best intelligence he could from his friends in *Persia*, he first received advice that his brother was so extremely beloved by his subjects, that any attempt to dethrone him would be vain; and while he was afflicting himself with the thoughts of being defeated in all his schemes, he received another courier, who brought him advice, that *Balasch* died suddenly a few days before, and that there required no army to set him on the throne, his subjects being very ready to receive him. Upon this he set out with his father-in-law, his wife, and young son.

Neighbour-

[q] Khondemir, Lebtarikh. Mirkhond, sect. xxxi. D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Firouz. [r] Khondemir. Mirkhond, sect. xxxi. D'Herbelot, biblioth. orient. artic. Firouz.

Nouschirvan, to receive that crown by succession, which he sought to have seized by force, or to have acquired by his intrigues. Authors are not agreed how long *Balasch* reigned, some giving him fourteen years, and others little more than four [s].

Cobad. *Cobad* ascended the throne with all the advantages possible: He was in his person one of the handsomest men in *Persia*, very adroit in his exercises, of a very generous disposition, and of quick parts; but as to his morals they were exceedingly depraved, and he had in his exile sucked in such false notions of politics, as served only to make himself uneasy, and to put him upon oppressing his subjects. The first wrong step he took was, the putting to death *Saouk*, his wife's grandfather, because that under his father and brother he had had the chief direction of all things, which *Cobad* supposed he would expect during his reign, a thing he did not care to grant, and which, considering *Saouk*'s great power, he thought it might not be safe to refuse. He therefore made use of one *Schabour*, a soldier of fortune, who offered him his service on his accession to the throne, and to whom he gave orders to take off *Saouk*, in such a manner, as might least reflect upon his government. Having this commission, *Schabour* went to pay his respects to *Saouk*; and having drawn him into a conversation, quarrelled with him, and cut his throat. In the tenth year of the reign of *Cobad* a certain impostor appeared, whose name was *Mazdek* [t]. He followed the steps of *Mani* pretty closely; for he set himself up for a prophet in the desert, and having drawn together a multitude of people by his specious pretences, firmly persuaded them of his having revelations from heaven. The drift of these revelations was to the old purpose, *viz.* the establishing of a more pure and holy religion, than had been hitherto made known to mankind. But as austerity and self-denial were never very popular doctrines, he invented some new notions of purity; and in order to take away the lust of wealth and of women, he proposed rendering them both common. This suited well with the disposition of *Cobad*, who, as we observed before, was a very dissolute prince; and therefore he countenanced this impostor, brought him to court, treated him with respect, and, under pretence of promoting purity in religion, fell to plundering his nobility and debauching their wives and daughters. This is that decree for rendering women common, which the *Greek* writers speak of, and which they make the pure effect of the corruption of the king's heart, and represent as an action which lost him the hearts of all his people. But this is so far from being true, that the bulk of the people were more attached to this prince than any of his predecessors. The poor hoped to have a share in the treasures taken from the rich, and the youth were so transported with the thoughts of having all the women they pleased, that the nobility found it a very difficult matter to do what they did. *Cobad* had a sister, who was wonderfully beautiful, and of whose adventures the oriental romance writers have written very largely. This sister *Mazdek* gave him a dispensation to marry, which is the clearest proof in the world, that the *Greek* writers are altogether in the wrong in suggesting that such marriages were conformable to the magian religion; had it been so, *Cobad* needed not have turned heretic to have obtained such a dispensation, nor would his making use of it have alarmed the nobility as it did. It was this that put the finishing stroke to his ruin; for the *Persian* lords looked upon it now as a thing certain, that he would stick at nothing. Coming therefore in great numbers to court, with such of their dependents as they could trust, they seized the person of the king, committed him to prison, and appointed one *Giamasp*, a person of great wisdom and integrity, regent of the kingdom [u]. As to the impostor *Mazdek*, they would likewise have secured his person, if they could; but he was too circumspect to put it in their power. His disciples were very numerous, and he failed not to keep a sufficient number of them about him to repel any attempt of this sort; and he likewise took care not to trust himself in cities or fortresses, where the nobility might shut him up as in a cage [x].

Cobad *recovers the kingdom.* The account the original writers give us of the manner in which *Cobad* escaped from his prison, differs so little from that given by the *Greeks* already inserted at large in the life of *Cavades*, that, to avoid prolixity, we shall repeat nothing of it here. The eastern writers assure us, that it was some time before the king of the *Haiathelites* could be prevailed on to raise forces, in order to re-establish *Cobad* on his throne. At length he sent thirty thousand horse into the frontiers of *Persia* to try the disposition of the people;

[s] Mirkhond, sect xxxii. Lebtarikh. [t] Sharishtani de religion. orient. Megjdi in vita Kobad. D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. artic. Mazdak. [u] Mirkhond. sect. xxxiii. Khondemir. Sharistani de religion. orient [x] Khondemir. Sharistani de religion. oriental. Mirkhond. sect. xxxiii. Megjdi in vita Kobad. Lebtarikh.

people; and it appearing that they were well affected to *Cobad*'s interest, that prince followed in person, and was shortly after peaceably restored, *Giamasp* readily resigning all title to the imperial throne, which procured him a very favourable reception from *Cobad*, who treated him with much respect as long as he lived. After his restoration, it is said, he altogether reformed his conduct, and became in every respect an excellent prince, equally careful of extending his empire by arms, and of improving it by the encouragement of arts. It appears not, however, that he quitted the sect of *Mazdek*, though he durst never attempt to carry his notions into practice after his return; and in all probability he was the less inclined to attempt any thing of this sort, on account of the trouble he had with one of his own sons, who embraced the opinions of *Mani*, and in whose favour all the *Persians*, infected with that heresy, discovered an inclination to revolt, in order to have placed him on the throne before the death of his father, had they not been prevented by the diligence of *Cobad*, who was of a most active disposition, and preserved his activity even in old age. Authors are not very well agreed as to the length of his reign; some giving him more years, some less. The best historians, however, agree, that he reigned forty-three years with great variety of fortune, and that he died beloved by his subjects, and revered by his neighbours, after having restored peace and order throughout *Persia*, repaired such cities as were falling to decay, and erected many new ones to serve as monuments of glory to his posterity [t] (G).

Nouschirvan. To *Cobad* succeeded his son *Khosrou* or *Chosroes*, so famous throughout all the east under the surname of *Nouschirvan*, i. e. *the magnanimous*. This word, literally taken, signifies *a soul candied in honey*, and metaphorically *a mind equally distinguished by sweetness of temper and great abilities*. He was by very far the greatest prince of this dynasty, and, in the opinion of most of the oriental historians, the most glorious monarch that ever reigned in *Persia*; happy in his genius, more so in his education, excelling in all royal virtues, deficient in none requisite to distinguish a man in private life. The dawn of his government promised much felicity to his people, and he reigned long enough to make good to them much more than that promised. The first act of sovereignty with which he distinguished himself was full of severity, though he was naturally the mildest prince in the world. He found means to cause the impostor *Mazdek* to be seized, and to be brought prisoner into his presence. On this occasion *Nouschirvan* made a long oration, in which he explained the many and great mischiefs brought on mighty kingdoms by such deluders; declared his settled resolution to extirpate all this new sect, and as an earnest thereof, he ordered *Mazdek* to be immediately put to death. That deceiver, desirous of keeping up some reputation, addressed himself to *Nouschirvan* in these words, as the officers were about to take him out of that prince's presence: *Providence, O king! appointed thee to rule over us, that thou mightest protect and not destroy. True, thou son of corruption,* answered Nouschirvan; *but dost thou not remember, that thou didst once impudently demand of* Cobad *my father permission to lie with my mother, and that thy followers have pillaged all the rest of my subjects? I do not therefore seek to destroy thee and thine, but to preserve myself and the people committed by providence to my care.* After the execution of *Mazdek*, *Nouschirvan* did not proceed to any farther severities. The death of their chief struck such a damp to

[t] Mirkhond. ubi supra. Khondemir. Sharistani de religion. orient.

(G) There are some varieties in the relations we have of the reign of *Khobad*, which deserve to be remarked. *Khobad*, according to *Mirkhond*, married *Zarmeher*, the grand-daughter of *Saouk*, who had governed the kingdom after the miserable defeat of his father; but of this we find no distinct account in any other historian. What is stranger still, *Mirkhond* makes this lady the mother of *Nouschirvan*. As to his sister, whose beauty and accomplishments tempted him to accept of the impostor *Mazdek*'s disputation, *Mirkhond* assures us, that she was taken prisoner at the time her father *Ferouz* was killed, a circumstance we did not insert in the text, because it seems to be altogether improbable. The march which *Ferouz* made into the enemy's country was in itself attended with great difficulties, and who can imagine, that he would expose a young lady the only daughter he had, in such a manner? All the oriental historians agree, that during his reign there were prodigious numbers of *Jews* settled in his dominions, especially in *Chaldæa*, where sometimes he treated them with great lenity, and at others he loaded them with heavy taxes. It does not appear, that he ever had any good opinion of the *Manichees*, though they had been in favour with his father, and though the impostor *Mazdek* had concurred with them in some of their notions. The truth seems to be, that he was far from being nice in religion himself, and only pretended a high zeal for the sect of *Mazdek*, because it gave him an opportunity of filling his coffers, and gratifying his passion for his sister (19).

(19) *Mirkhond sect.* xxxiii. *Lebtarikh. Sharistani de religion. orient.*

a to the hearts of his followers, that they willingly laid hold of the alternative offered them by the king's edict, *viz.* either to restore what they had wrongfully taken from others, or to suffer capital punishment as thieves. Thus the peace and properties of the people of *Persia* were secured against the attempts of these debauched enthusiasts, without any extraordinary effusion of blood [u].

Instances of his generosity and wisdom.

Nouschirvan also removed at the very beginning of his reign such officers of his court, as, by their conduct in his father's life-time, had rendered themselves disagreeable to his people. Among these there was one particular person whom he forbad ever to come into his presence, and who by this sudden and total disgrace fell into extreme poverty. On the birth-day, however, of the king, when all the *Persian* nobility came b to make presents, and to pay their duty to their sovereign, this officer appeared among the rest, and, after having dined at the royal table, put one of the golden plates into his bosom, unperceived by any but *Nouschirvan*. When the plate was missed, and the servants began to make some stir, the king bade them be at quiet; *For*, said he, *the man who took it will not bring it again, and he who saw him take it will not discover him*. On the next birth-day the officer came to court again, clad in a new robe, upon which the king calling him, whispered in his ear, *Did my plate go to buy that fine robe?* The man readily answered, *Yes*, and then drawing it aside, shewed him a pair of ragged breeches: *But you see, Sir*, said he, *that it would go no further*. *Nouschirvan* was so charmed with the frankness of the man, that he restored him to his c place as well as favour, and the *Persians* were so delighted with the generosity and good-humour of their prince, that in all their histories this story is preserved, as a monument of his beneficence and clemency. For the better dispatching of justice and the more easy management of all public affairs, the king in the second year of his reign divided all the *Persian* dominions into four vizierships: the first consisted of the frontier provinces towards *Tartary* and *India*: the second included *Parthia*, *Armenia*, and the provinces bordering on the *Caspian* sea: the third comprehended *Persia Proper*, and all the provinces between it and the gulph: the fourth was composed of *Mesopotamia*, *Chaldea*, the countries taken from the *Arabs*, and those conquered from the *Greek* emperors. Over each of these he appointed a governor of the royal d blood, who, in all ordinary cases, judged without appeal: But in all extraordinary cases and where judgments were capital they could not proceed, till they had instructions from court [x].

And of his martial disposition.

Early also in his reign he made an expedition into *Rumestan*, or the territories of the *Greek* emperor, of which we have given a long account in the foregoing period. In this war, however, he did not so much endeavour to augment the bulk of his territories, as to increase the number of his subjects. It was with this view that he transported all the inhabitants of the great city of *Antioch* into the province of *Irak*, where he gave them the city of *Mahouza* for their habitation, the name of which, to oblige them, he changed for that of *Antioch*. This city lay at no great distance from e *Babylon*; but the new name conferred upon it by *Chosroes* did not remain with it long; for after his decease the old one of *Mahouza* came again into use, and it is so called even at this day. After this he resolved to restore the *Persian* frontier on the other side of his empire, on which the *Haiathelites* had trespassed exceedingly, supposing they could never be too well rewarded for the assistance they had given to his father *Cobad*. At first *Nouschirvan* endeavoured to proceed by way of negotiation, representing to these people, that the wide-spread countries of *Thebet*, *Candahar*, and *Brantolah*, suited better their way of life, than the provinces they had usurped from *Persia*; but the *Haiathelites* having treated these representations with contempt, *Nouschirvan* was constrained to have recourse to force; whereby he answered his purpose better, and obliged this barbarous people to repass the mountains; by which means his subjects were delivered from those apprehensions, with which the neighbourhood of this mighty nation had tormented them for upwards of fifty years. This manner of proceeding alarmed all the neighbouring princes, and more especially the khacan, who immediately raised a great army, and, while *Nouschirvan* was on the borders of *India* with his troops, broke like an inundation through the *Persian* provinces into the very heart of the kingdom. *Nouschirvan*, as soon as he was acquainted with what had happened, resolved to send his son *Hormouz* against this formidable invader, being afraid to leave his frontiers towards

[u] Megjdi in vita Nouschirvan. Mirkhond, sect. xxxiv. Khondemir. Sharistani de religion. orient. [x] Khondemir. Mirkhond. ubi supra. Megjdi in vita Nouschirvan. Lebtarikh. D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Nouschirvan.

towards *India* uncovered, lest some advantages should be taken by his enemies on that side[y].

His son Hormouz *defeats the khacan.*

Hormouz discharged his duty to his father and to the *Persian* nation, not only with great fidelity, but with great capacity also. Though but a young man, he had been a soldier from his childhood, and therefore wanted not experience, as he naturally abounded with courage. The troops he had about him were daily augmented by the country people, who looked upon the army as the surest asylum, and prudently chose to hazard their lives in the service of their country, rather than to fly and hide themselves from the enemy with equal hazard. *Hormouz* judged perfectly well of the strength of his own forces, and did not, because they were numerous, pretend to give the enemy battle, which, if he had lost, must have lost *Persia*; but by harassing the unwieldly army of the khacan by continual skirmishes, by withdrawing all sorts of provision out of the open country, by garisoning strong cities, and by abandoning weak ones, he obliged that monarch to think of retiring, as by burning all the country behind him, he had rendered his retreat almost impracticable. The khacan, ignorant of this, began to march back, and was amazed when he found a desart before him, and the *Persian* forces behind, and on every side. In this miserable situation himself, with the principal nobility and a great corps of the best horse, deserted the rest, and precipitately escaped into their own country, leaving to the young prince of *Persia* the glory of having defeated him, and of having defeated him by his conduct. *Nousschirvan* on the other hand, having completed his designs in respect to his *Indian* frontiers, made an offensive war on the khacan, and pushed his conquests so far, that he obliged him to accept peace on the terms he thought fit to give him; after which *Nousschirvan* married his daughter. This remarkable event happened in the twelfth year of his reign, and as it delivered him from any apprehensions of danger from foreign enemies, so he laid hold of this opportunity to settle the boundaries of his vast dominions, and then to return to *Madain* his capital city; where he gave audience to the embassadors of the greatest potentates of the world, who came to compliment him on his victories, and to penetrate, if possible, any new designs he might have formed[z].

The bounds of the Persian *empire.*

It may not be amiss to take notice here of the boundaries which *Nousschirvan* gave to his empire, because the reader will from thence perceive, with how great justice the *Persian* writers acknowledge this prince for the greatest monarch that ever ruled in their country. The city and country of *Farganah*, which lies along the river *Sihon* or *Iaxartes*, was the limit of *Persia* on that side; the river *Indus* separated his territories from those of the independent *Indian* princes. *Arabia*, to the frontiers of *Egypt*, acknowledged him for its sovereign, and in *Syria* he had pushed his conquests as far as the sea would permit. While *Nousschirvan* enjoyed in peace an empire of such an extent, he formed two projects highly commended by the eastern writers, and which, it may be would not have gained him so much honour, had he reigned in another part of the world. The first was the bringing out of *India* a certain book, intitled *Homaioun Nameh*, i. e. *The Royal Manuel*, the work of the famous *Pilpai*, containing a multitude of parables, relating to the art of government. This, by the care of his chief minister *Buzurge Mihir*, he procured, and caused it to be translated into the *Persian* language for his own use. His other project was of the same sort, but undertaken for the sake of his people. It was the publication of his predecessor *Ardschir*'s institutions for all degrees of men. Of this he caused a multitude of copies to be made, and obliged every family in *Persia* to receive one[a].

Nouschizad *the son of* Nousschirvan *rebels against him.*

We must not, however, suppose, that the life of *Nousschirvan* was spent without meeting with any troubles: For what prince, what private man, ever spent his life so? The source of his uneasiness was his own family, and the enemy who gave him most trouble was his own son. In one of his expeditions into *Rumestan*, or the dominions of the emperors of *Greece*, he had taken a female captive, by whose beauty he was subdued himself. This woman was a christian and very devout. *Nousschirvan* espoused her, and had by her a son whom he dearly loved. The name of this young prince was *Nouschizad*. His mother took care from his cradle to educate him in her religion, and impressed the truths thereof so strongly in his mind, that when he grew up, he was not to be moved by the arts of the magi, or by the threats or promises of his father. *Nousschirvan*, perceiving this and being afraid of the consequences, confined him. For, as we have seen religious disputes were dreadful to this

[y] Khondemir. Mirkhond, sect. xxxiv. Megidi in vit Nousshirravan. [z] Mirkhond ubi supra. Lebtarikh. Khondemir. [a] Megidi in vit. Nourshirravan. Khondemir. Mirkhond. ubi supra.

a this wise prince, who thought he could not be master of the hearts of his subjects if they were not united amongst themselves. The prince's custody was easy enough, the king designing, not so much to punish him as to prevent any thing which might deserve punishment; and therefore, when he found himself obliged to visit the frontiers of his empire towards *India*, he did not think fit to alter *Nouschizad*'s condition, but left him under the same gentle restraint, wherein he had lived for some years. During his absence from his capital, he had a fit of sickness, whereupon a report was spread that he was dead. *Nouschizad* hearing this took instantly an opportunity of making his escape; and, as there were many christians in *Persia*, he quickly drew together a considerable force, and continued to increase his army, even after he was b informed, that his father was alive and well. The news of this revolt greatly afflicted *Nouschirvan*, who did not, however, immediately send an army against his son, but suffered things to remain as they were, that the young prince might have time to consider the condition he was in and return to his duty. But when he saw this delay produced nothing, but that, on the contrary, many of the grandees, who were discontented at the severity of the king's justice, took this opportunity of fortifying themselves against his resentment, *Nouschirvan* resolved to wait no longer; and therefore instantly dispatched a body of forces under the command of *Ram Berzin*, one of his principal generals, to reduce the rebels. However, when that officer took his leave of him, he gave him these instructions: "I understand that my son hath not c "only taken arms, but hath also possessed himself of my treasures, opened the pri- "sons, augmented his army with those he found in them, and, by the help of my "money and his own promises, hath drawn abundance of my officers to his party. "My commands therefore are, that you advance with all possible diligence towards "him, yet without attacking him, or those of my subjects who are about him, till "you have advised him of your arrival, and exhorted him to return to that obedience "he owes me; which if he inclines to do, I expect that he should send back to "their prisons those whom he has released; that he should put to the sword the "officers who have deserted to him, and disband his army. If he refuses to execute "these things, do your utmost to reduce him by force, even though it should be at d "the expence of his life. But if the young man falls alive into your hands, do not "offer him the least indignity, nor so much as reproach him with his want of duty; "his consciousness thereof will be a sufficient punishment." *Ram Berzin* followed his instructions exactly, but the prince proving obstinate, a general engagement ensued, in which *Nouschizad* was defeated and received a mortal wound, which when he perceived, he said to those who were about him, *Tell the queen, my mother, that it is my last request, that my body may be buried among the christians. Nouschirvan* succeeded no less happily in his *Indian* war, than he had done in this domestic one; he compelled all the princes on his frontiers to do him homage and to pay him tribute. After this he marched with a great army into *Arabia*, where he was fortunate in the highest e degree, and used his fortune to the best purpose imaginable. He found the country distressed by tyrants, whom he dispossessed of their power, restored the lawful sovereigns, whom they had driven from their dominions, and did so many kindnesses to the people in general, that *Mohammed* himself was wont to boast, that he was born under the reign of this monarch, surnamed by the *Arabians Al-malek*, i. e. *The Just* [b].

After all his victories Nouschirvan *adorns his capital.*

After this he returned to *Madain*, his capital, and began to adorn it with a multitude of new and sumptuous buildings; amongst the rest with a palace, which was accounted one of the wonders of the east. It was called *Thak Khosrou*, i. e. *The dome of Chosroes*. It had a beautiful cupola, and underneath strong and large vaults, in which were deposited all the mighty treasures of this powerful monarch. In order f to have a just idea of this wonderful building, the reader must be informed, that the caliph *Almanzor* ordered this palace to be pulled down, in order to employ its materials in adorning the citadel of *Bagdat*; but, after working some time thereon, he found the expence so great, that he was forced to abandon the enterprize, and leave the greatest part of the palace of *Chosroes* undemolished, on which a *Persian* poet wrote the following distich, alluding to the founder of this glorious edifice:

Thy works, like thee, eternity enjoy;
Nor rage, nor time, can thy designs destroy.

If

[b] Mirkhond, ubi supra. Lebtarikh. Khondemir. Mejdi in vit Nousirravan

If we were to mention a twentieth part of the acts recorded of this prince, which a
have come even to our hands, it would take up much more room than we have allowed to this period; we shall content ourselves therefore with giving the reader an account of his last expedition and death, and a short view of his character, according to the *Oriental* writers, in a note, that we may not be condemned of negligence, amidst such immense materials. The last war, which *Nouschirvan* made against the *Constantinopolitan* emperor, was occasioned by his supporting the petty princes of *Armenia*, against the *Persian* prince, who was their sovereign. At first *Nouschirvan* had the same good fortune in this as in his other wars; but trusting it too far, he was defeated, and constrained to pass the river *Euphrates* on the back of his elephant, and not without great danger of being drowned. On his return to his capital *Madain*, which is either b
the same with *Ctesiphon*, or a city built upon its ruins, he began to find himself extremely weak, and not a little indisposed. He therefore judged it time to think of making peace, and then of settling the succession; for being now eighty years old, and having reigned forty-eight, he had not either cause to hope for much longer life, or to repine at his approaching decease, after having so long and fully enjoyed the good things of this world. When therefore he heard, that the *Greek* emperor was willing to conclude a treaty on reasonable terms, and saw that the nobility were well inclined towards his son *Hormouz*, he disposed himself chearfully to submit to fate, having first delivered in writing the following instructions, or political testament, to his son [d]. c

" I *Nouschirvan*, the possessor of the kingdoms of *Persia* and *India*, address these
" my last words to *Hormouz* my son, that they may serve him as a lantern in the
" days of darkness, as a path when he shall enter the deserts, and as a pole-star
" when he navigates through the seas of this tempestuous world. When my eyes are
" closed, which are already unable to bear the light of the sun, let him be seated on
" my throne, and let his lustre be equal to that glorious planet: but let him remem-
" ber in the midst of his greatness, that kings rule not for themselves, but for their
" people, and that they are, with respect to them, what the heavens are to the earth.
" Can the earth be fruitful, if it be not watered, if it be not cherished by the heavens?
" My son, let all your people be sensible of your benefactions; those who are nearest d
" you first; by degrees those who are at the greatest distance. If I durst, I would
" propose to you my own example: but I will rather put you in mind of that which
" hath been example unto me. Behold the son, it visits all parts of the world; and
" if it is sometimes visible, and at others removed from our sight, it is because the
" universe partakes of its splendor and is cherished by its beams. Enter not any
" province but with a prospect of doing good to its inhabitants; neither quit it with
" any other view, than to do good elsewhere. Ill men must be punished; to them
" the sun of majesty is eclipsed: the good deserve the utmost encouragement, and
" ought to experience the morning beams. As that glorious luminary answers all
" the purposes for which it was created at all times, be thou careful to act always e
" like a king, since you will desire at all times to be revered as a king. My son,
" present thyself often before heaven to implore its aid; but be sure that thou
" approach it not with an impure mind. Do thy dogs enter the temple? If thou
" shalt observe exactly this rule, thy prayers shall be heard, thy enemies shall be
" struck with terror, thy friends shall be ever faithful; thou shalt be the delight of
" thy subjects, and thou shalt have reason to delight in them. Do justice, abase the
" insolent, comfort the unhappy, love your children, protect learning, follow
" the advice given you by antient counsellors, suffer not the young to meddle in
" affairs of state, and let the good of your people be the sole and supreme end of
" your designs. Farewel: I leave you a great kingdom, which you will keep, if f
" you will follow my counsels; and which it will be impossible for you to keep, if
" you follow others [e]." Such was the end of *Nouschirvan*, the most beloved prince of his age, and whose reputation survives to this day in the works of all the eastern historians, in the writings of their moralists, and more especially in the works of their poets [f] (H).

Hormouz

[d] Mirkhond. ubi supra. Lebtarikh. Khondemir. D'Herbelot. B.O. art. Madain, Nouschirvan.
[e] Histoire d'une revolut. arrivé en Perse dans le sixieme siecle ap. de l'academ. royale des inscrip. Tom III. edit. Amsterd. p. 510. [f] Khondemir. Lebtarikh. Mirkhond. ubi supra. Megjdi in vita Noushirravan.

(H) *Khondemir* closes his account of the reign of *Nouschirvan* with this observation: " Princes in suc- " ceeding times ought to place him, of whom we " have been speaking, as a model before their eyes, " and

a *Hormouz*, whom the *Greeks* call *Hormiſdas*, and who was the fourth of that name of this dynaſty, aſcended the throne with the faireſt proſpect that ever any *Perſian* prince had. He was naturally of a very indifferent diſpoſition, addicted to his pleaſures, haughty, and cruel. His father who was too wiſe a prince not to perceive theſe defects in his ſon, endeavoured to correct them by education. With this view he put him under the care of the celebrated *Buzurge Mihir*, the wiſeſt man in *Perſia*, and the firſt miniſter of *Nouſchirvan*. This excellent perſon took ſuch pains with *Hormouz*, and knew ſo well to ſet folly and vice in their lights, that he vanquiſhed his natural proneneſs to evil, and made him, in ſpite of himſelf, a great and a good man. For the firſt three years of his reign, while his old tutor remained about his b perſon, he as far tranſcended *Nouſchirvan*, as *Nouſchirvan* had all his predeceſſors. His diſcourſes were fraught with wiſdom, his actions were all beneficent. He carried ſo far his reſpect for *Buzurge Mihir*, that he would not wear his royal ornaments in his preſence; and when ſome of his courtiers intimated, that his reverence to him was exceſſive, ſince it was more than was due to a parent, he anſwered, *You ſay well, my friends; but I owe more to him than I do to my father. The life and kingdom I received from* Nouſchirvan *will remain with me but a few years; but the reputation I ſhall acquire, in virtue of his inſtructions, will ſurvive to lateſt times.* Happy had it been for this prince, had he always adherred to theſe notions; but when old age had rendered *Buzurge Mihir* unfit for the great employments he poſſeſſed, he requeſted, and c had leave from *Hormouz* to retire; and with him retired the happineſs and fortune of his maſter (I). The young courtiers who were about *Hormouz* began from that moment,

Hormouz IV.

" and make his conduct the rule of theirs, ſince he " poſſeſſed in a ſovereign degree, as well the good " qualities which render amiable a private man, as " the exalted virtues which add luſtre to a diadem; " but, above all, juſtice without biaſs, liberality with- " out any other bounds than thoſe aſſigned by rea- " ſon, contributed moſt to his high reputation while " living, and have preſerved his fame freſh to poſte- " rity (20)." We have ſeen in the foregoing hiſtory, many inſtances of the grandeur of this prince's ſoul, in undertaking the moſt ſtupendous works for the benefit, and for the ornament of the ſeveral parts of his dominions. There is one, however, of which we have not ſpoken; and as it makes a great figure in all the *Oriental* hiſtories, it is requiſite to take ſome notice of it here: This is the wall of *Jagouge* and *Magouge*, or a thick and high rampart commencing at *Derbent*, and running from mountain to mountain, ſo as to ſecure the frontiers of *Perſia* from the northern nations. It was projected by *Alexander the Great*, and, as ſome ſay, begun by his command. However, it remained unfiniſhed, tho' not altogether unproſecuted, till the reign of *Nouſchirvan*, who undertook and happily concluded it (21). The court of *Nouſchirvan* was one of the moſt magnificent that the world ever ſaw. The deputies from all the provinces of *Perſia* conſtantly attended therein, as did the embaſſadors of all the great princes in the world. The expence of their entertainment was defrayed by *Nouſchirvan*, who, in the midſt of all this proſperity, preſerved a mind ſo equal and undiſturbed, that he was never ſurprized into any expreſſion unworthy of a philoſopher. A courier coming haſtily into his preſence, cried out, *God is juſt! God is juſt! the implacable enemy of our king is taken away by death. Nouſchirvan* anſwered without the leaſt emotion, *Far be it from me to rejoice at the death of my enemy. There can be nothing more ridiculous, than for mortals to be pleaſed with inſtances of mortality* (22). When he had been hunting, and was deſirous of eating ſome of the veniſon in the field, ſome of his attendants went to a neighbouring village, and took away a quantity of ſalt to ſeaſon it. The king ſuſpected it, ordered that they ſhould immediately go and pay for it; then turning to his miniſter, he ſaid, *This is a ſmall matter in itſelf but a great one as it regards me. A king ought ever to be juſt, becauſe he is an example to his ſubjects; and if he ſwerves in trifles, they will become diſſolute. If I cannot make all my people juſt in the ſmalleſt things, I can at leaſt ſhew them that it is poſſible to be ſo* (23). The ſame way of thinking induced him to put the following inſcription on his diadem, after he had ſettled the immenſe dominions he had acquired, and was revered at home and abroad, as the mightieſt of all monarchs:

What is long life? or what a glorious reign?
Since our ſucceſſors cloſe upon us tread.
My fathers left this crown, and I again
Muſt leave it too, and mingle with the dead (24).

Theſe are ſufficient ſpecimens of the ſolidity of his underſtanding, and of the ſtrength and rectitude of his ſentiments. We have therefore all the reaſon in the world to believe, what all the oriental hiſtorians poſitively affirm, that he was one of the moſt learned men, not only in his own dominions, but in his age; that he was the moſt beneficent patron of the ſciences, and of thoſe who cultivate them; and that his court was the aſylum of merit in diſtreſs. He held regular aſſemblies for the promoting of real, that is, uſeful knowledge, at which he aſſiſted himſelf, with his miniſters of ſtate, as will be ſeen in the next note; and he was ſo far from being a ſmatterer, that not only in the politer branches of learning, but even in the buſineſs of mechanics, he knew as much as the artiſts themſelves. With all this, he was the moſt debonnaire man in his court; and tho' he never ſaid a light or trivial thing himſelf, yet he would laugh at the jeſts of others, and never took ill any poignant expreſſion that eſcaped a man in a flow of humour (25). No wonder then, that the wits of his own time loved him; that the wits of ſucceeding ages have done their utmoſt to embalm his character. The facts related of him muſt ſtrike all generous minds; and therefore we make no excuſe for ſo long a note.

(I) The character of *Buzurge Mihir* makes ſo great a figure in the oriental hiſtories, that it is but juſt we

(20) *Hiſtor. Perſar.* (21) *D'Herbelot B. O. artic. Jagouge.* (22) *Saadi in Guliſtan. c.* i. (23) *Id. ibid. p.* 100. (24) *Id. ibid. p.* 119. (25) *Lebtarikh. Mirkhond. ſect.* 34. *Haſez, Giami. cum multis al. poet.*

moment, to have a viſible aſcendency over him, and to influence him to do many things alike contrary to his intereſt and injurious to his reputation. Such of his old counſellors as were about his perſon, and had ſtill ſome ſhare in his eſteem, theſe ſycophants found means to remove, either by miſinforming their king, or by treating thoſe they diſliked in ſo rude a way, that they made it their choice to retire from court. It had been the policy of *Nouſchirvan* to provide the ſhorteſt and ſpeediest methods of diſtributing juſtice throughout his wide empire. Every little village had its judge, and, in all courts of judicature, care was taken, that decrees ſhould not coſt either more time or money than they were worth. At the time of his death he left thirty thouſand perſons in judicial offices in his dominions. Numbers of theſe were removed when *Hormouz* fell into the hands of bad counſellors; and the miſchiefs which followed on this raſh ſtep were ſo great, that the inſpectors of juſtice in the ſeveral provinces of the empire joined in a remonſtrance upon that head; which *Hormouz* was ſo infatuated as to conceive a libel on his government, in reſentment of which he perſecuted this whole uſeful and venerable race of men with implacable hatred, and, by a new ſtrain of tyrannical madneſs, would be the ſole judge of his people himſelf. On this pretence he wore every day the *tiara* or royal diadem, which his predeceſſors never put on, but when they were about to adminiſter juſtice to their ſubjects. Hence his people gave him the ſurname of *Tagedar*, i. e. *the crown-wearer* [E].

The Khakan invades Perſia.

IT is impoſſible for a bad prince to maintain himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the hearts of his people, as well as of their obedience; and it is as impoſſible for a nation univerſally diſaffected to hinder their prince from perceiving the diſlike they have of his meaſures. This quickly became the caſe of *Hormouz* and his ſubjects. His jealouſies induced him to murder by thouſands. His people, believing themſelves in continual danger, could not avoid betraying an earneſt deſire of ſeeing themſelves ſafe, which begat further inclinations of revenge in their prince. To complete the misfortunes of both parties, the frontier provinces towards *India* and *Arabia* threw off the *Perſian* yoke, and ſet up princes of their own; and the khakan, who long waited for ſuch an opportunity, entered *Perſia* with an army of three hundred thouſand men, tho' he was uncle by the mother's ſide to *Hormouz*. The *Perſian* monarch, in this diſtreſs,

[E] MIRKHOND. & ſect. 25. KHONDEMIR. LEBTARIKH.

ſhould beſtow a note upon it here. In the firſt place we muſt remark, that this is the ſurname only of the prime miniſter of *Nouſchirvan*, and that it ſignifies, in the *Perſian* tongue, *well beloved*. We have taken notice in the text of his being appointed governor to *Hormouz*; and that, with great difficulty, he triumphed over the evil diſpoſition of that prince. It cannot be improper to give an inſtance of his addreſs in this reſpect; he ſaw with regret that his pupil ſlept till noon, ſpent the afternoon in dreſſing, and the night in debauches; he reproved to no purpoſe, he expoſtulated to no end; yet he continued to expoſtulate and reprove, hoping, that importunity might effect what was unattainable by reaſon. *Hormouz* at length, quite tired out, deviſed a method, to rid himſelf of theſe lectures: he ordered ſome of his favourites to diſguiſe themſelves, and to ſtrip his preceptor quite naked, as he came in the morning from his father's court to wait upon him. This being accordingly done, when *Buzurge Mihir* related his misfortunes, *You ſee*, ſaid the young prince, *what comes of all this diligence; if you had not been up ſo early, you had not been robbed. You miſtake, Sir*, ſaid the preceptor, *the thieves were more ſucceſsful than I, becauſe they roſe earlier. Vigilance, Sir, is a copy of the divine activity; it is the torch by which ſcience becomes viſible, the great treaſure of virtue and true pleaſure, and the key of victory in all things. Riſe then, my dear prince that the ſon of good fortune may diſplay his beams on thy head, and that the freſh air in the morning may diſpoſe thy mind to receive thoſe graces from heaven, which may in time make thee a bleſſing to the whole earth* (26). One day *Buzurge Mihir* being with his maſter *Nouſchirvan* at one of the aſſemblies of the learned, the king propoſed for the ſubject of debate this queſtion, *What is the extreme degree of miſery?* A *Greek* philoſopher, who was eſteemed one of the moſt learned men of his age and country, anſwered, *Poverty in extreme old age*. An *Indian* ſage alſo, of great reputation, gave it as his opinion, *That great pain, attended with dejection of mind, was the moſt unſupportable of evils. And what do you?* ſaid *Nouſchirvan* turning to his maſter. *My judgment is*, replied he, *that he is the moſt miſerable of men, who begins to repent, when he finds his life is at an end* (27). He had no ſooner ſaid this, than the other two ſages came immediately over to his opinion. It would take up a great deal of room to inſert a tenth part of the example we have met with of this man's wiſdom: One inſtance, however, of his miniſterial virtues may not be amiſs. One day at counſel, after a great deal had been ſpoken by others, it was obſerved, that he remained ſilent. Upon which *Nouſchirvan* aſked him, Why he did not ſpeak his ſentiments, as well as the reſt? *Because*, anſwered he, *a ſtateſman ought to give his advice, as a phyſician does medicines, that is, when there is occaſion* (28). At this the king ſmiled, and the reſt of the counſellors teſtified their ſatisfaction at ſo well turned a compliment. This great man was privately a chriſtian, which chiefly induced him to retire from court, and for which the cruel *Khoſrou Parviz* cauſed him to be put to death, when he had arrived at an extreme old age (29).

(26) *D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Buzurge Mihir.*
(27) *Saadi in Guliſtan.*
(28) *Limiſ-*
(29) *Khondemir.*

distress, called a general council of the nobility about him; and after hearing, without following, the advice of most of the great lords present, he suffered himself to be guided on this important occasion by the counsel of an old man, who had been embassador for *Nouschirvan* in the country of the khakan, at the time that prince demanded the mother of *Hormouz* in marriage. This old nobleman assured him, that, on this occasion, an astrologer predicted, that, under the reign of a *Persian* king to be born of a princess then chosen for *Nouschirvan*'s queen, a certain khakan should invade, and almost conquer, his dominions; but would be at length vanquished himself by a *Persian* general, whose face should resemble that of a wild cat; that the astrologer being further intreated to endeavour by his art to discover the name of this general, he by degrees placed several letters on a tablet, which, taken together, composed these words, *Babaram Tchoubin*. One cannot conceive any thing more visibly absurd than this story, which was certainly invented to amuse *Hormouz*, who was excessively addicted to the occult sciences, and thereby to engage him to place this officer at the head of his armies, of whom otherwise he would probably not have thought, tho' he was the most capable of that command of any man in his dominions. He was at this time governor of *Media*, from whence the king sent for him, and offered him the supreme command of all the troops in *Persia*; which *Babaram* declined, and, to the amazement of his master, chose only twelve thousand men, at the head of whom he marched instantly against the khakan [i].

The khakan utterly defeated by Baharam, *who is himself disgraced.*

He moved with such diligence and secrecy, that he attacked the enemy upon their march, with such a fortunate vivacity, that the khakan was constrained to advance against him in person at the head of his guards. This poised the scales for some time; but at length the khakan being killed and his son taken prisoner, their army fled in such confusion, that they left their baggage behind them; so that the *Persian* collected two hundred and fifty camels load of treasure. The most precious of the spoils, together with the captive prince, *Babaram* sent to the king his master, with a very dutiful letter, and an exact account of the advantages he had gained. At first *Hormouz* was extremely well satisfied with his general's good fortune, gave the highest commendations to his valour, and proposed to bestow on him mighty rewards. His favourites, however, suspecting, that *Babaram* might not have any great complaisance for them, in case he arrived at the chief employments in the state, resolved to secure themselves at his expence. With this view they insinuated to the king, that, under pretence of sending the richest of the spoils, *Babaram* had only given him a small part thereof, and kept the rest for himself; that it was to be feared he might make an ill use of this, and that it was a dangerous thing to trust so ambitious a man at the head of an army. The suspicious temper of *Hormouz* rendered any proof in support of these conjectures quite unnecessary. Insinuations were with him always sufficient evidence; and therefore, on no better grounds than these, he not only distrusted his general, but most imprudently and shamefully disgraced him, by sending him, instead of a habit of honour, the usual present of *Persian* kings, all the necessary apparel of a woman. This so far provoked *Babaram*, that, in his own mind, he resolved to dethrone his master, and therefore having arrayed himself in the woman's habit the king had sent him, he came out and shewed himself to his soldiers; and having asked them, whether they thought he deserved such treatment? he, by a premeditated harangue, drew them to concur with him in his resentments, and to assist him in his project of depriving the son of *Nouschirvan* of the regal dignity [k].

The army support Baharam *against his master.*

The *Persians*, however, retained such a respect for the royal family, that *Babaram* saw there was a necessity of making choice of some other prince of the same line. Accordingly he proclaimed *Khosrou Parviz*, the eldest son of *Hormouz*, king. That young prince, being persuaded by his uncles, retired from court, and countenanced the rebellion, causing money to be coined in his own name, and practising in other respects as if his father had been dead. *Hormouz*, having intelligence of these proceedings, seized *Hindouiah* and *Bothan* his wife's brothers, whom he knew to have encouraged his son to desert him. Their confinement, however, did not last long; for the whole mass of the people, having contracted an irreconcileable aversion to their king, broke open their prison, released these lords, and assisted them in seizing *Hormouz*; notwithstanding the excellent speech made by that prince, at the motion of *Hindouiah*,

[i] Khondemir. Lebtarikh. Mirkhond. ubi supra. Relation d'une revolution, &c p. 512. D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Hormouz. [k] Mirkhond. ubi supra. Histoire d'une revolution, &c. p. 514. D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Hormouz ben Nouschirvan.

doniah, put out his eyes. *Khosrou*, who was at this time in *Media*, returned with all a imaginable speed to his capital, where, as the *Eastern* writers unanimously agree, he went and comforted his father, assured him, that his uncles had acted intirely without his permission or consent, and besought his forgiveness in the most humble terms. The old blind king, sufficiently humbled by his misfortunes, and having no hopes but in his son, promised to forgive him, provided he punished those who deposed him and put out his eyes; which *Khosrou* promised to comply with, as soon as he should be thoroughly settled on the throne. In the mean time, *Baharam* having insinuated to the principal officers of his army, that *Khosrou*, notwithstanding he owed his crown to them, had yet a stronger affection to his family than to his people, whereby they had no hopes left, in case he should have it in his power to punish them for the revolt, b they determined, for their own sakes, to support their general, and to hazard all things, rather than his and their safety under a settled government. With this view they suffered him to lead them to *Madain*; before which city when they arrived, *Khosrou* drew out his forces in a plain called *Nibersun*, and offered them battle. The engagement was long and bloody; but *Khosrou* was at length beaten, and forced to retire into the city, where going to visit his father, the poor old man advised him not to suffer himself to be shut up in the place, but to retire into the territories of the *Greek* emperor, till his affairs should take a happier turn. *Khosrou*, having indeed no other measure to take, follow'd his father's advice, and disposed all things for his retreat. When he was about to withdraw, or, as some writers say, when he was actually out of the city, his uncles came to him, and represented the danger of leaving his father alive, even tho' he was blind, on a supposition that *Baharam* might re-instate him and govern under his name; wherefore they very humanely proposed to go back and put him to death. *Khosrou* opposed all he could this detestable project; but his uncles, however, turned back, and, to secure themselves, strangled the old unhappy prince with a bow-string, when he had reigned fourteen years. This is a very different account from that given by the *Greek* historians, and yet all the *Oriental* writers concur therein; and their authority seems to be of at least as much weight as that of strangers, in a point regarding their own history [1].

Baharam 'Tchoubin.

Baharam 'Tchoubin, on the flight of *Khosrou*, assumed the regal authority, tho' without the title. He was descended of the antient princes of *Rei*, and was the tallest man in the *Persian* dominions. He had served, when a youth, as a voluntier in the armies of *Nouschirvan*, and had risen, gradually and purely through merit, to the government of *Media*. As he was an excellent officer and mightily beloved by the soldiers so he was naturally loyal to his prince, and, in all probability, had maintained him on his throne, notwithstanding his ill conduct, if *Jezdan Baksche*, who was his first minister, had not instiga ed *Hormouz* to treat him as he did. When he had once taken the resolution of rebelling against the king, he resolved also to dethrone him, and to transfer the empire on his own family; but not daring to declare this, he made use of the name of *Khosrou*, till his scheme was ripe for execution. When he was informed of the flight of that prince, he sent a great detachment of horse in pursuit of him, under the command of *Siaonschan* the captain of his guards, with orders to re-take, if it was possible, and to bring him prisoner to his camp. This officer executed his orders so punctually, that he came up with *Khosrou* and his uncles at a certain hermitage; whereupon *Hindouiah* to preserve his nephew, put on the royal robes, and looking out of a window, which was very high, told the soldiers, who had already invested the place, that, as soon as their commanding officer came up, he would surrender. On the arrival of the captain of the guards, *Hindouiah* resumed his own cloaths, appeared at a window, and, in the name of the king, besought that officer to grant him some respite for his repose; which was accordingly allowed, a strong guard being posted round the place. At evening *Hindouiah* came again to the window, told the captain of the guards, that the king was very sensible of the civility shewn him, and besought him to lie there that night, that he might recover his spirits a little, and be the more able to bear the fatigue of travelling next day, where-ever they should think proper to carry him. This likewise was allowed; but the next morning *Hindouiah* acknowledged the fraud, and confessed that he did it to save his nephew, whom he personated when the place was first invested, that they might not pursue him any farther. Upon this he was made prisoner, and conducted

[1] Khondemir. Mirkhond. ubi supra. Histoire d'une revolution, &c. p. 514.

a to *Baharam*, who ordered him to remain in confinement; but did not put him to death, because he affected to govern with greater lenity than his predecessor. He also gave out, that he would follow the example of *Nouschirvan*, and restore the lustre of the *Persian* diadem to its antient splendor. A while the nobility remained faithful, and the people loved him; but by degrees they became dissatisfied with his conduct; and hearing that *Khosrou* was powerfully supported by the *Greek* emperor, they began to shew less inclination to his service. *Baharam*, however, set a great army on foot, and for a time maintained himself in possession. At last, after having been defeated in a general engagement, and finding himself quite borne down by numbers, he determined to retire to the khakan, by whom he was at first well
b received, and to whom he rendered great services by his military skill; but, after having been put off for many years with fair promises, he was at length poisoned, at the solicitation of *Khosrou*, who could never be easy so long as he lived [m].

Khosrou II. *Khosrou*, the son of *Hormouz*, was surnamed *Perviz* or *Aperviz*; concerning which appellation the *Orientals* are by no means agreed. Some say, that, in the antient *Persian* tongue, it signifies *victorious*; others, *the most glorious king*. A great critic in that language affirms, that it signifies *fish*; and that *Khosrou* had this surname given him, because he was a great lover of fish. If we durst offer our own judgment amidst so many great opinions, we should say, that, as *Aperviz* in the antient *Persian* tongue, signifies *a violent mover forwards*, whence it is understood to signify
c *fish*, we should apprehend it ought here to be taken allegorically; and that, as a surname, it implies *Khosrou the impetuous*, which, we think, was well justified by the whole current of his conduct. We have seen, in the foregoing period, how he was set upon his throne by the assistance of the *Greek* emperor, whose forces, in conjunction with those of *Khosrou*, defeated *Baharam Tchoubin* in a pitched battle. *Mirkhond* relates the matter differently; he says, that when the two armies were drawn in order of battle, it was proposed by three general officers belonging to *Baharam*, that three others should be chosen by *Khosrou*, and that, to spare the effusion of blood, the
d fate of the business should be decided by these six champions; which being accepted, *Khosrou* put himself at the head of his troops, and, notwithstanding all that his uncles could do, fought *Baharam*'s three generals one after another, and slew them all on the spot; whereupon the army of *Baharam* saluted him king, and *Baharam* himself, with a few of his friends, were forced to place their safety in flight. The eastern writers agree with the *Greek* historians in this, that *Khosrou* married a christian and made her queen; but then they differ exceedingly as to the quality of this lady, most of the oriental writers affirming, that she was the daughter of the emperor *Maurice*; whereas the *Greek* authors alledge, that she was a woman of ordinary birth, with whom *Khosrou* fell in love for her beauty. This woman, whatever her quality was, by the *Greek* writers is called *Mary* or *Irene*, and by the oriental historians *Schirin*, a name which signifies *soft* or *agreeable*. They report, that *Khosrou* loved her to distrac-
e tion; and that, on the other hand, she despised him, and was in love with one *Lebad*, a person of no great quality. They celebrate exceedingly the sweetness of her voice and her skill in music; which, together with her amour, renders it improbable that she was the daughter of a *Greek* emperor, but that she was rather a dancer or music-girl. For her sake *Khosrou* was for a long time very kind to the christians; but in process of time, either from his jealousy of her, or from some other cause, he conceived a most implacable hatred against them; and finding a fair opportunity on the accession of *Phocas* to the *Greek* empire, he began to enter its provinces, to besiege its fortified cities, and to plunder all its subjects, without mercy, as hath been largely shewn in the former period. In the invasion of *Judæa* and the sacking
f of the city of *Jerusalem*, he was assisted by the *Jews*, who made high professions of loyalty to this prince, that, under his protection, they might exhaust the christians by usury, and, when they were totally despoiled of property, enslave their persons. *Arabia*, *Egypt*, and the islands in the *Mediterranean*, fell under the power of this victorious prince, who, as we before noted, might well deserve the surname of *Impetuous*, from the rapidity of his conquests [n].

On his return to *Madain*, he wonderfully embellished the palace of his grandfather, disposing the upper part thereof in the form of a throne, which was supported by forty

Becomes a tyrant, and is deposed.

[m] Khondemir. Lebtarikh. Mirkhond ubi supra. Histoire d'une revolution, p. 520. D'Herbelot. Part. Baharam Tchoubin. [n] Khondemir. Mirkhond. sect. 36. D'Herbelot. B. O. Part. Khosrou Perviz, Schirin, &c.

forty thousand silver columns, and the concave over them was adorned by a thousand globes of gold, wherein all the planets and great constellations were seen to perform their natural revolutions, all the walls of this sumptuous place being covered with tapestry, wrought with gold flowers, and enriched with pearls and other precious stones. Underneath he had a hundred vaults filled with treasure. In the apartment of his women he had three thousand ladies, who were free, and twelve thousand slaves, the most beautiful that could be found throughout his dominions. His household troops were composed of six thousand men. In his stables he had six thousand horses and mules for his own riding; twelve thousand large mules, and eight thousand of the ordinary kind, served to carry his baggage. He had also nine hundred and sixty elephants, which he made use of in his armies. In the midst of all these fine things, the mind of *Khosrou* was very little at ease; for, not to enter into his family concerns and the uneasinesses he had on account of his mistress *Schirin*, it is sufficient for us to know, that as he grew in years, he grew excessively covetous, lost all manner of tenderness and compassion, and plundered his subjects in such a manner, that he alone was rich in all his vast dominions. He grew also excessively suspicious, and so jealous of the wealth he had amassed, that he made himself a slave in guarding it. His avarice likewise made him excessively cruel, insomuch, that he put numbers of persons to death, without any visible cause. This was the rock on which his father split, and which proved no less fatal to him. His nobility, finding themselves absolutely unsafe while he remained upon the throne, determined to secure themselves at all events, and therefore addressing themselves to an officer of his, who was then at the head of the army, they prevailed upon him to seize the person of *Khosrou*, whom they instantly deposed, and elevated to the throne his eldest son[o] (K).

Schirouieh. *Khobad Schirouieh*, whom the *Greeks* call *Siroes*, was no sooner possessed of the diadem by the choice of the nobility, than he resolved to secure it, by depriving his father of life. To this purpose he sent for *Mihir Hormouz*, a nobleman, whose father *Khosrou* had caused to be put to death, and dispatched him instantly to the prison, where *Khosrou* lay in chains. As soon as the king saw him, he rose up, and looking upon

[o] Mirkhond, ubi supra. Khodemir. D'Herbelot. ubi supra.

(K) The Character of *Khosrou*, both in this and in the former period, hath been so fully treated, that it might seem unnecessary to add any thing more concerning him; but if it be considered, that this prince was more terrible to his neighbours than any of his predecessors, his grandfather *Nouschirvan* not excepted, and that he really possessed greater dominions than any monarch of his dynasty, it will not seem strange, that we have so much to say about him. He promised, as we have seen in the text, to do justice on his father's enemies, of whom the principal were his own uncles; and in this he kept his word, for when they had established him upon the throne, he caused them to be put to death; and, by his example, his son first directed him to be murdered, then buried him splendidly, and lastly slew the person who executed his own commands. He was so excessively covetous, that, in his wars, he acted more like a partizan than a great prince; for, throughout all *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, he first plundered the churches of all that was valuable in them, and then he ordered them to be demolished, that he might carry away the best of the materials employed in building them. He was likewise an outrageous persecutor, not certainly from any religious principle, but that he might maintain himself in the good opinion of the magi. It was impossible he should keep his conquests, because he stripped the people of all things that they possessed, and thereby drove them, if they escaped slavery, into other territories; whence if ever they returned, it was in quality of soldiers; to revenge themselves of so barbarous an enemy; whereas *Nouschirvan* treated all his new subjects in the frontier provinces with such extraordinary lenity, that there was nothing they feared so much as changing their master. All these devastations and plunderings were merely to fill those vaults, which, with so much care, he had built under his palace, and wherein he greedily desired to lay up the treasures of the whole earth. Indeed, if what the *Persian* histories say be true, he did amass more riches than any of his predecessors had ever seen. They tell us likewise, that when his protector, the emperor *Maurice*, and his family were in distress, and had put all their jewels and riches on board two or three vessels, these ships coming on the coasts of *Persia*, he caused them to be seized, and confiscated all the treasure on board them, which he ordered to be brought and placed in one of the vaults under his palace, of which he had an hundred; and having sealed the door, placed over the head of it an inscription, signifying, that *these treasures were brought him by the winds*. When his subjects had deposed him, they could not find any prison so safe, or so proper, as one of those vaults, where, it is said, he was loaded with chains of gold, and had several days leisure to consider, to how little purpose he had oppressed so great a part of the world; since neither power nor wealth could hinder his feeling as excessive a load of misery, as he had ever inflicted on the meanest of his subjects (30). Besides the account of his death given in the text, we have in another historian that which follows: *Siroes* his son sent for him into his presence, and having entered into a long detail of his cruelties and maladministration, he concluded thus: *You cannot think it unjust or unnatural in me to order you to be put to death, since, for less than this, you pronounced the same judgment on your own father* (31).

(30) *Mirkhond. sect.* 37. *Khondemir. Lebtarikh. D'Herbelot. B. Q. artic. Khosrou Ben Hormouz.* (31) *Liber cui titul. Roudhat almenadir. ter Ben. Schunah.*

upon him with an air of wildness and fury, *Man*, said he, *I caused your father to be* a *put to death, and I hold him to be a bastard, who takes not the life of his father's murderer, when he has it in his power.* *Hormouz* upon this drew his scymitar, and plunging it into the bowels of *Khosrou*, left him wallowing in his blood. Returning to *Khobad*, he gave him an exact account of what he had done, repeating also the strange salutation he had from *Khosrou*, to which the king at that time made no answer; but having caused his father to be sumptuously interred, he sent for *Mihir Hormouz*, and having repeated to him the words of his father, said, *You see how justly you are put to death*, and ordered him to be slain in his presence. After this, *Khobad* ordered all his brethren to be seized and put to death. He had eighteen in all, and two sisters. Of these seventeen were murdered, and the eighteenth, whose name was *Scheheriar*, b was concealed in the ancient city of *Persepolis*, and so escaped. As for his sisters, *Khobad* spared them on account of their sex, and treated them with all imaginable kindness; but these ladies, when they saw their country invaded by pestilence and famine at once, and observed the general disaffection of the people, could not help reproaching their brother with his cruelty, charging on him the miseries of his people, and exhorting him, if it was possible, to repent. These discourses made such an impression on his mind, that he began to grow extremely melancholy, and at last the disposition of his mind inducing a fever, the plague seized him, and he died after a reign of six or eight months He was succeeded by his son [p] (L).

Ardschir II. a youth of seven years old. His sisters and the nobility promised *Ardschir* II. c themselves great blessings under his reign, hoping they might have time to settle the affairs of the kingdom, and to ease the people of the excessive taxes with which they were burdened; but in this they were mistaken, for *Scheheriar*, the general of the army, who had seized and deposed his father, taking umbrage at the setting up of the son of his master without his participation, or rather making use of this and other frivolous pretences to colour the detestable scheme he had formed of seizing the crown and extirpating the royal family, he marched with his forces to the capital city; and having easily vanquished those who remained faithful to their infant monarch, he put the child to death, with all the nobility who were strictly attached to d him, and filled the palace with blood; after which, in pursuance of his project, he seized the sovereign authority, which he had so dearly bought. Authors do not agree as to the time *Ardschir* reigned; most of them allow him a year and a half; but *Mirkond* is positive, that he reigned no more than fifty days [q].

Scheheriar, as he attained the sovereign authority by treachery and cruelty, so *Scheheriar*. he governed by all the arts of a tyrant, and made the people know the difference between

[p] Lebtarikh. Khondemir. Mirkhond. sect. 37. D'Herbelot. B. O. art. Schirouieh.
[q] Khondemir. Mirkhond. sect. 38. Lebtarikh. D'Herbelot. B. O. art. Ardschir Ben Schirouieh.

(L) The name of this prince is so differently written, that many mistakes and great confusion have arisen therefrom, not only among the *Greek* writers, but also among some of the moderns. *Khondemir*, *Mirkhond*, and the rest of the *Persian* historians agree in calling this prince *Khobad*; but then they distinguish him by the surname of *Schirouieh*; whence the *Greeks* form their *Siroes*, tho', if they had followed their usual custom, they should rather have called him *Cavades*. He was certainly well inclined to the christian religion; and that is the reason we have such different accounts of him. The *Greek* writers, and indeed the christian authors, in all languages, speak of him very tenderly, and either drop the story of his father's murder, or endeavour, tho' that be a hard thing, to palliate it. The oriental historians again draw him in the blackest colours, and say, that he broke his heart on account of the reproaches of his sisters, and of the terrible judgments from God, which fell upon his realm and people (32). There is, however, a circumstance relating to this prince, which, tho' it happened long after his death, deserves to be taken notice of, since it is one of the most curious passages in the eastern history, and is perfectly well attested. The caliph *Montaser* having caused his father to be put to death, some small time after looking over the rich furniture in the palace, and causing several rich pieces of tapestry to be opened before him, that he might examine them the more exactly, amongst the rest he met with one, which had in it the figure of a very beautiful young man, mounted on a *Persian* horse, with a diadem on his head, and a circle of *Persian* characters round himself and his horse. The caliph, charmed with the beauty of the tapestry, sent for a person who understood the ancient *Persic*, and desired him to explain to him that inscription. The man read it, changed colour, and, after some hesitation, told the caliph, it was a *Persian* song, that had nothing in it worth hearing. That prince, however, would not be so put off, he readily perceived, that there was something in it extraordinary; and therefore he commanded the interpreter to give him the true sense thereof immediately, as he valued his own safety. The man then told him, that the inscription ran thus: *I am* Siroes, *the son of* Chosroes, *who slew my father to gain his crown, which I kept but six months.* This affected the caliph so much, that he died in two or three days, when he had reigned about the same space of time (33).

(32) *See the life of Siroes in the former period.*

(33) *Abul-Phar. histor. dynast. dyn.* ix. *p.* 297.

between a natural prince, and one raised to empire by his sword. The army, as it assisted him in his enterprize against the young *Ardschir*, so they expected, on his succeeding him, that he should pay the wages of their infidelity. This he was desirous enough to do; but as they not only demanded money, but insisted likewise on setting a price on their labour, he found it not very easy to content them; and this drove him upon extortion and oppression, the exercise of which did not hinder them from being guilty of the most notorious rapine. The eldest princess of *Persia* perceiving, that the nobility were generally disaffected, secretly influenced their minds, and instigated them to set their country free, by putting to death this usurper. Her arts had their effect, the people began universally to detest a monarch, whose conduct was as offensive, as the method by which he gained his crown was unjustifiable; yet still there was nothing done; the cruelty of *Scheheriar*, and the madness of the army, restrained all things but complaints. Every one readily confessed they should be glad to be delivered from the miseries they were under; but no-body durst undertake this deliverance, lest so great a work should miscarry in their hands. At length *Touran Dockht* fixed upon three brothers, all young men, of great quality and distinguished courage. She explained to them the present situation of affairs, the miserable condition of their country, and the impossibility there was of removing these grievances, any other way than by the death of *Scheheriar*. She likewise observed, that, however dangerous this might appear, it was as easily accomplished as projected; and that as he was not of the royal family, but an upstart, and generally hated, his death would be agreeable to the people, and the man regarded as a hero, from whose hand he should receive it. These lessons had their effects; the brothers fixed themselves one day at the palace gate, and as *Scheheriar* came out and was about to mount on horseback, they fell upon him, and killed him before he could receive any assistance from his adherents, when he had been called a king little more than two years. He was no sooner dead, than all the inhabitants of the city of *Madain* assembled to protect those who had killed him. In this assembly it was resolved to restore the crown to the royal family, and since there was not an heir male, to elevate the eldest of the princesses to the throne[r].

Touran Dockt.

Touran Dockht, as soon as she received the crown, made choice of the eldest of the three brothers, whose name was *Ferokhzad*, to be her prime minister and general of her armies. This nobleman discharged his trust perfectly well; for he not only reduced the army to the obedience of his mistress, and engaged them to live peaceably among their fellow-subjects, but he also disappointed the *Arabs*, who, in the reign of this princess, made a vigorous effort to conquer *Persia*. *Ferokhzad*, with a considerable body of horse, was quartered in *Chaldea*, when he received advice, that *Abou Obeidah*, general of the forces of caliph *Omar*, had thrown a bridge over the *Euphrates*, in order to come and attack the *Persian* army quartered in the vicinity of *Babylon*. *Ferokhzad* sent orders to the *Persians* to act on the defensive, while he, with the horse under his command, marched directly to the bridge, forced the *Arab* guard, and having filled the vessels of which it was composed with combustible matter, set them on fire; then following the enemy's camp, he cut off their provisions, till a fair occasion offered of fighting, and then having given a signal to his *Persians* to charge the *Arabs* in front, he, while the battle was hot and doubtful, fell upon them in flank and rear, so that they were totally defeated; and this vigilant general pursued the remains, that not so much as their leader escaped to carry the news of their defeat. In the mean time, the queen acted in civil affairs with a firmness not to be expected from a woman; for having in vain endeavoured, by fair means, to engage some of the nobility to forbear plundering the people, she had recourse at length to harsher methods, causing them to be suddenly seized, and as suddenly put to death. This endeared her to the commonalty, and so humbled the nobility, that they durst neither oppress their vassals, as they were wont, nor undertake any thing against their sovereign, as they designed. But this peaceable situation of things lasted but a very short time; *Ferokhzad* being marched into the frontier provinces, in order to oppose the attempts of the *Greek* emperor, his mistress was seized with a violent distemper, which, in a little time, hurried her out of the world, not without strong suspicions, that she died a martyr to that love which she had shewn for the people. On her decease the public affairs fell into the greatest confusion: the nobility

[r] KHONDEMIR. LEBTARIKH. MIRKHOND, sect. 38. D'HERBELOT. B. O. Scheheriar. SCHIKARD. Tarich. p. 165.

a nobility began to ſee, that there was no truſting to the weakneſs of a woman; and therefore they fixed upon *Giban Schedah*, a prince of the royal blood, but a man of very mean parts, and declared him king, that they might govern as they pleaſed themſelves. But when he came to be inaugurated, he ſaid, That the imperial diadem was very heavy, and that it did not fit him. This the nobility would needs underſtand metaphorically, and as the effects of his modeſty; but the people either ſaw, or fancied they ſaw, ſuch evident ſimplicity in his looks, that, after a few days, they depoſed him, and ſeated the youngeſt daughter of *Khoſrou Perviz* on the throne [s] (M).

Azurmi Dockht had as much ſenſe as her ſiſter, and is ſaid to have ſurpaſſed her very much in beauty. On her firſt acceſſion to the throne, ſhe gave the people the ſtrongeſt hopes of a mild and happy reign; but when the news of her becoming queen reached the province of *Khoraſſan*, *Ferok Hormouz*, who had been long governor thereof, conceived a violent deſire of marrying her; and therefore, intruſting the province with his ſon of the ſame name, he ſet out for *Madain*, in order to carry his ſcheme into execution. The queen, knowing the reſtleſs diſpoſition of the people, and the great power of this nobleman in his province, received him with great civility, and did him all the honours in her power; but all this had no effect; his paſſion or his ambition was ſo very ſtrong, that nothing could poſſibly ſatisfy him, leſs than being made the partner of her bed and throne; a thing ſhe could not grant. Upon her refuſal, her lover had the inſolence to threaten her, and even to have recourſe to force; upon which, in her own defence, ſhe was conſtrained to ſeize him and put him to death. His ſon, when informed of his father's cataſtrophe, forgetting the duty he owed his ſovereign, and that his father had drawn this evil upon himſelf, marched immediately with an army to revenge what he held a diſgrace; and having forced the city of *Madain*, ſtormed the palace, made the queen priſoner, and afterwards, notwithſtanding all the tears and intreaties of her ſubjects, cauſed her in cool blood to be put to death. This enormous crime rendered him ſo obnoxious to all who had any ſenſe of humanity, that, diſtruſting the army he had brought with him, he immediately retired back into *Khoraſſan*. After his departure, it was diſcovered, that when the children of *Khoſrou Perviz* were put to death, a boy, his grandſon, had been preſerved by his aunts. This young man therefore the nobility brought from the place where he was hid, and reſolved to beſtow upon him the crown, the rather perhaps, becauſe, excepting his birth, he had nothing that could recommend him [t]. The name of this young prince was

Azurmi Dockht.

Ferokhzad. He was eſteemed a good-natured, inoffenſive lad, and, in quiet times, might very probably have made a very gracious prince. As it was, he had not time to give any ſigns either of ability, or want of it; for before he had reigned a month, he was, on what account we know not, poiſoned by one of his ſlaves, and the kingdom thereby thrown once more into confuſion [u].

Ferokhzad.

We are now arrived at the laſt of the *Perſian* kings, whoſe name was *Jezdegerd Ben Scheheriar*, of whoſe pedigree it is neceſſary that we ſhould give a clear account. Some

Jezdegerd III.

[s] Mirkhond. ſect. 40. Khondemir. D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Touran Dockt. [t] Mirkhond. ſect 43. Khondemir. Lebtarikh. Schikard. Tarich, p. 169. [u] Mirkhond. ſect. 45. Schikard. Tarich. p. 170.

(M) The confuſion of this country could not be greater than that of all its hiſtorians, in reſpect to its princes, or thoſe who were called its princes, at this time. We have followed the catalogue of *Khondemir*, becauſe he was an author of great judgment, and did not adhere implicitly to thoſe from whom he wrote. The *Spaniſh* copy of *Mirkhond* hath a prince called *Joonſchir*, who is called the twenty-ſecond monarch of this dynaſty; and it is ſaid, that he was nephew to *Babaram Tchoubin*; and this ſurname is ſaid to ſignify *a young lion*, or *a beautiful lion*; but we acknowledge, that we are able to give no account of this matter, or to divine who this man ſhould be. It is true, ſome chriſtian writers mention one *Kerou* or *Choſroes*, the grandſon of the laſt *Choſroes*; but this is unintelligible, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that they meant *Ardſchir*, who might be called *Choſroes*, becauſe all the *Perſian* kings were ſo called; which, however, is improbable. Perhaps after all, this *Joonſchir* might be the ſame with *Giban Schedah*, of whom we have ſpoken in the text; and whoſe reign of a few days *Khondemir* hath omitted in his liſt. We muſt acknowledge, that there is little affinity between the names; but all the names in *Teixera*'s verſion are ſo ſtrangely written, that at leaſt half the *German* critic's obſervations on the *Perſian* kings are ſpent in reconciling them to the *Arabic*. There is, we know, a ſtrong objection to this account of the matter; and that is, that *Teixera* alſo mentions this monarch, and likewiſe a ſon of his, whom he calls *Keſere*, by which doubtleſs he meant *Khoſrou*. But to all this it may be anſwered, that, as we find theſe kings no-where elſe, we may ſafely ſuppoſe them to be but one and the ſame perſon; and that, inſtead of *Joonſchir*, *Jaſancedah*, and *Keere*, we ought to read, *Khoſrou Ginan Schedah*. But all this is left to the deciſion of the reader (34).

(34) *Teixera*, c. 41. *Schikard Tarich. Khondemir. Eben Batrick. Lebtarikh*, &c.

Some of the *Greek* writers call him the son of *Siroes*; which is absolutely impossible he should have been. Others, acknowledging this, say, he was the descendant of that prince in a remote degree. This, however, only carries the mistake a little further out of sight; for it is just as impossible that he should be his descendant, as that he should be his son. *Mirkhond* gives us the following account, which, tho' it hath something in it of the marvellous, yet, as it hath manifestly a mixture of truth, the reader must take it, till our acquaintance with the oriental histories procures him a better: *Khosrou Perviz*, towards the latter end of his reign, had a very odd dream. He fancied he saw the city, in which he then was, surrounded with a strong wall, adorned with eleven fine towers, and that these, while he was looking upon them, fell, one after another, to the ground; so that the city was left quite open and defenceless. In the morning the king sent for some of the magi, told them his dream, and besought them to explain it; which they did to this purpose: That, by the fortified city, was represented the kingdom of *Persia*; by the towers, the princes who should succeed him; and by the open and defenceless condition in which it was at last left, the final subversion of the monarchy. The king, strangely alarmed by the dream, and quite distracted with its interpretation, began to cast about in his mind how to prevent its taking effect. Amongst other notions that came into his head, one was, that the number of his sons might cause great disturbance; for he had no less at that time than eighteen. He therefore ordered, that they should be all committed to custody, and so strictly kept, as not to have the permission of seeing their wives or children. One of them, *Schebdiar*, having lately married a lady, whose name was *Schirin*, and being passionately fond of her, he first contrived a means of writing to her, and then of seeing her. The stratagem he made use of was this: he pretended to be seized with a fever, and desired that he might be let blood. *Schirin*, upon this occasion, personated a surgeon; and from this interview she became with child. When it was known, the historian tells us, that *Khosrou* ordered the child to be made away with, as soon as it should be born; but being at last mollified by the tears and passionate intreaties of the mother, he directed, that it should be exposed in the woods; which was accordingly done, but, by the care of its parents, it was soon taken from thence, and privately educated. If this be true, then the reason why *Siroes* put his brethren to death will no longer remain a secret, but serve as a sufficient warrant to distrust all interpretations of dreams, which, we see, are often fatal, and almost always delusive. However, we think, that the dream of *Khosrou* might have been better interpreted; and, if it had, none of these bad consequences would have followed. It appears, by the age at which *Jezdegerd* mounted the throne, viz. sixteen, that this dream happened to *Khosrou* in the twenty-seventh year of his reign. The eleven towers therefore might have been understood to be the years he was to sit upon the throne; and the desolate condition in which he saw the city, after they were fallen down, expressed perfectly well his own miserable circumstances at the end of that period. But to proceed [x].

Jezdegerd *defeated.*

Jezdegerd the third, who appears to have been the grandson of *Khosrou Perviz*, ascended the *Persian* throne, and made choice of *Ferokhzad*, who had been his aunt's general, for his prime minister and commander in chief. He was scarce arrived at man's estate, before he found the crown trotter on his head, being attacked on all sides of his dominions by powerful enemies. Authors are extremely divided as to the beginning of his wars; for some alledge, that the *Turks*, that is, the inhabitants of *Turquestan*, the inveterate enemies of the *Persians*, invaded the frontiers of his dominion next them, and that, while he marched to make head against them, the *Arabs* invaded *Chaldea*; whereupon he was forced to return to oppose these. Others affirm, that the *Turks* did not invade his dominions; but that he sent for them to his assistance, but was so unfortunate as to be obliged to fight before they could come up. In this confusion, all that we can do is to report facts, as clearly and as methodically as we can. It seems then, that the caliph *Omar*, being extremely desirous of reducing *Persia* under his dominion, sent a part of his army, under the command of *Sâd*, to penetrate into that country through *Chaldea*. *Ferokhzad*, who was upon the spot, took all imaginable pains to harass the *Arabs* in their march; and having an army superior to them in numbers, employed them continually in skirmishes, which were sometimes favourable to him, and sometimes otherwise. But *Sâd* perceiving clearly,

[x] Mirkond. sect. 46. Schikard Tarikh. p. 270, & seq.

clearly, that this lingering war would destroy his army, and that to very little purpose, determined to push forward and force the enemy to a general engagement. The *Persians* declined this as long as they could; but at length finding a convenient plain, where all their forces might act, near the city of *Cadessia*, *Ferokhzad* drew up there in order of battle, and resolved to wait for the *Arabs*. It was not long before *Said* and his forces appeared, who seeing how advantagiously the *Persian* army was posted, rejoiced thereat, as hoping that he would now be able to fight, which was all he sought; since a long war, at so great a distance from his own country, would have destroyed him, even if he had been successful in slight engagements. He therefore disposed his troops in the best order he could, and attacked the *Persians* with great fury. There never was a battle more famous in history than this, nor one that deserved it better, either on account of the resolution with which it was fought, or of the consequences that followed thereupon. It lasted three days and nights, the *Persians* retiring continually from one post to another, till at length they were intirely defeated; and, by this defeat, the capital city, and the greatest part of the dominions of *Persia*, fell into the hands of the *Arabs*. Most of the oriental writers call the *Persian* general *Rostam*; but we believe that was rather a title of honour, or a common name for all the champions of their country. The first thing they did was, to seize on the treasures of *Khosrou*, which were so immense, that some *Mohammedan* writers tell us, their prophet, to encourage his disciples, carried them to a rock, which, at his command, opened, and gave them a prospect through it of the treasures in the vaults of *Khosrou* [y].

He retires into Choraſſan.

On the loss of this battle, *Jezdegerd* retired into *Choraſſan*; and, tho' he had not reigned above three years, lost, from that time forwards, all the rest of his dominions, except the two dependent provinces of *Kerman* and *Sigistan*, which he held as long as he lived, partly by force, keeping up a considerable army about his person, and partly because the *Arabs* were not at leisure to carry on a war at such a distance. But tho' the king retired so early, some of the governors of his provinces maintained themselves longer, hoping to turn them into little kingdoms for their own benefit. Among these *Hormozan* possessed himself of *Khouhistan*, and held it for some time; but being at length reduced to great extremities, he surrendered it up, and went in person to pay his duty to the caliph *Omar*, who received him kindly, and at whose request he embraced the *Mohammedan* religion [z].

Is killed in a battle.

When *Jezdegerd* had possessed the royal title about nineteen years, a new misfortune fell upon him; for one of the governors of the few towns he had left, betrayed him, and called in the *Turks*. This place was called *Merou*, seated on the river *Gihon* or *Oxus*, and therefore called *Merou al Roud*, or *Merou of the river*, to distinguish it from another *Merou*, lying, as well as this, in the province of *Choraſſan*. *Jezdegerd* immediately marched with his army to give battle to the rebels and their allies the *Turks*. In this engagement he was defeated, and having, with much difficulty, reached the river, he found there a little boat, and a fisherman to whom it belonged. To him the king offered a bracelet of precious stones; but the fellow being equally brutal and stupid, said his fare was five farthings, and he would not take either more or less. While the king and he disputed, a party of the rebel horse came up, and knowing *Jezdegerd*, killed him. This happened in the year after Christ 652 [a] (N).

The

[y] Khondemir. Lebtarikh. Abul-phar. hist. dynast. dyn. ix. [z] Lebtarikh. Khondemir. Mirkhond, ubi supra. [a] Khondemir. Lebtarikh.

(N) There hath been a great deal of dispute as to the settling the commencement of the æra *Jesdegergica*, so called from this last king of the *Persians*. It would be needless to cite what several chronologers have advanced upon this head, many of them, tho' great men in other respects, having shown little skill on this subject, and at the same time not a little arrogance, in expecting that their decisions should be implicitly yielded to, even by those who were better informed; and therefore Dr. *Hyde* (41) had great reason to testify his amazement, that *Petavius* should assign three years for the reign of *Jezdegerd*; whereas there is no fact more certainly established, that than he died about the close of his twentieth year. The true state of this question is not, as most writers put it, whether the commencement of this æra ought to be fixed to the accession, or to the death, of *Jezdegerd*? but where it is really fixed by the best *Oriental* authors? since our conjectures can have no effect upon their computations, and the utmost we can expect from them is, to know how to regulate our own. The best of the *Oriental* writers fix the commencement of this æra very precisely at the 16th of *June*, in the eleventh year of the *Hegira*, and in the year of Christ 632 (42). Now, it is certain, that this date coincides

(41) *Relig. vet. Persar. p.* 201

(42) *Olugh Beigh, Alphraganius. &c.*

Account of his family.

The common opinion is, that with this unfortunate prince the majesty of the *Sassanian* line sunk irretrievably. But this like many other common opinions, is far from being strictly true. *Jezdegerd* left behind him a son and a daughter. The name of the son was *Firouz*, and of the daughter *Dara*. The latter espoused *Bostenay*, whom the rabbinical writers qualified with the title of *head of the captivity*. In fact he was the chief or prince of the *Jews* settled in *Chaldea*. As for *Firouz*, he still preserved a little principality, and dying, left an only daughter, whose name was *Mah afrid*, who married *Valid* the son of the caliph *Abdalmalek*, by whom he had a son named *Jezid*, who became caliph, and consequently sovereign of *Persia*; who was so far from thinking himself above claiming the title derived to him by his mother, that he constantly styled himself the son of *Khosrou* king of *Persia*, the descendant of the caliph *Maroan*, and among whose ancestors, of the side of the mother, were the *Roman* emperor and the khakan. This end had the dynasty of the *Sassanians*, according to the *Oriental* historians; and consequently here ends this section [b].

[b] Abul-Pharag. ubi supra. Khondemir. D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Jezid ben Valid.

cides not with the death, but the accession, of *Jezdegerd*, and if any are of opinion, that this æra ought to begin at his death, then it must begin in the first year of the *Hejra*, and in the year of Christ 632. Why the *Persian* authors made choice of the accession, rather than the death, of *Jezdegerd* is a question that we can easily resolve. It is before shewn, that *Jezdegerd* had lived as a private man, as his father *Isdegerd* did, till the *Persians*, understanding now just a title he had thereto, set him upon the throne. Now, the *Arabs* say, this was done with the consent of their khalif, who, therefore, looking upon him as his tributary, reckoned the kingdom of *Persia* among the rest of his dominions thenceforward, regarding the subsequent reduction of that country not as a conquest, but as the re-uniting a part of his empire torn away by a rebel. This is plainly the cause why the commencement of this æra is and ought to be fixed at the accession of *Jezdegerd*; which was what we undertook to prove.

BOOK

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BOOK III.

The ROMAN *History.*

CHAP. I.

The ancient ſtate of Italy, *to the building of* Rome.

SECT. I.

Deſcription of Italy.

AS the ſeveral petty ſtates and kingdoms, which we are to write of in this place, were anciently comprehended under the common name of *Italy*; for the better underſtanding of the preſent hiſtory, we ſhall premiſe a general deſcription of that country, following therein the beſt guides of antiquity, and conſidering this beautiful region in its moſt flouriſhing condition, that is, in the times of the *Roman* republic and in the reign of *Auguſtus*, that prince having introduced a new partition of the *Italian* provinces, which continued, without conſiderable alteration, to the diviſion of the empire.

Names. *Italy*, a country once revered, and ſtill admired, by all nations, was, in more antient times, known by the names of *Saturnia*, *Oenotria*, *Heſperia*, and *Auſonia*. It was called *Saturnia* from *Saturn*, who, being driven out of *Crete* by his ſon *Jupiter*, is ſuppoſed to have taken refuge here. The names of *Oenotria* and *Auſonia* it borrowed from its ancient inhabitants the *Oenotrians* and *Auſones*; and that of *Heſperia*, or *Weſtern*, given it by the *Greeks*, from its ſituation with reſpect to *Greece*. The name of *Italia*, or *Italy*, which in proceſs of time prevailed over all the reſt, ſome derive from *Italus* king of the *Siculi*; others from the *Greek* word *Italos*, ſignifying *an ox*, this country abounding, by reaſon of its rich paſtures, with oxen of an extraordinary ſize and beauty [a]. All theſe names were originally peculiar to particular provinces of *Italy*; but afterwards applied to the whole country.

Limits. THE limits of *Italy* have been fixed by nature itſelf, which ſeems not only to have taken more than ordinary care in ſupplying this happy region with every thing neceſſary both for the ſupport and pleaſures of life, but in parting it from all other countries, and defending by ſtrong barriers its native riches from foreign invaders. Thus it is divided from *Africa*, *Greece*, the ancient *Dalmatia*, and *Liburnia*, by the *Tyrrhenian*, *Ionian*, and *Adriatic* ſeas; and from *Tranſalpine Gaul*, and *Rhætia*, now part of *Germany*, by a long ridge of ſteep mountains, called the *Alps*. The country comprized within theſe boundaries is, according to *Cluverius*, about nine hundred miles in length; for ſuch is the diſtance between *Auguſta Prætoria*, now *Aoſta*, at the foot of the *Alps*, and cape *Leucopetra*, now *Capo del Armi*, in the country of the *Brutii*, or the *Farther Calabria*, as it is called by the preſent inhabitants. In ſhape it reſembles a man's leg, rather than the leaf of an oak, to which the ancients compared it, and is conſequently very unequal in breadth, being, at the foot of the *Alps*, according to the above-mentioned writer, five hundred and ſixty miles broad; in the middle parts, that is, between *Ancona* and the mouth of the *Tiber*, an hundred and thirty-ſix; and in ſome places ſcarce twenty-five.

Diviſion. *Italy*, taking that word in its moſt extenſive ſignification, was in ancient times, like moſt other countries, parcelled out into endleſs petty ſtates and kingdoms, which we

[a] Vide DION. HALICAR. l. i. p. 28. AUL. GELL. l. xi. c. 1. & SERVIUM in l. 1. Æn. ver. 533.

we ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention in the ſequel of this hiſtory. In after-ages, when the *Gauls* ſettled in the weſtern, and many *Greek* colonies in the eaſtern, provinces of this country, it was divided, with reſpect to its inhabitants, into three great parts, *viz. Gallia Ciſalpina*, *Italy properly ſo called*, and *Magna Græcia*. This diviſion, as it has been generally adopted by the ancient geographers and hiſtorians, we ſhall follow in our preſent ſurvey of *Italy*, after having acquainted our readers, that we do not deſign to deſcribe in this place the many towns and cities of note which ancient *Italy* contained, being well apprized, that ſuch an undertaking would prove tedious to them, and at the ſame time oblige us to exceed the limits we preſcribe to ourſelves. On theſe two conſiderations, we ſhall at preſent take only a curſory view of them, ſuch as may give our readers a clear idea of their ſituation with reſpect to each other, and reſerve a more diſtinct account of them for the particular countries to which they belonged.

Ciſalpine Gaul.

To begin with the firſt member of the above-mentioned diviſion: The moſt weſtern and northern provinces of *Italy* were in great part poſſeſſed by the *Gauls*, and thence called *Gallia*, or *Gaul*, with the epithets of *Ciſalpina* and *Citerior*, becauſe they lay on the ſide of the *Alps* next to *Rome*, and *Togata*, with relation to the *Roman gown* or *dreſs*, which the inhabitants uſed; but this laſt epithet is of a much later date than the former [b]. *Plutarch* [c] and *Pliny* [d] call the country we are ſpeaking of *Italia Subalpina*, or *Italy* at the foot of the *Alps*; and *Polybius* ſimply *Italy* [e]. In like manner *Brutus*, in one of his epiſtles to *Cicero*, and *Cicero* in his anſwer to him [f], gave the name of *Italy*, without any epithet, to that tract at the foot of the *Alps*, where the ancient city of *Eporedia*, now *Ivria*, ſtood. Whence it is plain, that the large and fruitful provinces formerly poſſeſſed by the *Gauls* were, ſtrictly ſpeaking, part of *Italy*, and called *Gaul*, only becauſe inhabited by the *Gauls*, who firſt ſettled there in the reign of *Tarquinius Priſcus*. This appellation was antiquated in the reign of *Auguſtus*, when the diviſion of *Italy* into eleven regions, introduced by that prince, took place. And hence it is, that the name of *Ciſalpine Gaul* frequently occurs in the authors who flouriſhed before, and ſcarce ever in thoſe who wrote after, the reign of *Auguſtus*.

Its boundaries.

As to the boundaries of this country, it extended from the *Alps* and the river *Varus*, parting it from *Tranſalpine Gaul*, to the river *Aeſis*, according to *Livy*, or, as *Pliny* will have it [h], to the city of *Ancona* in the ancient *Picenum*. *Cicero* [i], *Suetonius* [k], and *Plutarch* [l], make the river *Rubico*, between *Ravenna* and *Ariminum*, the eaſtern boundary of *Ciſalpine Gaul*. But theſe writers are to be underſtood as ſpeaking of *Gaul*, after the *Romans*, under the conduct of *M. Lepidus*, had made themſelves maſters of *Picenum* and *Umbria*, and reduced them to the form of a *Roman* province, there being nothing more certain, than that theſe countries were anciently poſſeſſed, in great part, by the *Senones* [m], and conſequently comprized within the limits of *Ciſalpine Gaul*; nay, they retained the name of *Ager Gallicus*, or *Gallicanus*, even after they were become a *Roman* province [n]. On the north, *Ciſalpine Gaul* was divided from *Rhætia* by the *Alps*, called *Alpes Rhæticæ*, and from *Illyricum* by the river *Formio*; but on this ſide the borders of *Italy* were, in *Pliny*'s time, extended to the river *Arſia* in *Iſtria* [o]. On the ſouth it reached to the *Liguſtic* ſea and the *Apennines*, parting it from *Etruria*; ſo that, under the common name of *Ciſalpine Gaul* were comprehended the countries lying at the foot of the *Alps*, called by *Pliny* and *Strabo* the *Subalpine* countries, *Liguria*, *Gallia Ciſpadana*, and *Gallia Tranſpadana*.

The Subalpine *nations.*

The countries bordering on the *Alps* were inhabited by the *Vediantii*, or *Veſtiantii*, as *Ptolemy* calls them, the *Vagienni*, the *Taurini*, the *Seguſiani*, the *Salaſſi*, the *Lepontii*, the *Libicii*, and the *Canini*. The *Vediantii* inhabited the ſmall tract lying on the eaſt bank of the *Varus*, and extending from the *Alpes Maritimæ* to the territory of *Nicæa*. Next to them, on the north ſide of the *Alpes Maritimæ* and near the ſource of the *Padus* or *Po*, were the *Vagianni*. *Cemelium*, or *Cemenelium*, was the metropolis of the *Vediantii*; and *Auguſta Vagiennorum*, now *Saluzzo*, of the *Vagienni*. The *Taurini* were parted from the *Vagienni* by the *Po*, on which river ſtood their metropolis, called firſt *Taurafia* [p], and afterwards, from a colony ſent thither by *Auguſtus*, *Auguſta Taurinorum* [q]. *Forum Vibii*, another city of the *Taurini*, is placed by *Pliny* [r] at a ſmall

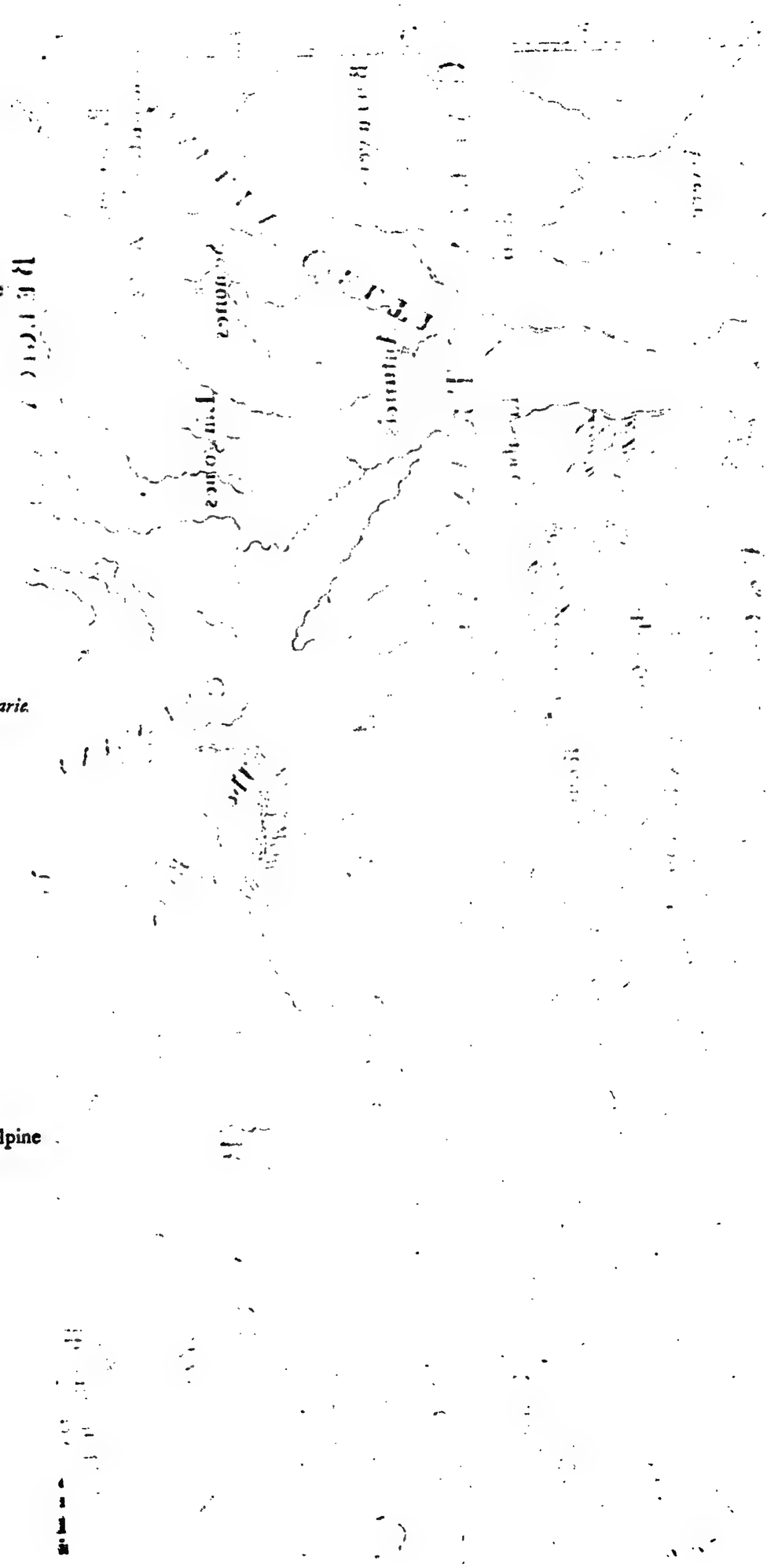
[b] Vide Dio. Cass. l. xlviii. p. 364. [c] Plut. in Marcel. ſub init. & in Cæſ. [d] Plin. l. xvi. c. 1 [e] Polyb. l. xi. c. 13. [f] Cic. l. xi. epiſt. 23, & 24. [g] Liv. l. v. c. 35. [h] Plin. l. iii. c. 1 [i] Cic. Philip. vi. c. 3. [k] Sueton. in Cæſar, c. 31. [l] Plut. in Cæſar. [m] Vide Strab. l. v. p. 150, 157. [n] Cic. in Catilin. orat. 2. c. 3. & 12. [o] Plin. ibid. c. 18 & 19. [p] Appian in Hannibal. [q] Plin. ibid. c. 17. Tacit. hiſt. l. xi. c. 66. [r] Plin. ibid. c. 17 & 18.

A Map of Gallia, Cisalpina, Liguria and the Neighbouring Countries. By G. Delisle

Chief Geographer to the French King and Member of the Royal Academie of Sciences.



D. Pominville Sculp.



Cisalpine Gaul.

Its boundarie.

The Subalpine *nations.*

ſmall diſtance from the head of the *Po*. North of the *Taurini* and among the *Alps* lay the kingdom of *Cottius*, from whom the neighbouring mountains were called *Alpes Cottiæ*. The *Seguſiani* were ſubject to him; and *Seguſio*, *Secuſia*, or *Segusium*, now *Suſa*, on the *Druria*, was the metropolis of this ſmall kingdom [s]. The *Salaſſi* poſſeſſed the country lying between the *Alpes Graiæ*, on the north, and the country of the *Libicii*, on the ſouth. Their chief cities were, *Auguſta Prætoria* and *Eporedia*, now *Aoſta* and *Ivrea*, both on the *Great Druria*. For in this country there were two rivers, as *Pliny* obſerves [t], bearing the ſame name; the one called the *Great Druria*, ſpringing from the *Alpes Graiæ*, the other, which he ſtyles the *Little Druria*, riſing on the *Alpes Cottiæ*. *Auguſta Prætoria* was ſo called from a colony of three thouſand *Prætorian* ſoldiers ſent thither by *Auguſtus*. *Eporedia*, built about an hundred years before the chriſtian æra, was firſt a *Roman* colony, and afterwards a municipium [u]. The territory of the *Lepontii* lay between the *Salaſſi* and the *Lacus Verbanus*, now *Lago Maggiore*. Their metropolis was *Oſcela*, called by the modern inhabitants *Domo d'Oſcela*. Next to them were the *Libicii*, or *Libui*, who poſſeſſed that tract, which was watered by the *Seſſites*, now the *Seſſia*. Their chief cities were *Vercellæ* and *Laumellum*, which ſtill retain their ancient names. The country of the *Canini* lay between the lakes *Verbanus* and *Larius*. The *Alpes Marimæ*, or *maritime Alps*, which we have mentioned above, extended from the mouth of the *Varus* to mount *Veſulus*, now *Veſo* in *Piedmont*, and were ſo called from their ſituation. The *Alpes Graiæ*, or *Greek Alps*, reach from mount *Cenis* to the ancient *Mons Jovis*, at preſent known by the name of *The Great St. Bernard*. Some ancient writers ſuppoſe, that *Hercules* paſſed theſe mountains at the head of an army of *Greeks* on his return from *Spain*, after he had ſubdued *Geryon*, and derive from thence the appellation of *Alpes Graiæ*. But *Livy* [w] looks upon this expedition of *Hercules* as altogether fabulous.

THE countries, which we have hitherto deſcribed, are by *Strabo* and *Livy* placed within the confines of the ancient *Liguria*, and the inhabitants counted among the *Ligurian* nations, with the epithets of *Montani* and *Comati*, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe who inhabited *Liguria properly ſo called*. Some ancient writers, quoted by *Pliny* [x], derive the *Lepontii* from the *Greeks*, whom they ſuppoſe *Hercules* to have left in theſe countries after he had paſſed the *Alps*, by reaſon of their being diſabled by the hardſhips they had ſuffered on that occaſion, from purſuing their march with the reſt of the army. But this opinion has no other foundation than the ſimilitude between the name of that people and the *Greek* verb *leipo to leave*.

Liguria, properly ſo called, was bounded on the eaſt by the river *Macra*; on the weſt by the *Varus*; on the ſouth by the *Liguſtic* ſea; and on the north by the *Po*. Cities of note in this country were, on the coaſt, *Nicæa*, now *Nizza*, built by the *Maſſilienſes* as a barrier againſt the *Ligures Montani* [y]; *Portus Herculis Monæci*, now *Monaco*. *Portus Herculis* and *Portus Monæci* were, according to *Ptolemy*, two diſtinct cities; for that writer ſpeaks of a place, which he calls *Tropæa Auguſti*, lying between them. But herein he was certainly miſtaken, ſince all the ancient geographers and hiſtorians call the ſame place ſometimes *Portus Herculis*, and ſometimes *Portus Herculis Monæci*. This city is ſpoke of by *Virgil* [z], and deſcribed by *Lucan* [a]. *Albintemalium* or *Albium Intemelium*, *Albium Ingaunum*, or *Albingaunum*, *Vada*, *Sabata*, *Genua*, *Portus Delphini*, and *Portus Lunæ*; now *Vintimiglia*, *Albenga*, *Vado*, *Savona*, *Genoa*, *Porto Fino*, and *Golfo delle Spezie*, were all on the coaſt now called *La riviera di Genoa*. *Cluverius* ſuppoſes *Vada* and *Sabatia*, or *Sabata*, to be one and the ſame city, which he calls *Vada Sabatia*, but is therein contradicted by the learned *Lucas Holſtenius*. *Genua* was in ancient times, as it is at preſent, the chief city of *Liguria*, and an empory, as *Strabo* ſtyles it [b], to which merchants reſorted from all parts. The modern writers call it *Janua*, and pretend, that it was built by *Janus*; but the ancients conſtantly write it *Genua*. It was deſtroyed by *Mago* the *Carthaginian* and rebuilt by the *Romans*. *Portus Lunæ* is placed by all the ancients in *Liguria*, but the city of *Luna*, which ſtood on the eaſt bank of the *Macra*, in *Etruria* [c]. The inland cities of *Liguria* were *Pollentia*, *Alba Pompeia*, *Aſta*, *Aquæ Statiellæ*, *Forum Fulvii*, or *Valentium*, *Induſtria*, *Dertona*, and *Iria*, now *Pollenza*, *Alba*, *Aſti*, *Acqui*, *Valenza*, *Tortona*, *Voghera*. *Induſtria* was called by the ancient *Ligurians Bodincomagum*, becauſe

Liguria.

[s] Idem. l. iii. c. 20. Vide JAC. SPON miſc. Er. antiq. p. 198. [t] PLIN. l. iii. c. 5. [u] Idem ibid. c. 17. VELL. PATERCUL. l. i. c. 15. TACIT. hiſt. l. i. c. 70. [w] LIV. l. v. c. 33. [x] PLIN. l. iii. c. 20. [y] STRAB. l. iv. p. 140. [z] VIRGIL l. vi. ÆNEID. ver. 830. [a] LUCAN. l. i. Pharſal. ver. 405. [b] STRAB. l. iv. p. 139. [c] STRAB. ibid. TACIT. hiſt. l. ii. c. 15. MELA, l. ii. c. 1. PLIN. l. iii. c. 5.

cauſe it ſtood on the *Po*, which was known to them by the name of *Bodincus*, that is, *the bottomleſs* [d]. Some writers make the river *Iria* the eaſtern boundary of *Liguria*; but as *Livy* [e] places the cities of *Calſtidium* and *Litubium* in that country, *Cluverius* extends its confines on this ſide to the river *Trebia*.

Gallia Ciſpadana.

Next to *Liguria* lay *Gallia Ciſpadana*, extending from the *Trebia* to the city of *Ancona*, and bounded on the north by the *Po* and part of the *Adriatic*, and on the ſouth by the *Apennines*, parting it from *Etruria*. It was called *Gallia* from its inhabitants, and *Ciſpadana*, becauſe it lay on the ſide of the *Po* next to *Rome*. This country was poſſeſſed by the *Boii*, the *Lingones*, and the *Senones*. The chief cities of the *Boii*, were *Placentia*, *Parma*, *Mutina*, and *Bononia*; of the *Lingones*, *Ravenna*, *Forum Cornelii*, *Faventia*, *Solona*, *Forum Livii*, *Forum Popilii*, and *Cæſena*; now *Ravenna*, *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Citta di ſole*, *Forli*, *Forlinpopoli*, *Cæſena*; of the *Senones*, *Ariminum*, *Piſaurum*, *Fanum Fortunæ*, *Sena Gallica*, and *Ancona*; now *Rimini*, *Peſaro*, *Fano*, *Sinigaglia*, *Ancona*.

Gallia Tranſpadana.

Gallia Tranſpadana extended from the countries of the *Lepontii*, *Libicii*, and *Canini*, mentioned above, and counted by *Strabo* and *Pliny* among the *Subalpine* nations, to the *Adriatic* ſea and the river *Formio*, now *Il Riſano*, parting it from *Iſtria*, being bounded on the ſouth by the *Po*, and on the north by the *Alpes Rheticæ* and *Carnicæ*; the former ſeparating it from *Rhætia*, now the *Trentin*, and the latter from the country of the *Carni*, now *Carniola*. This part of *Ciſalpine Gaul* was inhabited by the following nations, the *Orobii*, the *Inſubres*, the *Lævi*, the *Cenomani*, the *Euganei*, and the *Veneti*, and contained many cities of great note. Of theſe, *Comum*, *Bergomum*, and *Forum Licinii*, now *Como*, *Bergamo*, and *Pieve d' Incino*, or, as others will have it, *Berlaſina*, belonged to the *Orobii*; *Mediolanum*, *Laus Pompeia*, and *Forum Intuntorum*, now *Milan*, *Lodi*, *Crema*, to the *Inſubres*; *Novaria* and *Ticinum*, now *Novara* and *Pavia*, to the *Lævi*; *Brixia*, *Cremona*, *Mantua*, and *Verona*, to the *Cenomani*; *Sabium*, *Voberna*, *Edrum*, and *Vannia*, cities long ſince demoliſhed, to the *Euganei*; *Patavium*, *Vicetia*, or *Vicentia*, *Ateſte*, *Forum Allieni*, *Tarviſum*, *Ceneta*, *Aquileia*, *Forum Julii*, and *Tergeſte*, near the *Formio*, now *Padua*, *Vicenza*, *Eſte*, *Ferrara*, *Treviſo*, *Ceneda*, *Aquileia*, *Civitad di Friuli*, *Trieſte*, to the *Veneti*, by whom all that tract, which extends from the territories of the *Euganei* to the *Formio*, was anciently poſſeſſed; but in after-ages the *Carni* made themſelves maſters of the country lying between that river and the *Tilaventum*, now the *Piave*.

Italy properly ſo called.

Italy, properly ſo called, extended on the coaſt of the *Adriatic* from the city of *Ancona* to the river *Frento*, now the *Fortore*, and on the *Mediterranean* from the *Macra* to the *Silarus*, now the *Sele*, and comprehended *Etruria*, *Umbria*, *Sabinium*, *Latium*, *Picenum*, the countries of the *Veſtini*, *Marrucini*, *Peligni*, *Marſi*, *Frentani*, *Samnites*, *Hirpini*, *Campani*, and *Picentini*.

Etruria.

Etruria, inhabited by the *Etrurians*, *Tuſcans*, or, as the *Greeks* ſtyle them, *Tyrrhenians*, was bounded on the eaſt by the *Tiber*, on the weſt by the *Macra*, on the ſouth by the *Tyrrhenian* ſea, and on the north by the *Apennines*. The inhabitants are divided by *Livy* [f] and *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* [g] into twelve different nations, or rather tribes, each of which had their peculiar city, whence they borrowed their names. The cities were, *Volſinii*, *Cluſium*, *Peruſia*, *Cortona*, *Aretium*, *Falerii*, *Volaterræ*, *Vetulonium*, *Rouſellæ*, *Veii*, *Tarquinii*, and *Cære*, now *Bolſena*, *Chiuſi*, *Perugia*, *Cortona*, *Arezzo*, *Civita Caſtellana*, *Volterra*, *Groſſeto*, *Cerveteri*. The cities of *Veii*, *Tarquinii*, and *Cære*, lie at preſent in ruins. Beſides theſe, the following cities were in ancient times of great note in *Etruria*; on the coaſt, or at a ſmall diſtance from it, *Luna*, *Piſa*, *Portus Herculis*, *Labronis*, or *Liburni*, *Populonia*, *Telamon*, *Coſa*, *Coſæ*, or *Coſſa*, *Centumcellæ*, and *Alſium*, now *l' Erice*, *Piſa*, *Livorno*, *Telamone*, *Anſidonia*, *Civita Vecchia*, *Palo*. The ruins of *Populonia* are to be ſeen near *Piombino*. In the inland country ſtood *Nepete*, *Sutrium*, *Falerii Faliſcorum*, *Fanum Voltumnæ*, *Hortanum*, *Herbanum*, *Suana*, *Saturnia*, *Senæ Juliæ*, *Florentia*, *Fæſulæ*, *Piſtoria*, *Luca*, called by the modern inhabitants, *Nepe*, *Sutri*, *Civita Caſtellana*, *Viterbo*, *Orti*, *Orvieto*, *Saturnia*, *Saona*, *Fiorenza*, *Fieſoli*, *Piſtoia*, *Lucca*.

Umbria.

Umbria was bounded on the ſouth by the *Nar*, now the *Nera*; on the north by the *Adriatic* ſea; on the eaſt by the *Æſis*, now *Fiumicino*; and on the weſt by the *Tiber* on the ſide of the *Apennines* next to *Rome*, and on the other ſide by the *Bedeſis*, now *il Ronco*, which falls into the *Adriatic* at *Ravenna*. So that this city, *Ariminum*, *Piſaurum*,

[d] Idem ibid. & c. 16. [e] Liv. l. xxxii. c. 29. [f] Liv. l. iv. c. 23. &. l. v. ſub init. [g] Dionys. Halicar. l. vi. p. 399.



J. Denilen Sculpt.

Piſaurum, *Fanum Fortunæ*, *Sena Gallica*, and *Cæſena*, though poſſeſſed by the *Lingones* and *Senones*, were, ſtrictly ſpeaking, in *Umbria*. The other places of note in this country were, *Sarſina*, *Urbinum*, *Metaurenſe*, and *Hortenſe*, *Sentinum*, *Æſis*, and *Camerinum*, or *Camers*, now *Sarſina*, *Caſtel Durante*, *Urbino*, *Sentino*, *Jeſi*, *Camerino*. Theſe cities ſtood between the *Adriatic* ſea and the *Apennines*. On the other ſide of theſe mountains were, *Iguvium*, *Mevania*, *Spoletium*, *Tifernum*, *Nuceria*, *Camellaria*, *Attium*, *Hiſpellum*, *Fulginium*, *Tuder*, *Interamnium*, or *Interamna*, *Narnia*, *Ameria*, and *Ocriculi*, or *Ocriculum*, known at preſent by the names of *Ugubio*, *Bavagna*, *Spoleti*, *Citta di Caſtello*, *Nocera*, *Aſſiſi*, *Iſpello*, *Foligno*, *Todi*, *Terni*, *Narni*, *Amelia*, *Orioli*.

THE country of the *Sabini* lay between the *Nar* and the *Anio*, now the *Teverone*, the former ſeparating it from *Umbria*, and the latter from *Latium*. *Cures*, whence the *Romans* were called *Quirites*, was at firſt the metropolis of the *Sabini*, and in after-ages *Reate*, now *Riete*. The ruins of *Cures* are ſtill to be ſeen at a place called *Vecchio di Sabina*. The other cities in this country worth notice were *Nurſia*, *Eretum*, *Nomentum*, *Cutiliæ*, and *Amiternum*, now known by the names of *Norcia*, *Monte Rotondo*, *Lamentario*. The cities of *Cutileæ* and *Amiternum* have been long ſince deſtroyed; but there are ſtill remaining ſome ruins of the former at *Civita Ducale*, and of the latter near the city of *Aquila*. Sabini.

NEXT to the country of the *Sabini* was *Latium*, compriſed at firſt within very narrow limits, *viz.* the *Tiber*, the *Anio*, and the *Circæan* promontory, now *Monte Circello*; but after the reduction of the *Æqui*, *Hernici*, *Volſci*, and *Auſones*, reaching to the river *Liris*, called by the preſent inhabitants *il Garigliano*. And hence the diſtinction that frequently occurs in the ancients between *Old* and *New Latium*. In *Old Latium* ſtood the following cities; *Rome*, once the moſt powerful, and ſtill the moſt ſtately and beautiful, city of the world, *Tibur*, *Præneſte*, *Gabii*, *Tuſculum*, *Aricia*, *Lavicum*, *Alba Longa*, ſo called from its length, and to diſtinguiſh it from another city of the ſame name in the country of the *Marſi*, *Lavinium*, *Laurentum*, *Oſtia*, *Antemnæ*, *Crutia*, and *Ardea*, the metropolis of the *Rutuli*, a *Latin* nation. Of *Gabii* and the two laſt-mentioned cities there are now ſcarce any footſteps remaining; but the others are ſtill known by the names of *Tivoli*, *Paleſtrina*, *Fraſcati*, *l'Aricia*, *Citta Lavina*, *Albano*, *Patricia*, *Paterno*, *Oſtia*. *Carſeoli*, or *Carſula*, *Valeria*, *Sublaqueum*, *Algidum*; the *Arſuli*, *Vico Varo*, *Subiaco*, belonged to the *Æqui*. Of *Algidum* ſome ruins are to be ſeen near an inn, which the *Italians* call *l'Oſterio dell Aglio*. *Anagnia*, *Alatrium*, *Verulæ*, *Ferentinum*, now *Anagni*, *Alatri*, *Veroli*, *Ferentino*, were the chief cities of the *Hernici*. In the country of the *Volſci* ſtood *Antium*, *Circæi*, or *Circæum*, *Tarracina*, called alſo *Anxur*, *Sueſſa Pometia*, whence the neighbouring marſh was named *Palus Pomeſtina*, or *Pomptina*, *Velitræ*, *Cora*, *Norba*, *Privernum*, *Setia*, *Signia*, *Sulmo*, *Fregino*, *Frabrateria*, *Aquinum*, *Caſinum*, *Atina*, *Arpinum*, *Arx*, *Sora*, *Fregellæ*, and *Interamna*. The ruins of *Antium*, *Circæi*, and *Sueſſa Pometia*, are ſtill to be ſeen at *Capo d'Anzo*, *Citta Vecchia*, and in the neighbourhood of *Veletri*. The other cities bear at preſent the names of *Terracina*, *Veletri*, *Cora*, *Norma*, *Piperno*, *Sezza*, *Segni*, *Ferrugneta*, *Fruſinone*, *Falvaterra*, *Aquino*, *Monte Caſino*, *Atina*, *Arpino*, *Arce*, *Sora*, *Ponte Corvo*, *l'Iſola*. In the country of the *Auſones* were *Cajeta*, *Fundi*, and *Formiæ*, at preſent *Gaeta*, *Fondi*, and *Mola*. Latium.

Picenum, the country of the *Picentes*, lay between the *Æſis* and the *Aternus*, now *Peſcara*, extending from the *Adriatic* to the *Apennines*, where it joined *Umbria*, and beyond them reaching to the country of the *Sabini*. Their chief cities were, *Ancona*, once poſſeſſed by the *Gauls*, *Caſtrum Novum*, *Caſtellum Truentinum*, ſo called from the river *Truentum*, now the *Tronto*, *Auximum*, *Septempeda*, *Tollentinum*, *Firmum*, *Picenum*, *Aſculum Picenum*, *Interamnium*, and *Atria*, at preſent *Ancona*, *Flaviano*, *Torre Segura*, or, as others will have it, *Porto d'Aſcoli*, *Oſimo*, *S. Severino*, *Tolentino*, *Fermo*, *Aſcoli*, *Teramo*, *Atri*. Eaſt of the country lay the country of the *Veſtini*, which contained the following cities; *Angulus*, *Pinna*, and *Avia*, or *Avella*, now called *Civita di S. Angelo*, *Civita di Penna*, *Aquila*. Next to the *Veſtini* were the *Marrucini*, whoſe ſmall territory had but one city, viz. *Teate*, now *Chieti*. The *Peligni* inhabited a ſmall tract lying between the countries of the *Veſtini* and *Marrucini* to the north, and the *Apennines* to the ſouth. Their chief cities were, *Corfinium* and *Sulmo*; the ruins of the former are ſtill remaining about eight miles from *Sulmo*, now known by the name of *Sulmona*. The *Marſi* were ſeated in an inland country, having the *Peligni* and *Veſtini* between them and the *Adriatic* ſea; on the other ſide the *Apennines* they Picentes. Veſtini. Marrucini. Peligni. Marſi.

they bordered on the countries of the *Sabini* and *Æqui.* They had only two cities, viz. *Alba Fucentes*, ſo called from the lake *Fucinus*, now *Lago di Celano*, near which it ſtood, and *Marrubium.* The former ſtill retains the ancient name of *Alba*; but the latter is now called *Morrea.* Next to the *Marrucini* on the coaſt were the *Frentani*; in the inland country the *Samnites* between the *Frentani* and the *Campani*; and the *Hirpini* ſeated between *Samnium*, and the river *Silarus*, having *Apulia Daunia* on the north-eaſt, and *Campania* on the ſouth-weſt. The cities of *Ortona*, *Anxanum*, and *Hiſtonium*, now *Ortona*, *Lanzano*, *Guaſto d' Amone*, belonged to the *Frentani*; *Bovianum*, *Æſernia*, *Sepinum*, *Allifæ*, and *Teleſia*, now *Boiano*, *Iſernio*, *Sepino*, *Alife*, *Teleſe*, to the *Samnites.* *Beneventum*, *Equus*, *Tuticus*, *Abellinum*, and *Compſa*, now *Benevento*, *Ariano*, *Avellino*, *Conza*, to the *Hirpini.*

Frentani. Samnites. Hirpini.

Campani. *Campania* extended from the *Liris* to the promontory of *Minerva*, called ſtill *il capo di Minerva*, being bounded on the north-eaſt by *Samnium*, and on the ſouth-weſt by the country of the *Hirpini.* In this tract, which was the moſt pleaſant and fruitful of all *Italy*, ſtood the following cities; on the coaſt *Liternum*, *Bajo*, *Miſenum*, *Puteoli*, *Neapolis*, or *Parthenope*, *Herculaneium*, *Pompeii*, and *Surrentum*, now *Torre di Patria*, *Baie*, *Monte Miſeno*, *Puzzuolo*, *Napoli*, *Torre di Greco*, *Scafati*, *Sorrento*; in the inland country, *Capua*, the ruins of which are ſtill to be ſeen about two miles from the preſent city of the ſame name, *Sueſſa Aurunca*, *Venafrum*, *Caſilinum*, *Teanum Sidicinum*, *Calatia*, *Cales*, *Atella*, *Acerræ*, *Nola*, and *Nuceria*, known at preſent by the names of *Seſſa*, *Venafro*, *Nova Capua*, *Tiano*, *Cajazzo*, *Calvi*, *Averſa*, *Acerra*, *Nola*, *Nocera.* The ſmall tract, lying between the promontory of *Minerva*, and the river *Silarus*, was inhabited by a colony of *Picentes* planted here by the *Romans*; *Pliny* [h] and *Ptolemy* call them *Picentini*, to diſtinguiſh them from the *Picentes* who inhabited *Picenum* on the *Adriatic* ſea. The *Picentini* had but two cities, viz. *Picentia*, called by *Strabo* [i] the metropolis of the *Picentini*, but at preſent demoliſhed, and *Salernum*, now *Salerno.*

Picentini.

Magna Græcia *Magna Græcia* compriſed *Apulia*, *Lucania*, and the country of the *Brutii.* This country was called *Greece*, becauſe moſt of the cities on the coaſt were *Greek* colonies and ſpoke the *Greek* tongue. The inhabitants gave it the epithet of *Great*, not becauſe it was larger, or near ſo large as *Greece*, properly ſo called; but merely out of oſtentation, as *Pliny* informs us [k]. *Apulia* extended from the river *Frento* quite to the ſtraits, parting *Italy* from *Greece*; but was divided into three parts, viz. *Daunia*, lying between the *Frento* and the *Aufidus*, now *l'Ofanto*, *Peucetia*, extending from the *Aufidus* to the iſthmus between *Brunduſium* and *Tarentum*, and *Meſſapia*, called alſo *Calabria* and *Iapygia*, comprehending the peninſula. In *Apulia*, by which name the ancient geographers underſtand both *Daunia* and *Pucetia*, were the following cities; *Teanum Apulum*, *Geryon*, *Sipuntum*, *Luceria*, *Equulanum*, *Arpi*, the ruins of which are to be ſeen near the preſent city of *Foggia*, *Aſculum Apulum*, *Venuſia*, *Acherontia*, *Canuſium*, *Cannæ*, *Salapia*, *Rubi*, *Butunti*, *Barium*, and *Egnatia*, now *Civitate Tragonaro*, *Siponto*, *Lucera*, *Troia*, *Aſicli*, *Venoſa*, *Acirenza*, *Canoſa*, *Canna*, *Salpe*, *Ruvo*, *Bitonio*, *Bari*, *Terra d' Anazzo.* In *Calabria*, *Brunduſium*, *Hydruntum*, *Caſtrum Minervæ*, *Callipolis*, *Tarentum*, *Neritum*, and *Aletium*, now *Brindiſi*, *Otranto*, *Caſtro*, *Gallipoli*, *Tarento*, *Nardo*, *Lezze.* Near *Aletium* ſtood in antient times the city of *Rudiæ*, the birth-place of *Ennius.*

Magna Græcia. Apulia. Daunia. Pucetia.

Lucania. *Lucania* lay between the *Silarus* and the *Laus*, now the *Laino*, the former parting it from the country of the *Picentini*, and the latter from that of the *Brutii.* It was divided from *Pucetia* by the river *Bradanus*, now the *Brandano*, and from *Calabria* by the upper part of the *Sinus Tarentinus*, or *gulf of Tarento.* On the *Mediterranean* or *Tyrrhenian* ſea ſtood the cities of *Paſtum*, called by the *Greeks Poſidonia*, *Velia*, *Buxentum*; on the gulf of *Tarentum*, *Metapontum*, *Heraclea*, anciently called *Siris* and *Sybaris*, afterwards known by the names of *Thurii* and *Copiæ*; in the inland country were ſituated *Potentia* and *Grumentum.* Theſe cities were called by the preſent inhabitants, *Peſto*, *Piſciotta*, *Policaſtro*, *Terre di Mare*, *Policore*, *Potenza*, *Clarimonte.* The city of *Thurii* or *Thurium* was deſtroyed ſoon after the ſecond *Carthaginian* war.

Brutii. The *Brutii* poſſeſſed that peninſula which extends from *Lucania* to the ſtraits, ſeparating *Sicily* from *Italy.* In this corner of *Italy*, as we may call it, ſtood the following cities; on the weſtern coaſt, *Cerilli*, *Clampetia*, *Temſa*, *Terina*, *Lametia*, *Scyllæum*, and *Rhegium*, now *Cirella*, *Amantea*, *Torre Loppa*, *Nocera*, *Sant' Eufemia*, *Seizzo*, *Reggio*;

[h] Plin. l. iii. c. 5, & 12. [i] Strabo, l. v. ſub finem. [k] Plin. l. iii. c. 5.

Brutii. Lucania. Apulia. Dunia. Peucetia. Marrucini Pelig. Picentini. Campani. Frentani Samnite Hirpini.

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A Map of GREAT GREECE and of the Islands of SARDINIA and CORSICA. By Mons.r Deliſle first Geographer to the King of France, and Member of The Royal Academy of Sciences.

Roman Miles of 5000 Feet each

50 100

THE ADRIATICK SEA

THE TYRRHENIAN SEA

IONIAN SEA

ILLYRICUM

PICENUM

VESTINI

MARRUCINI

PELIGNI

MARSI

FRENTANI

SAMNIUM

CARACENI

PENTRI

APULIA

AUSONES

CAMPANIA

HIRPINI

PEUCETIA

PEDICULI

IAPYGIANS OR MESSAPIANS

CALABRIA

SALENTINI

PICENTINI

LUCANI

AENOTRII

BRUTII

THE ISLE OF CORSICA

THE ISLE OF SARDINIA

ISLES OF LIPARI

SICILY

Promont Sacrum

Aleria Colony

Mariana Col.

Rhecium

Thrinicium

Marsa

Strcits of Cape S.t Lucia

Hercules I.

Tibula

Tauros

The Town of Libiſco Colony

Olbia

Rosa

Cornus

Thyrsus R.

Nellis Colony

The Sacred

Cagliari Colony

Sulci

Sulci Promontory

Adria Col.

Hadria

Hernicus

Ortona

Pinna

Alternum

Super æquum Col.

Plistia

Tagrus R.

Trinium

Truentum

Larinus

Cerminum

Lucinus Lake

Auſidena

Aternus R.

Sipontum Colony

Lucera Colony

Eſernia Col.

Bovianum Colony

Sepinum

Allifæ

Murgantia

Sanctula

Cales Col.

Malventum

Beneventum Col.

Caudium

Vulturnum Colony

Capua

Naples Col.

Abellinum

Compſa

Taſtrasium

Romulea

Ruſſium

Caſilianum Col.

Salernum Col.

Cape Miſenum

Peſtum or Poſidonia Colony

Heraclea

Siris R.

Acheronta

Venuſium

Forentanum

Barium

Egnatia

Canuſium

Eminium

Aſculum

Aquilonia

Salapia

Aufidus R.

Luceria

Apollonia

Lyſſos

Epidaurus

Ulcinium

Tarentum

Lupiæ

Hydruntum

Brundiſium Col.

Meſſapia

Iapygium Promontory

Iapygia

Sybaris Thuriæ or Copiæ Colony

Ruxentum

Verulæ

Enotrides Isles

Cape Palinurus

Pandoſia

Acheron R.

Iuvenis R.

Crathis R.

Petilia

Conſentia

Crotan

Æſarus R.

Lacinian Promontory

Iſles of Lipari

Lipari Colony

Vulcan I.

Hipponium Colony

Mamertum

Meſſana

Rhegium Col.

Locri

Longitude from London

9 10 15 16 17 18 19 20

43 42 41 40 39 38

J.s Barlow Sculp.

Regio; on the eaſtern coaſt, *Locri* called *Epizephyrii* from the promontory *Zephyrium*, *Caulonia*, *Scylacium*, *Croto*, *Petilia*, and *Ruſcianum*, now *Jeraces*, *Caſtel Veteri*, *Squillace*, *Crotone*, *Belicaſtro*, *Roſſano*; in the inland country, *Couſentia*, now *Coſenza*, formerly the metropolis of the *Brutii*; *Pandoſia*, and *Hiponium*, called by the *Romans* *Vibo Valentia*, and by the modern inhabitants *Monte Leone*. Theſe are the chief cities of *Italy*, which we ſhall deſcribe, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of them in the ſequel of the hiſtory.

Rivers.

THE rivers, which it may be proper to take notice of in this place, are the *Po*, called by the *Latins Padus* and *Eridanus*, which ſprings from mount *Veſulus*, now *Monte Viſo*, one of the higheſt among the *Alps*, and diſcharges itſelf into the *Adriatic* ſea by ſeven different ſtreams, after having received into its channel above thirty rivers. On the *Alps* likewiſe riſe the *Druria*, the *Seſſites*, the *Ticinum*, the *Addua*, the *Ollius*, the *Mincius*, the *Tanarus*, the *Trebia*, and the *Rhenus Bononienſis*, now the *Dora*, *Seſſia*, *Sture*, *Adda*, *Oglio*, *Mincio*, *Tanaro*, *Trebia*, and *Reno di Bologna*. The *Athеſis*, now the *Adige*, has its ſource, like the others we have mentioned, in the *Alps*, waters the cities of *Trent* and *Verona*, and is the only great river in *Lombardy* that does not run into the *Po*; which it muſt have done, had it run but a little further before its entering the *Adriatic*. The *Arnus*, and the *Tiber*, which receives the *Clanis*, the *Nar*, and the *Anio*, now *la Chinana*, *la Nera*, *il Teverone*, ſpring from the *Apennines*, and run into the *Mediterranean*. The *Liris*, which ſeparates *Latium* from *Campania*; the *Vulturnus* in *Campania*; the *Silarus* parting the *Picentini* and *Lucani*; the *Sybaris* and *Crathis* in *Lucania*; the *Aufidus* in *Apulia*; the *Aternus* and *Metaurus* in *Picerum*, now the *Garigliano*, *Volturno*, *Silaro*, *Cochile*, *Crati*, *l'Ofanto*, *Peſcara*, *Metauro*, were all rivers of great note, and are much ſpoke of by the ancients[l].

Mountains.

THE chief mountains of *Italy* are the *Alps* and the *Apennines*, the former parting from *Gaul*, *Vindelicia*, *Noricum*, and *Pannonia*, taking *Italy* in its greateſt extent, the latter dividing it into two, almoſt equal, parts. *Feſtus* is of opinion, that *Alps* borrowed their name from the *Latin* word *Albus*, which the *Sabines* pronounced *Alpus*, ſignifying *white*, becauſe they were almoſt always covered with ſnow[l]. *Iſidorus*[m] and *Servius*[n], tell us, that in the language of the *Celtes* all high mountains were called *Alps*: others derive the name of the *Alps* from one *Albion*, the ſon of *Neptune*, who, they ſay, was killed by *Hercules* in diſputing his paſſage over theſe mountains. But not to loſe time in ſuch trifling etymologies, the *Alps* are a long chain of mountains, which begins at the mouth of the *Varus*, and, after a great many irregular turnings of about eight hundred miles, ends at the river *Arſia* in *Iſtria*. The maritime *Alps* reach from *Vada* or *Vado* to the ſource of the *Varus*, the *Cottiæ* from the courſe of the *Varus* to the city of *Suſa*, from thence the *Graiæ* to *Little St. Bernard*, and the *Penninæ* from that mountain to *Monte St. Gottard*, or *St. Gothard*; to the *Penninæ* are joined the *Alpes Rhæticæ*, which extend to the ſpring of the river *Drave*: thoſe, which reach from thence to *Iſtra* and the head of the *Savus*, are called *Noricæ* and *Carnicæ*. The *Apennines* extend from the maritime *Alps*, where they take their riſe, quite to the ſtraits which ſeparate *Italy* from *Sicily*. The mountains *Maſſicus* near *Sueſſa*, *Gauras* between *Puteoli* and *Baiæ*, *Fifata* at a ſmall diſtance from *Capua*, *Veſuvius* in the neighbourhood of *Nola*, and *Garganus* in *Apulia*, are much ſpoke of both by the ancient and modern writers[o].

Soil.

Italy lies between the thirty-eighth and forty-ſixth degrees of north latitude, in the ſixth and ſeventh north climates. We need not here inlarge on the fruitfulneſs and various productions of this happy region, it being well known, that whatever deſirable things nature has dropt frugally here and there in other countries, are found in *Italy*, as in their original ſeminary; whence ſome call it the parent of plenty, others the fountain of earthly bliſs, the incomparable region of this globe, the garden of *Europe*, the epitome of the world, or rather a little world itſelf. The inhabitants of this country were once the triumphant lords and conquerors of the world; but at preſent the ſofter arts prevail; and in theſe they are generally thought to be as much ſuperior to the modern, as their anceſtors were to the ancient nations in war and military exploits. But the ancient inhabitants of *Italy* ſhall be the ſubject of the following ſection.

SECT.

[l] FEST. l. iii. [m] ISIDOR. orig. l. iii. [n] SERVIUS in l. iii. Æneid. [o] Vid. CLUVER. antiq. ital. l. iii. PLIN. l. xxxi. c. 2. LIV. l. xxii. VIRGIL. l. ii. georg. v. 143. & l. iii. v. 526. KIRCH. mund. ſubter. tom. I.

SECT. II.

Of the ancient ſtate and firſt inhabitants of Italy.

THERE is ſuch a diſagreement among the ancients, in what they have wrote concerning the firſt inhabitants of *Italy*, that we cannot pretend to give any ſatisfactory account of the primitive ſtate of that country. We ſhall therefore only relate in this place, what has been tranſmitted to us, on ſo perplext and intricate a ſubject, by the moſt credible writers of antiquity, without taking upon us to prefer the authority of one to that of another, ſince they may be all, for ought we know, as the moſt judicious among them ſeem to inſinuate, equally miſtaken. We ſhall begin with *Latium*, which roſe by degrees to be the ſeat of a mighty republic and an empire, which had no other bounds than thoſe of our hemiſphere. *Old Latium*, which from the banks of the *Tiber* extended no farther ſouthward than to the Circæan promontory, being bounded on the north by the *Anio*, and to the eaſt by mount *Algidus*, only eighteen miles diſtant from *Rome*, was at different times inhabited by the following nations[p]; *viz.* the *Aborigines*, *Pelaſgi*, *Arcades*, *Siculi*, *Aurunci*, and *Rutuli*: *New Latium*, which reached to the *Liris*, by the *Volſci*, *Oſci*, *Auſones*, *Circæi*, *Fidenates*, and *Sicani*. Some hiſtorians are of opinion, that the *Aborigines* had that name given them, becauſe they had been in *Italy* from the beginning, and did not derive their *origin* from any other: others changing the name of *Aborigines* into *Aberrigines*, hold, that they were a *wandering* people, ſuch being the import of that word, who coming from different countries, met accidentally in *Italy*, and there lived promiſcuouſly. *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, who was perſuaded that they came from *Arcadia*, propoſes two other opinions; *viz.* that they were ſtyled *Aborigines*, becauſe they *lived on mountains*, in which the *Arcadians* took great pleaſure (A); or becauſe they gave origin to the *Latins* (B), who being deſcended from them, called them *Aborigines*, that is, *the people from whom they derived their origin*. The appellation *Aborigines* in the firſt acceptation is derived from the *Greek* words *Oreon Genos*, that is, *natives of the mountains*, in the ſecond from the *Latin* word *Origo*, which imports *origin*. The above-mentioned writer takes them to be one and the ſame people with the *Oenotrii*, who leaving *Arcadia*, their native country, croſſed the ſea, and ſettled in *Latium*, above four hundred years before the *Trojan* war. The *Pelaſgi* were originally *Peloponneſians*, who, being driven out of their country by the *Curetes* and *Leleges*, ſettled firſt in *Theſſaly*, and removed from thence into that part of *Italy* which is watered by the *Po*, and built there the city of *Spina*. Some of them croſſed the *Apennines*, joined the *Aborigines*, and, having made themſelves maſters of great part of *Umbria* and *Hetruria*, drove the *Siculi* out of thoſe countries, and obliged them to ſeek for refuge into *Sicily*. They likewiſe took ſeveral cities of *Campania* from the *Auſones*, but at length, being afflicted with many calamities, they abandoned their conqueſts, and returned to *Greece*[s]. From them the *Aborigines* borrowed many cuſtoms of *Greece*. About ſixty years before the *Trojan* war, another colony arrived from *Peloponneſus*, in a port of *Latium*, under the conduct of *Evander* the *Arcadian*, who, being kindly received by *Faunus*, at that time king of the country, and ſuffered to ſettle on a ſmall uncultivated hill near the *Tiber*, introduced the worſhip of the gods of his own country,

The inhabitants of Old *and* New Latium.

Aborigines.

Pelaſgi.

Arcades.

[p] Plin. l. iii. c. 5. [q] Vid. Victor. de origin. Roman. [r] Dion. Hal. l. i. antiq. Rom. c. 13. [s] Dion. Hal. ibid.

(A) *Virgil* ſpeaks of the *Aborigines* as living diſperſed on the mountains before the arrival of *Saturn*:

Is genus indocile, & diſperſum montibus altis,
Compoſuit, legeſque dedit (1).

(B) This was, according to *Servius*, *Virgil*'s opinion, which he takes to be plainly expreſſed in the following verſes:

Quin etiam veterum effigies ex ordine avorum
Antiqua ex cedro, Italuſque, paterque Sabinus,
Saturnuſque ſenex, Janique bifrontis imago,
Veſtibulo aſtabant, aliique ab origine reges (2).

By the laſt words *Virgil* meant, ſays *Servius*, the kings of the *Aborigines*, that is, the kings of the nation, from which the *Romans* derived their origin. In like manner *Pliny* calls the *Tyrians*, *Aborigines Gadium*, becauſe that city was founded by them (3).

(1) *Virgil. Æneid.* 8. v. 321. *Vid. Suid. in Aborigines.* (2) *Virgil. l.* vii. v. 177. (3) *Plin. l.* iv. *ſub finem.*

country, and taught the inhabitants the uſe of the *Greek* letters (C), and of ſtringed inſtruments of muſic. By this means he reformed the cuſtoms, and ſoftened the manners of the *Aborigines*, who, at the time of his arrival, ſtill lived after a ſavage manner, and without any regulation of laws [t]. Not long after, another colony of *Arcadians* and *Eleans* arriving in *Latium* with *Hercules*, are ſaid to have ſettled there, and made one people with thoſe whom *Evander* had brought with him.

Siculi. THE *Siculi* were, according to *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, the firſt inhabitants of *Latium*, but being driven from thence by the *Aborigines* and *Pelaſgi*, and by other nations from all the countries of *Italy*, they took refuge in *Sicily*. As to the origin of the *Siculi*, *Pliny* [u] takes them to be one and the ſame people with the *Sicani*. If this opinion be true, they came originally from *Spain*, according to *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, *Thucydides*, and *Philiſtus*, an ancient *Sicilian* writer; but, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, from *Sicily*, that author being of opinion, that the *Sicani* inhabited *Sicily* from the firſt ages of the world. *Sophocles* ſays, they were called *Siculi* from one *Siculus* their king. The *Aurunci* or *Arunci* were originally *Auſones* [w], of whom hereafter. *Virgil* ſpeaks of them as a *Trojan* colony [x]. The *Rutuli* were deſcended from the *Aborigines*. Theſe were the various nations, which at different times had been maſters of all, or great part of, *Latium* before the arrival of *Æneas*. Aurunci. Rutuli.

Volſci. IN *New Latium* the *Volſci* were a very warlike people; but ancient authors give no account of their origin. They only tell us, that they had a language peculiar to themſelves. Their territory comprehended one of the moſt conſiderable portions of *Old Latium*. The *Oſci*, *Opici*, or *Obſci*, were deſcended from the *Auſones*. From Oſci. their name the etymologiſts derive the *Latin* word *Obſcænus*, *obſcene*; for they had the character of being licentious in their diſcourſe and leud in their manners, above the reſt of the inhabitants of *Italy*. Their language was different from that of the *Romans*; for *Ennius* uſed to boaſt, as *Gellius* informs us [y], that he could ſpeak *Oſcian*, *Greek*, and *Latin*. The *Fidenates* were a colony of the *Albani*, and the *Coriolani* of the *Volſci*. Fidenates. Of the *Sicani* we have ſpoke above. As to the *Auſones*, they came originally from *Greece*, and were one of the moſt ancient colonies that ſettled in *Italy*. They firſt Coriolani. planted themſelves in *New Latium*, but, being driven from thence by new adventurers, they retired to that part of *Campania*, which lies between *Teanum* and *Capua* [z]. They were called *Auſones*, according to *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, from *Auſon* the ſon of *Ulyſſes* by *Calypſo*, whom he ſuppoſes to have reigned over them while they were in *Latium*. But that writer is herein certainly miſtaken, ſince they had the name of *Auſones*, long before the arrival of *Æneas*, and conſequently before the ſuppoſed king *Auſon* could be born. From them firſt the countries where they ſettled, and afterwards all *Italy*, took the name of *Auſonia*.

Hetruſci. NEXT to *Old Latium* lay *Hetruria*, which was inhabited by the *Tyrrhenians*, called alſo *Hetruſci*, *Etruſci*, *Tuſci*, and ſometimes *Thuſci*. The name of *Tyrrhenians* they borrowed from their leader *Tyrrhenus*, that of *Hetruſci* from one of their kings, and the laſt from the *Greek* word *Thuo*, *to ſacrifice*, the *Hetruſcans* having been ſkilled, above all other nations, in the ceremonies that were uſed in the performing of ſacrifices [a]. They came originally, according to the common opinion both of the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, from *Lydia*, under the conduct of *Tyrrhenus*, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Lydia* [b], and arriving in *Italy*, ſettled firſt in that tract, which lies between the *Adriatic* ſea and the *Apennines*, after having driven out the *Umbri*, and taken from them, as *Pliny* informs us [c], three hundred cities. Being animated by the ſucceſs that attended them on their firſt arrival, they extended their conqueſts beyond the *Apennines*, and made themſelves maſters of the territories of *Nola* and *Capua*, and almoſt of the whole coaſt of that ſea, which from them took the name of *Tyrrhenian*. Theſe countries they held till the invaſion of the *Gauls*, when they were driven from the coaſt of

[t] DION. HAL. ibid. p. 25. [u] PLIN. l. iii. c. 5. [w] ARISTOT. Polit. l. vii. c. 10. SERVIUS in l. vii. Æneid. ISAAC. TZETZES, p. 211. [x] VIRGIL. georg. l. ii. v. 385. [y] AUL. GELL. l. xvii. [z] DIO. HAL. l. vi. c. 5. [a] Vide SERVIUM in l. i. Æneid. ISIDOR. de origin. & BRIET. in hiſtoric. deſcript. Tuſcor. [b] Vol. II. p. 331. [c] PLIN. l. ii. c. 4.

(C) The *Greek* characters were the firſt which the *Latins* made uſe of. Of this there was ſtill remaining a plain proof in the time of *Auguſtus*, *viz.* the treaty between *Tarquin the Proud* and the *Gabii*, which was written in *Latin* words, but *Greek* letters, on a wooden ſhield covered with the ſkin of the ox that had been ſacrificed on that occaſion (4).

(4) *Dio Hal. l.* iv. *p.* 245.

of the *Adriatic* ſea by that warlike nation, and from *Campania* by the *Latins*; ſo that they were obliged to take refuge in that country, which lies between the *Macra* and *Tiber*, and is called by all the ancients *Hetruria*.

Ligures. THERE is a great diſagreement among authors about the origin of the *Ligures*. *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* owns, that he cannot determine whether they were deſcended from the *Gauls*, or from ſome of the ancient nations inhabiting *Italy*. *Strabo*, ſpeaking of the various tribes living among or near the *Alps*, ſays, that they were all originally *Gauls*, except the *Ligures* [d]; and elſewhere ſeems inclined to believe, that *Liguria* was firſt peopled by *Greek* colonies. Some carry up their origin to the fabulous heroes of antiquity, and others, led by the [e] ſimilitude of names, to the *Ligyes* mentioned by *Herodotus* [f], as attending *Xerxes* in his expedition into *Greece*. The *Ligures* are placed by ſome ancient geographers in *Colchis*, by others in *Albania*. *Sextus Pomp eius* will have the *Ligures* to be deſcended from the *Siculi* [g]. But the moſt common opinion is, that they came originally from *Celtic Gaul*. Of this origin *Cluverius* [h], diſcovers ſome traces in the word *Bodencus*, which was, according to *Polybius* and *Pliny*, the name the *Ligures* gave to the *Po* to expreſs the depth of that river. The word *Boden* as the ſame writer obſerves, is ſtill uſed by the *Germans*, and ſignifies *bottom*; whence he concludes, that the *Ligures* had the ſame origin with the inhabitants of *Germany*, who were, without all doubt, ſo many branches of the ancient *Celtæ*. But when or on what occaſion theſe *Gauls* removed from their native country, we find no where recorded. However, it is paſt doubt, that they were ſome of the moſt ancient inhabitants of *Italy*, and conſequently that they croſſed the *Alps* many ages before thoſe *Gauls*, from whom *Ciſalpine Gaul* took its name.

Umbri. THE *Umbri* are counted by the *Roman* writers among thoſe nations, of whoſe origin we have no records, and therefore ſtyled the *Aborigines* of *Italy*. The name of *Umbri* or *Ombri Pliny* [i] derives from the *Greek* word *Ombros*, ſignifying *a ſhower*, becauſe they had eſcaped a deluge occaſioned by violent ſhowers, which had laid their lands under water. Before the arrival of the *Tyrrhenians*, they poſſeſſed great part of that country, which was afterwards known by the name of *Ciſalpine Gaul*; but were driven from thence by the *Tyrrhenians*, as the *Tyrrhenians* were in their turn by the *Gauls*.

Sabini, Picentes, Frentani, &c. THE *Sabini* were, according to ſome ancient writers, a colony of *Lacedæmonians*, according to others, the offspring of the *Auſones*. The name of *Sabini* they took, if *Porticus Cato* is to be credited, from *Sabinus*, the ſon of *Sancus* or *Sabus*, whom they worſhipped under the name of *Dius Fidius*. From the *Sabini* were deſcended the *Picentes*, *Frentani*, *Marrucini*, *Peligni*, *Veſtini*, *Marſi*, *Æqui*, *Hernici*, and the *Samnites*; from the *Samnites*, the *Hirpini*, *Lucani*, *Brutii*, and *Campani*.

OEnotrii. THE *Œnotrii* were, according to moſt of the ancient writers, originally *Arcadians*. *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* ſays, that they were the firſt *Greeks* who paſſed the *Ionian* ſea and ſettled in *Italy*, under the conduct of *Œnotrus* and *Peucetius*, two ſons of *Lycaon* king of *Arcadia*. *Peucetius* landed at the *Iapygian* promontory, made himſelf maſter of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, and from his own name called the inhabitants *Peucetii*; and hence that tract was named *Apulia Peucetia*. *Œnotrus* landed on the oppoſite coaſt, and poſſeſſed himſelf of *Lucania* and *Brutium*. From him this tract was called *Œnotria*, and not from the *Greek* word *Oinos*, as *Servius* [k] pretends, becauſe this country produced great plenty of excellent *wines*. The *Œnotrians* ſpread themſelves afterwards into *Umbria*, and, according to ſome writers, as far as *Latium* and the country of the *Sabini*. A modern writer is of opinion, that the *Œnotrius* of the ancients was *Noah*, who, to avoid the inſults and evil deſigns of *Ham*, came with *Japheth* and *Gomer* into *Italy*, and reigned in *Latium* under the name of *Janus*, which he derives from the *Hebrew Jain*, and the *Chaldee Jaino*, ſignifying *wine*, becauſe he firſt planted vines, and diſcovered the ſecret of preſſing grapes, and making their juice potable [l]. For this reaſon the *Greeks* called him *Œnotrus*, which in *Greek* anſwers the ſurname of *Janus*. But, after all, theſe are only conjectures, which every one may adopt or reject as he pleaſes. Some are of opinion, that the *Œnotrii* were the firſt inhabitants of *Italy*; but moſt of the ancients tell us, that the country, where they ſettled on their arrival, was firſt poſſeſſed by the *Auſones*, whom they drove out.

THE

[d] Strab. l. ii. Ital. antiq. l. ii. tio antiq. & nov. [e] Idem, l. iv. [f] Herodot. l. vii. [g] Sext. Pomp. l. xvii. [h] Cluver. [i] Plin. l. iii. c. 4. [k] Servius in l. i. Æneid. [l] Vide Kircher. in La-

Crotoniates, Locrenſes, Tarentini, &c.

THE *Crotoniates*, *Locrenſes*, *Tarentini*, *Meſſapii*, *Apuli*, *Salentini*, *Calabri*, and *Iapyges*, were, without all doubt, of *Greek* extraction, and ſettled in that part of *Italy*, which from them was called *Great Greece*, many ages after the *Umbri*, *Siculi*, and *Iaſones*, which three nations are reckoned by moſt of the ancients among the *Aborigines*, or *natives* of *Italy*, as if they had been there from the beginning, and did not derive their origin from any other nation. Of the *Gauls* and their different tranſmigrations into *Italy*, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in a more proper place.

Thus far we have related what we find in profane hiſtorians concerning the firſt inhabitants of *Italy*. But *Euſebius* and *Cedrenus* [m], looking upon their accounts as fabulous, tell us, that *Italy* was firſt peopled by the deſcendants of *Kittim*, the fourth ſon of *Javan*, who, being planted in that part of *Greece*, which had been ſince called *Macedon*, ſpread themſelves, as their numbers increaſed, as far as *Ætolia*, and from thence advanced in queſt of a more fertile ſoil to the coaſts of the *Adriatic* ſea, which they croſſed, and ſettled at laſt in that fruitful and pleaſant country, which was afterwards known by the name of *Italy*. The opinion of theſe writers is in ſome degree confirmed by what we read in *Suidas*, who tells us in expreſs terms, that the *Latins* were anciently called *Ketii*. Beſides, *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* mentions a city in *Latium* called *Ketea*, and *Ariſtotle* ſpeaks of a lake near *Cumæ*, named *Ketus* [n]. *Keineccius*, falling in with *Euſebius* and *Cedrenus*, is of opinion, that *Italy* did not take that name from *Italus* king of the *Œnotrians*, but from *Ætolus* and a colony of *Ætolians*, that is, of the deſcendants of *Kittim*, who under him ſettled in that country. He obſerves, that by only throwing out the firſt letter of *Ætolia*, and changing the *o* into *a*, which change is found in the name of *Æthalia*, an iſland near *Italy*, peopled by the *Ætolians*, it becomes *Italia*. So that *Italy*, according to theſe writers, was firſt peopled by the deſcendants of *Kittim*, who had ſettled in *Ætolia*, or, as the *Greeks* write it, *Aitolia*. The way into ſo pleaſant a country being once ſhewn, it was not long, before the *Pelaſgi*, the *Arcadians*, and other *Greek* nations followed their countrymen, and ſettled in the eaſtern and ſouthern parts of *Italy*, while the *Tyrrhenians* from *Lydia*, and the *Celtæ*, afterwards called *Ligurians*, from beyond the *Alps*, planted themſelves in the weſtern and northern provinces. Thus was *Italy*, before the arrival of *Æneas*, poſſeſſed by *Greeks*, *Lydians*, and *Celtæ*.

SECT. III.

Of the ancient kings of Hetruria, Latium, *and* Alba.

Of the government and kings of the ancient Hetrurians.

THE *Hetrurians* and *Latins* are the only two nations in *Italy*, of which we find any thing recorded worth mentioning before the foundation of *Rome*. We are told indeed, that the *Umbrians* and *Ligurians* made once a great figure; that the former were maſters of the beſt part of *Italy*, and that the latter were governed by their own kings, princes of great power, many ages before the arrival of *Æneas* in *Latium*; but this is all we know of them, till their wars with the *Romans* rendered them more famous. We ſhall therefore confine ourſelves to the *Hetrurians* and *Latins*, though we can give even of them but a very indifferent account, what authors tell us of thoſe diſtant ages being ſo blended with fables, as to leave us no way of coming at the truth. However, it ſeems paſt all doubt, that the *Hetrurians* or *Etrurians* were for many ages the moſt powerful people of *Italy*: for *Livy* [o] tells us in expreſs terms, that they not only poſſeſſed a great ſhare of the inland countries, but were maſters of all the coaſt of the *Tyrrhenian* ſea, from the *Alps* quite to the ſtraits of *Sicily*. The cities of *Capua*, *Nola*, *Mantua*, *Bononia*, firſt called *Felſina*, *Adria*, and *Ravenna*, are ſaid to have been built by them. *Virgil* [p] calls them a *nation renowned in war*, and moſt of the ancients ſpeak of their kings as mighty princes and lords of extenſive dominions. As to their form of government, it was at firſt monarchical, the whole nation being ſubject to one prince. But in proceſs of time this great ſtate was divided into twelve cantons, called *leucumonies*, which were governed by twelve chiefs ſtyled *leucumones*. Over the *leucumonies* was placed one, veſted with a kind of ſovereign authority, and choſen by the people, who gave him the name of *lars*, a title borrowed, it

[m] EUSEB. in chron. & CEDREN. l. i. annal. [n] ARISTOT. de mirabil. [o] LIV. l. i. [p] VIRGIL. l. viii. v. 480.

it seems, from the *Egyptian* tongue; for *Mamethe* gives that title to some of the ancient kings of *Egypt*. Sometimes we find one *leucumone* carrying on a war by itself, and at other times all the *leucumonies* joined in one national body in defence of their common liberties; which plainly shews, that their government under the kings was not monarchical, but rather aristocratical. When the war was undertaken by the unanimous consent of all the *leucumonies*, the general, or commander in chief, was attended by twelve lictors carrying the fasces before him, it being customary for every *leucumony* to send one; so that it was easy to judge from the number of the lictors how many *leucumonies* were engaged in the war. We have enumerated above the capital cities of the twelve *leucumonies*, and shall only add here, that each of them was impowered to chuse a king peculiar to themselves, as we shall see in the sequel of this history. As to the religion of the *Hetrurians*, it is well known, that most of the *Roman* ceremonies were borrowed from them, especially the use of sacrifices, divinations, and auguries, and that *Hetruria* was looked upon by the *Romans* as the mother of all politeness and learning, before they subdued *Greece*. For thither they sent their children to improve their knowledge and cultivate their minds. The gods worshipped by the ancient *Hetrurians* were, *Janus*, *Jupiter*, *Vertumnus*, *Volumna*, *Voluinna*, *Voltumna*, *Viridianus*, *Curis*, *Nurtia*, *Fortuna*, *Pallas*, &c. Their language was different both from the *Greek* and *Latin*, as is manifest both from *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* [q], and from some ancient monuments, which are still to be seen in the cities of *Florence* and *Arezzo*. The accounts of their kings, transmitted to us by the ancients, are so interwoven with fables, that in our opinion they deserve little or no credit. We find a great many of those princes occasionally mentioned by the writers of the *Roman* history; but as to the time in which they reigned, and the order of their succession, we are quite in the dark. *Janus* is said to have been the first who reigned in *Hetruria* [r]; but who this *Janus* was, we find no-where recorded. Some take him to be *Tyrrhenus* the *Lydian*; others will have him to have reigned many ages before the arrival of the *Lydian* colony. The kings sprung from him are styled by the ancient writers *Janigenæ*; and among them are counted the following princes; *Tiberinus*, *Vertumnus*, *Aunus*, *Anus*, *Debeberis*, and *Tiber*. *Tiberinus* is said to have killed his father *Janus* [s]. *Aunus* is mentioned by *Silius Italicus* [t]. *Anus* is said by *Strabo* [u] to have been drowned in the river *Parensius*, which was thenceforth from him called *Anio*. *Debeberis* and *Tiber* were both drowned in the river *Albula*, which from them borrowed the names of *Debeberis* and *Tiber*, as *Sextus Pompeius* informs us [w]. Besides these, we find mention made of *Coritus*, *Æolus*, *Etrusius*, *Tuscus*, *Rasena*, *Tarcon*, *Ocnus*, *Mezentius*, *Asylas*, *Abas*, *Massicus*, *Osinius*, *Morrius*, *Clusius*, *Lucetius*, *Olenius*, *Porsena*, or *Porsenna*, *Tolumnius*. *Coritus* had *Jasius* and *Dardanus* by *Electra* the daughter of *Atlas* king of *Mauritania*. Upon his death, the two brothers falling out about the succession, *Dardanus* killed *Jasius*, and being on that account obliged to abandon his native country, he took refuge first in *Samothrace*, and afterwards in *Phrygia*, where he married the daughter of *Teucer*, and became the parent, as *Virgil* styles him, of the *Trojan* nation [x]; for he succeeded *Teucer* and built *Dardania*, afterwards called *Troy*. From him the *Trojans* were named *Dardanidæ*. *Atys* is mentioned by *Plutarch* [y] as reigning over *Hetruria* and the islands of the *Tyrrhene* sea. *Etrusius* and *Tuscus*, from whom the *Hetrurians* took the name of *Etrusci* and *Tusci*, are spoke of by *Servius* [z] and *Sextus Pompeius* [a], as are *Rasena* and *Tarcon* by *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* [b] and *Virgil*. *Tarcon* was contemporary with *Æneas*, and is said to have built the twelve cities, which afterwards became the capitals of the twelve *leucumonies*. *Ocnus*, *Mezentius*, *Asylas*, and *Abas*, are well known from *Virgil's* *Æneid*. Of the other kings we shall have occasion to speak in the history of *Latium*. The emperor *Claudius* is said by *Suidas* and *Suetonius* to have wrote the history of *Hetruria* in twenty books; but as neither that performance, nor the works of *Sejanus*, often quoted by *Strabo*, when he speaks of the *Etruscan* affairs, have reached our times, we know but very little of the ancient state, government, and laws of that once powerful nation.

Their gods, language, &c.

The kings of Latium.

THE kings we find mentioned as reigning in *Latium*, before the arrival of *Æneas*, are *Picus*, *Faunus*, and *Latinus*. *Picus* is supposed by *Virgil* [c] and others to have been the

[q] DIO. HAL. l. i. p. 23. & l. v. p. 298. [r] ARNOB. contra gent. l. iii. [s] Idem. ibid. [t] SIL. ITAL. l. v. Punic. [u] STRAB. l. v. p. 62. [w] SEXTUS POMP. l. xviii. Vide SERVIUM in l. v. Æneid. v. 490, & 506. [x] VIRG. Æneid. l iii. v. 168. [y] PLUT. parall. p. 312. [z] SERVIUS in l. i. Æneid. v. 71. & 164. [a] SEXTUS POMP. l. xviii. [b] DIO. HAL. l. i. p. 24. [c] VIRGIL. l. vii. Æneid. v. 45. & seq.

a the ſon of *Saturn*; but *Voſſius* is of opinion, that there never reigned any king of that name in *Latium*, and looks upon all that is ſaid of *Picus* as quite fabulous [d]. The next king is *Faunus*, ſuppoſed to have been the ſon of *Picus*. In his time *Evander* landed with a colony of *Arcadians* in a port of *Latium*, and being allowed by him to settle with his followers on a ſmall uncultivated hill near the *Tiber*, built there a city, which he called *Pallantium*, that being the name of the capital of his dominions in *Arcadia*, which he had been conſtrained to leave, for having accidentally killed his father *Echemus*. *Faunus* was ſucceeded by *Latinus*, his ſon, according to *Virgil* [e], by a nymph, named *Marica*; according to others, by one of the miſtreſſes of *Hercules*; for that hero is ſaid to have arrived in *Latium* during *Faunus*'s reign. *Faunus* had married to his firſt wife his own ſiſter *Fauna*, a famous prophetess; but as ſhe brought him no children, and a ſon was born to him after his marriage with *Hercules*'s miſtreſs, it was thought that the child was rather *Hercules*'s ſon than his. But however that be, the name of *Latinus* is very famous in hiſtory, not on account of any military exploits performed by him, but for the arrival of *Æneas* in *Latium*, which happened in his reign. This prince was engaged in a war with the *Rutuli*, in which he was attended with very indifferent ſucceſs, when news was brought him, that a foreign army had made a deſcent on his coaſts, pillaged the maritime parts of his dominions, and were fortifying themſelves in a camp at a ſmall diſtance from the ſea. Hereupon he marched againſt them with all his forces, hoping to oblige them to reimbarque and abandon his dominions, without meeting with any great reſiſtance from a band of vagabonds, as he ſuppoſed, or pirates, come only to ſeek for plunder. But finding them, as he drew near, well armed and regularly drawn up in battalia, he thought it adviſeable to forbear engaging troops that appeared ſo well diſciplined, and, inſtead of venturing a battle, to deſire a parley. In this conference, *Latinus* underſtanding who they were, and being at the ſame time ſtruck with terror, and touched with compaſſion for thoſe brave, but unfortunate, men, entered into a treaty with them, and aſſigned them a tract of land for a ſettlement, on condition that they ſhould employ their arms and exert their valour in defence of his dominions, and look upon the *Rutuli* as a common enemy. This condition *Æneas* readily accepted, and complied with his engagement ſo faithfully, that *Latinus* came at length to repoſe an intire confidence in the *Trojan*, and in proof of it gave him *Lavinia*, his daughter and only child, in marriage, ſecuring to him by that means the ſucceſſion to the throne of *Latium* [f]. *Æneas*, to teſtify his gratitude to *Latinus* and affection for *Lavinia*, gave her name to the camp he had fortified, and inſtead of *Troy* called it *Lavinium*. The *Trojans* followed the example of their leader, and, by marriages making alliances with *Latin* families, became in a ſhort time one and the ſame people with the *Latins*.

Æneas arrives in Latium. *Year after the flood* 1822. *Before Chriſt* 1177.

Marries Lavinia.

In the mean time, *Turnus*, the queen's nephew, who had been brought up in the court under the eye of *Latinus*, and entertained hopes of marrying *Lavinia* and ſucceeding to the throne, ſeeing the princeſs beſtowed on a ſtranger, and all his views fruſtrated, went over to the *Rutuli*; and, by ſtirring them up, brought on a battle between them and the *Latins*, in which both he and *Latinus* were killed. Thus *Æneas*, by the death of his father-in-law and by that of a troubleſome rival, came to the quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Latium*, which he governed with great wiſdom, and tranſmitted to his poſterity [g] (D).

Succeeds to the kingdom of Latinus.

Æneas

[d] Voſſ. de orig. idol. l. 1r [e] Idem ibid. [f] Liv. l. i. c. 1. Dio Hal. l. i. p. 46. [g] Idem ibid. p. 51.

(D) The genealogy of the kings of *Latium*, we have here mentioned, is given by *Virgil* in the following verſes:

Rex arva Latinus & urbes
Jam ſenior longa placidas in pace regebat.
Hunc Fauno & nympha genitum Laurente Marica
Accipimus. Fauno Picus pater; iſque parentem
Te, Saturne, refert; tu ſanguinis ultimus auctor (5).

But other writers, diſagreeing with *Virgil*, ſpeak of a long ſeries of kings reigning in *Latium* before *Picus*, the grandfather of *Latinus*. Among theſe they mention two *Saturns*, and two *Faunuſes*, and ſuppoſe the elder *Faunus* to have lived two hundred years before him, who was the father of *Latinus*. He is ſaid to have been the firſt who civilized the inhabitants of *Italy*, and introduced a kind of religion among them, and was on that account honoured as a god. *Voſſius*, as we have hinted above, believes, that there never was in *Latium* a king bearing the name of *Picus*, and aſcribes this common notion to a fabulous tradition reported by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus*, *viz.* that in a certain province of *Latium* the god *Mars* had delivered his oracles by a myſterious bird, called in the language of the country, *Picus*, that is, *woodpecker*. Other writers count *Janus*, *OEnotrus*, and four kings bearing the name of *Latinus*, among the ancient princes of *Latium*.

Virgil

(5) *Virgil. Æneid. l.* vii. *v.* 45, *&c. ſeq.*

Æneas is said to have reigned three years, during which time he established the worship of the gods of his own country, and to the religion of the *Latins* added that of *Troy*. The two palladiums (E), which had been the protectors of that city, became the tutelary deities of *Lavinium*, and in after-ages of the whole *Roman* empire. The worship of *Vesta* was likewise introduced by *Æneas*, and virgins, from her called *Vestals*, appointed to keep a fire continually burning in honour of that goddess. *Jupiter*, *Venus*, and many other deities, who had been revered in *Troy*, became, in all likelihood, known to the *Latins* by means of *Æneas*; which gave occasion to the poets of representing him under the character of a pious hero.

WHILE *Æneas* was thus employed, the *Rutuli*, ancient enemies of the *Latin* name, entering into an alliance with *Mezentius*, king of the *Tyrrhenians*, took the field with a design to drive out those new-comers, of whose power they began to conceive no small jealousy. *Æneas* marched out against them at the head of his *Trojans* and *Latins*. Hereupon a battle ensued, which lasted till night, when *Æneas*, being pushed to the banks of the *Numicus*, which ran close by *Lavinium*, and forced into that river, was there drowned. The *Trojans* concealed his body, and pretending that he had vanished away on a sudden, made him pass for a deity among his credulous subjects, who accordingly erected a temple to him, under the title of *Jupiter Indiges* (F)[h]. Such was the end of *Æneas*, the *Trojan* prince so much celebrated by the *Greek* and *Latin* poets. Of his progenitors, birth, and behaviour, during the siege of *Troy*, and adventures after the fall of that city, till his settling in *Latium*, we have spoke at length elsewhere[i], and therefore shall not break off the thread of our history to give in this place any farther account of that hero.

Death of Æneas.

Ascanius.

UPON the death of *Æneas*, his son *Euryleon*, called also *Ascanius* and *Iulus*, ascended the throne (G). But as the young prince did not think it advisable to venture a battle in the very beginning of his reign with a formidable enemy, who promised himself great success from the death of *Æneas*, he had the prudence to confine himself within the walls of *Lavinium*, and to try whether he could by an honourable treaty put an end to so dangerous a war. But the haughty *Mezentius* demanding of the *Latins* as one of the conditions of a peace, that they should pay him yearly, by way of tribute, all the wine produced in the territory of *Latium*, *Ascanius* rejected the proposal with the utmost indignation, and having caused all the vines throughout his dominions to be consecrated to *Jupiter*, and by that means put it out of his power to comply with the enemy's request, he resolved to make a vigorous sally, and try whether he could, by force of arms, bring the insulting *Tyrrhenian* to more reasonable terms. The main body of the enemy's army was incamped at some distance from *Lavinium*; but *Lausus* the son of *Mezentius*, with the flower of their youth under his command, intrenched at the very gates of the city. The *Trojans*, who had been long accustomed to make vigorous sallies, marching out in the night, attacked the post where *Lausus* commanded, forced his intrenchments, and obliged the troops he had with him to shut themselves

[h] DIO HAL. p. 51. [i] Vide Vol. II. p. 321, 322.

Virgil himself owns, that the inhabitants of *Latium* were called *Latins* long before the reign of king *Latinus*, who received *Æneas*; for he introduces *Juno* addressing *Jupiter* in favour of the *Latins*, and intreating him not to suffer the ancient name of *Latins* to be changed into that of *Trojans*. His words are;

Pro Latio obtestor, pro majestate tuorum, &c.
Ne veteres indigenas nomen mutare Latinos,
Neu Teucros fieri jubeas, Teucrosque vocari (5).

(E) These were two statues, whereof one was the original, and the other the copy; so that, properly speaking, there was but one true *Palladium*, of which we have spoke at length in the history of *Troy*, to which we refer our readers (7).

(F) The inscription, according to *Aurelius Victor*, was conceived in these words, *Patri Deo indigeti*. The word *Indiges* in the *Latin* tongue signified one of those gods who had been of the race of men, and at length were deified. The temple or tomb of *Æneas*, in the time of *Dionysius Halicarnassus*, was nothing but a rising spot of ground set with trees. Perhaps, says that writer, it was the tomb of *Anchises*, who died but a year before his son (8). *Livy* likewise tells us, that *Æneas* had divine honours paid him under the name of *Jupiter Indiges* (9).

(G) *Euryleon* was, according to some, the son of *Æneas*, by *Creusa*, according to others, by *Lavinia*. He was called *Ascanius* from a river in *Phrygia* bearing that name, and *Ilus*, which name was afterwards changed into *Iulus*, from *Ilium* or *Troy*. Gellius, as quoted by *Servius* (10), derives *Iulus* from the *Greek* word ἰοὺλος, signifying *the soft and tender hair which first appears on the face*, and pretends that this name was given to *Ascanius*, because he killed *Mezentius* in a single combat, when he was very young. But herein he contradicts all the ancient historians, who speak either of *Iulus* or *Mezentius*

(5) *Liem l.* x. *v.* 820. *&c.* (7) *Vide Vol. II. p.* 310. (8) *Dio Hal. l.* i. *p.* 51. (9) *Liv. l.* i. (10) *Servius in l.* i. *Æneid. v.* 271.

themſelves by flight, to the main body of the army incamped on the plain. But the unexpected arrival and overthrow of their advance-guard ſtruck them with ſuch terror, that inſtead of ſtopping the flight of their companions, they fled with them in great diſorder to the neighbouring mountains. The *Latins* purſued them, and in the purſuit *Lauſus* was killed, whoſe death ſo diſcouraged *Mezentius*, that he immediately ſued for peace, which was granted him, upon condition, that for the future the *Tiber* ſhould be the boundary between the *Latin* and *Hetrurian* territories [k].

In the mean time, *Lavinia*, who had been left with child by *Æneas*, entertaining a ſtrong jealouſy of the ambition of her ſon-in-law, retired to the woods and was there peaceably delivered of a ſon, who from his father was named *Æneas*, and from the place of his birth had the ſurname of *Sylvius*. But as the queen's flight, who had diſappeared on a ſudden, raiſed ſuſpicions at *Lavinium* prejudicial to the reputation of *Aſcanius*, he uſed all poſſible means to remove them, cauſed diligent ſearch to be made after *Lavinia*, calmed her fears, and prevailed upon her to return to the town with her ſon, whom he ever after treated as a brother. *Lavinium* grew every day more populous; but as it was in reality the patrimony of *Lavinia* and the inheritance of her ſon *Sylvius*, *Aſcanius* reſolved to reſign it to them, and build elſewhere another city for himſelf. This he made the place of his reſidence and the capital of his new kingdom, calling it *Alba Longa*; *Alba*, from *a white ſnow*, which we are told *Æneas* had found in the place where it was built, and *Longa*, to diſtinguiſh it from another town of the ſame name in the country of *Marſi*, or rather, becauſe it extended, without having much breadth, the whole length of a lake near which it was built [l] (G). It was thirty years after the building of *Lavinium*, that *Aſcanius* fixed his abode at *Alba*, and there he died after a reign of about thirty-eight years, twelve of which he had reſided at his new ſettlement. He left a ſon called *Iulus*; ſo that between *Iulus* and *Sylvius* lay the right of ſucceſſion to the *Latin* throne; the latter being the ſon, and the former the grandſon, of *Æneas*. The *Latins*, not thinking it for their intereſt to continue divided, as it were into two ſtates, reſolved to unite *Alba* and *Lavinium* in one ſovereignty; and as *Sylvius* was born of *Lavinia*, the daughter of *Latinus*, and had thereby an undoubted title to the kingdom of his grandfather, whereas the other, after all, was but the ſon of a ſtranger, the *Latins* beſtowed the crown on *Sylvius*, and, to make *Iulus* ſome amends, decreed to him the ſovereign power in affairs of religion, a power which thenceforth continued in his family. *Sylvius* was ſucceeded by thirteen kings of the ſame race, who for near four hundred years reigned in *Alba*. But we ſcarce know any thing of them beſides their names and the years of their reſpective reigns. *Æneas Sylvius* died after a reign of twenty-nine years. His ſon, called alſo *Æneas Sylvius*, governed *Latium* thirty-one years. *Latinus Sylvius*, who ſucceeded him, ſwayed the ſceptre for the ſpace of fifty-one years. *Alba* reigned thirty-nine; *Capetus*, called by *Livy Atys*, twenty-ſix; *Capis* twenty-eight; and *Capetus* thirteen. *Tiberinus*, who ſucceeded him, engaged in a war, which proved fatal to him; for in a battle, which was fought on the banks of the *Albula*, he was drowned into that river and drowned. From him the river took the name of *Tiber*, which it has bore ever ſince. *Agrippa* ſucceeded *Tiberinus* after a reign of eight years, and left the throne, which he had held forty-one years, to *Alladius*, who reigned nineteen, and was ſucceeded by *Aventinus*, who left his name to the hill *Aventinus*, where he was interred. *Procas*, who ſucceeded him and reigned twenty-three years, was the father of *Numitor* and *Amulius*, and at his death bequeathed the throne to his elder ſon *Numitor*. But *Amulius*, who ſurpaſſed his brother in courage and underſtanding, drove him from the throne, and, to ſecure it for himſelf, murdered *Ægeſtus*, *Numitor*'s only ſon, and conſecrated his daughter *Rhea Sylvia* to the worſhip of *Veſta*, by which ſhe was obliged to perpetual virginity. But this precaution proved ineffectual; for as the *Veſtal* was going to a neigbouring ſpring, to fetch water for the performance

Aſcanius *founds* Alba Longa.

Upon the death of Aſcanius *the* Latins *unite* Lavinium *to* Alba.

Kings of Alba.

[k] Dio Hal. ibid. Liv. l. i. c. 3. [l] Dio Hal. p. 52, 53. Liv. l. i. c. 3. Aur. Victor. orig. Rom.

(G) The place which *Aſcanius* choſe for his new capital was pleaſant, fruitful, and eaſy to be fortified, being covered on one ſide by a mountain, and on the other by a deep lake, which rendered it inacceſſible. It was built at an equal diſtance from the lake and the mountain, probably between the preſent city of *Albano* and the lake of *Caſtel Gandolfa*, and peopled by a mixed colony of *Latins* and *Trojans*. The inhabitants of this city were called *Albani*, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of the other *Alba*, who were called *Albenſes* (11).

(11) *Varro de ling. Latin. l.* vii.

mance of a ſacrifice to *Mars*, ſhe was met and forced by a man diſguiſed in a mili... habit, like that in which the god *Mars* was repreſented. Some authors think, th... this counterfeit *Mars* was a lover come thither by her appointment; others cha... *Amulius* with uſing this violence to his niece himſelf, not ſo much to gratify his lu... as to have a pretence to deſtroy her. Forever after he cauſed her to be carefully watch... till ſhe was delivered of two ſons; and then, exaggerating her crime in an aſſem... the people, he prevailed upon them to ſentence her to death, and to condemn th... of her criminal amour to be thrown into the *Tiber*. The ſentence againſt *Rhea* w... according to ſome authors, changed by *Amulius*, at the requeſt of his daughter *Ant...* into perpetual confinement, but executed againſt the twins, who being laid in a wood... trough, and carried to the foot of mount *Palatine*, were turned there adrift on th... *Tiber*, which at that time overflowed its banks. But the wind and ſtream prove... both ſo favourable, that at the fall of the water the two infants were left ſafe on ... ſtrand, and there happily found by *Fauſtulus*, the chief of the king's ſhepherds, a... ſuckled by his wife *Acca Laurentia*, who for her diſorderly life was called *Lu...* And this probably gave riſe to the fabulous miracle of their being nurſed by ... *wolf* [m].

Birth and education of Romulus *and* Remus.

As *Fauſtulus* was probably well acquainted with the birth of the twins, he took more than ordinary care of their education, and ſent them to *Gabii* to be inſtruc... there in *Greek* literature [n]. As they grew up they appeared to have ſome... great in their mien and air, which commanded reſpect; and the aſcendant, w... they aſſumed over the other ſhepherds, made them dreaded in the foreſts, where... exerciſed a ſort of empire. A quarrel happening between the herdſmen of *Am...* and thoſe of *Numitor*, the two brothers took the part of the former againſt the la... and ſome blood being ſhed in the fray, the adverſe party to be revenged on *Rom...* and *Remus*, for ſo the twins were called, on the feſtival of the *Lupercalia* II. ... priſed *Remus*, and carried him before *Numitor* to be puniſhed by him, according ... deſerts. But *Numitor*, either by inſtinct or compaſſion, feeling himſelf touched ... priſoner's favour, aſked him, where he was born, and who were his parents? His a... immediately ſtruck *Numitor* with a lively remembrance of his two grandſons. ... age, which was about eighteen years, agreed with the time when the two infants ... expoſed upon the *Tiber*; and there needed no more to change his anger into te... derneſs [o].

In the mean time, *Romulus*, eager to reſcue his brother and purſue thoſe who ha... ried him off, was preparing to be revenged on them; but *Fauſtulus* diſſuaded him ... it, and on that occaſion diſcloſing to him his birth, awakened in his breaſt ſen... worthy of his extraction. He reſolved at all adventures to attempt the deliver... his mother and grandfather from oppreſſion. With this view he aſſembled the cou... people, over whom he aſſumed a kind of ſovereignty, and engaged them to c... to the city on an appointed day, and enter it by different gates, provided with ... W...

[m] LIV. ibid. DIO HAL. p. 60—63. FAB. PICTOR. TORTIUS CATO, & CALPURNIUS PIS... eund. [n] PLUT. in Romulo. [o] DIO HAL. p. 64. ÆLIUS TUBERO, apud eund. p. 65.

(11) *Valerius Maximus* pretends, that the feſtival of the *Lupercalia* was not older than the foundation of *Rome*. But he is therein contradicted by *Livy* (12), *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* (13), and *Plutarch* (13), who tell us in expreſs term, that this feſtival was brought by *Evander* out of *Greece*. The ceremonies obſerved in it were theſe: In the firſt place two goats and a dog were killed; then the foreheads of two young men of diſtinction were touched with the bloody knife, and they were to laugh when they were thus touched. This being done, the ſkins of the victims were cut into thongs, and whips made of them for the young men, who ſcoured the ſtreets and the fields, all naked but their middle, and ſtruck thoſe they met. The young women offered themſelves to their ſtrokes, fancying they contributed to fruitfulneſs (15). They ran naked, becauſe *Pan*, the god of the ſhepherds, was commonly repreſented ſo. They ſacrificed a goat, becauſe that divinity was ſuppoſed to have goats feets. A dog was ... a neceſſary companion of a ſhepherd. Some ... thought with *Plutarch*, that theſe *Lupercalia* were inſtituted in honour of the wolf that ſuckled ... and *Remus*. But moſt other writers tell us, that they were appointed in honour of *Pan*, from whom they borrowed their name, *Pan* being called in Greek Λύκαιος, perhaps from Λύκος, which anſwers to *Latin* word *Lupus*, *a wolf*, becauſe the chief employment of *Pan* was to drive away the wolves from the ſheep he protected. This feſtival was celebrated the fifteenth of *February*. The prieſts who preſided at theſe ſacrifices, were called *Luperci*; and were divided into two companies or colleges, viz. the *Fabiani* and *Quinctiliani*, one for *Romulus*, the other for *Remus*. They took their names from *Fabius* and *Quinctilius*, their chief prieſts (16). *Dion* (17) tells us, that afterwards a third college was added by the ſenate in honour of *Julius Cæſar*.

(12) *Liv. l.* i. *c.* 5. (13) *Dio Hal. l.* i. *p.* 25, *&* 63. (14) *Plut. in Romulo.* (15) *Plut. in Sext. Pomp. l.* xviii. (16) *Sext. Pomp. ibid.* (17) *Dio Caſſ. l.* xliv.

which they were to conceal. While *Romulus* was thus diſpoſing every thing for the execution of his deſign, *Numitor* made the ſame diſcovery to *Remus*, concerning his parents and the oppreſſion they groaned under, which ſo fired him, that he was ready to imbarque in any enterprize. But *Numitor* took care to moderate the tranſports of his grandſon, and only deſired him to acquaint his brother with what he had heard from him, and to ſend him to his houſe. *Romulus* ſoon came, and was followed by *Fauſtulus*, who took with him the trough or ſkiff, in which the twins had been expoſed, to ſhew it to *Numitor*. But as the ſhepherd betrayed an air of concern and earneſtneſs in his looks, he was ſtopped at the gate of the city, led before *Amulius*, and examined concerning his burden. It was eaſily known by its make and inſcription, which was ſtill legible; and therefore *Fauſtulus* owned what it was, and confeſſed that the twins were living; but, in order to gain time, pretended, that they were feeding flocks in a remote deſart [p]. In the mean time, the uſurper's death being reſolved on, *Remus* undertook to raiſe the city, and *Romulus* to inveſt the king's palace. The country-people came at the time appointed, and formed themſelves into companies, each conſiſting of an hundred men. They had no other enſigns but bundles of hay hanging upon long poles, which the *Latins* at that time called *Manipuli*; and hence came the name of *Manipulares*, originally given to troops raiſed in the country (I). With this tumultuous army *Romulus* beſet the avenues of the palace, forced the guard, and having killed the tyrant, after he had reigned forty-two years, reſtored his grandfather *Numitor* to the throne [q].

They dethrone Amulius, and reſtore Numitor.

They found a new colony.

Affairs being thus ſettled at *Alba*, the two brothers by the advice of *Numitor*, undertook the founding of a new colony. The king beſtowed on them thoſe lands near the *Tiber*, where they had been brought up, ſupplied them with all manner of inſtruments for breaking up ground, with ſlaves, and beaſts of burden, and granted full liberty to his ſubjects to join them. Hereupon moſt of the *Trojans*, of whom there ſtill remained fifty families in *Auguſtus*'s time, choſe to follow the fortune of *Romulus* and *Remus*; as did alſo the inhabitants of *Pallantium* and *Saturnia*, two ſmall towns. For the more ſpeedy carrying on of the work, it was thought proper to divide thoſe who were to be employed in the building of the city into two companies, one under the command of *Romulus*, the other of *Remus*. But this diviſion, which was deſigned purely with a view to the public welfare, and that the two parties might work by way of emulation, gave birth to two factions, and produced a jealouſy between the two brothers, which broke out when they came to chuſe a place for the building of their new city. For *Remus* was for the *Aventine*, and *Romulus* for the *Palatine* mount. Upon which the matter being referred to their grandfather, he adviſed the contending parties to have recourſe to the gods, and to put an end to the diſpute by augury, to which he was himſelf greatly addicted. The day appointed for the ceremony being come, the brothers poſted themſelves each upon his hill; and it was agreed, that whoever ſhould ſee the firſt flight, or the greateſt number of vulturs, ſhould gain his cauſe. After the two rivals had waited for ſome time for the appearance of a favourable augury, *Romulus*, before any had appeared, ſent to acquaint his brother that he had ſeen ſome vulturs. But *Remus*, having actually ſeen ſix while his brother's meſſengers were yet on their way, haſtened on their arrival to mount *Palatine*, to examine the truth of what they had told him. He had no ſooner got thither, than, by an unexpected good fortune, twelve vulturs appeared to *Romulus*. Theſe he immediately ſhewed to his brother, and, tranſported with joy, deſired him to be judge himſelf of the truth of what his meſſenger had told him. However, *Remus* diſcovered the deceit, and being told that *Romulus* had not ſeen the twelve vulturs till after he had ſeen ſix, he inſiſted on the time of his ſeeing them, and the other on the number

[p] Plut. in Romulo. [q] Plut. & Liv. ibid.

(I) The *Romans* at firſt had no other enſigns.

Non illi cælo labentia ſigna tenebant;
Sed ſua, quæ magnum perdere crimen erat:
Illa quidem fœno, ſed erat reverentia fœno,
Quantum nunc aquilas cernis habere tuas:
Pertica ſu penſos portabat longa maniplos,
Unde maniplaris nomina miles habet (18).

The *manipulus* in *Romulus*'s time conſiſted of an hundred men, called *Manipulares*; but was afterwards encreaſed to two hundred. In the decline of the empire the *manipulus* conſiſted of leſs than an hundred men, as is plain from a paſſage in *Ammianus Marcellinus* (19).

(18) *Ovid. Feſtor. III.* v. 117.

(19) *Ammian. Marcellin. l.* xvii.

number of the birds he had ſeen. This widened the breach between the two brothers; and their parties being divided, while each man eſpouſed the cauſe of his leader, the diſpute grew ſo warm, that from words they came at length to blows. The ſhepherd *Fauſtulus*, who was equally dear to both the brothers, endeavouring to part the combatants, was by an unknown hand laid dead on the ſpot. Some writers tell us, that *Remus* likewiſe loſt his life in the fray; but the greater number place his death later, and ſay, that he was killed by one *Fabius*, for having in deriſion leaped over the wall of the new city; but *Livy* ſays, the more common report was, that *Remus* fell by the hand of his brother[r] (K).

Remus is killed.

The foundation of Rome. *Year of the flood* 2251. *Before Chriſt* 748.

Romulus being now head of the colony, by having got the better of his brother's party in the late engagement, applied his thoughts wholly to the building of the city, which he propoſed to call after his own name. He choſe mount *Palatine* for its ſituation, and performed all thoſe ceremonies, which the ſuperſtition of the *Hetrurians* had introduced. He firſt offered ſacrifices to the gods, and ordered all the people to do the ſame; and from that time decreed, that eagles ſhould be the auſpices of his new colony. After this great fires were kindled before their tents, and all the people leaped through the flames to purify themſelves. When this ceremony was over, they dug a trench round the ſpot, where the aſſemblies of the people were afterwards held, and threw it into the firſt-fruits of whatever they were allowed to make uſe of for food; every man of the colony was ordered to caſt into the ſame trench a handful of earth, brought either from his own, or ſome neighbouring, country. The trench they called *Mundus*, that is, *The World*, and made it the centre round which the city was to be built. Then *Romulus* yoking a cow and a bull to a plough, the coulter whereof was braſs, marked out by a deep furrow the whole compaſs of the city. Theſe two animals, the ſymbols of marriage by which cities are peopled, were afterwards ſlain upon the altars. All the peopled followed the plough, throwing inwards the clods of earth, which the plough-ſhare ſometimes turned outwards. Where-ever a gate was to be made, the plough was lifted up and carried; and hence came the *Latin* word *Porta*, *a gate*, derived from the verb *Portare*, *to carry* (L). As mount *Palatine*

[r] Liv. l. i. Dio Hal. l. i. p. 72. Plut. in Romulo.

(K) *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, who is of opinion, that *Remus* was killed before the foundation of the new city, adds, that he was buried in a place called after his own name *Remuria*, about thirty furlongs from *Rome*; which ſituation ſeeming to him the moſt convenient for building a city, he went thither, according to ſome writers, and, according to others, to mount *Aventine*, to obſerve the flight of the birds. *Feſtus* ſays, that the ſummit of mount *Aventine* was called *Remuria* from the time *Remus* reſolved to build the city there. But *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* ſpeaks of mount *Aventine* and *Remuria* as two different places. *Stephanus* will have *Remuria* to have been a city in the neighbourhood of *Rome*.

(L) The *Hetrurians* had, as *Feſtus* informs us (20), a ſort of ritual, wherein were contained the ceremonies that were to be obſerved in building cities, temples, altars, walls, and gates. *Fabius Pictor* ſays; that *Romulus* ſent for a prieſt or augur out of *Hetruria*, to preſide at the building of his new city, and *Plutarch* tells us, that men from *Hetruria* taught the founder every rite he was to obſerve. The meaning of the ceremonies we have mentioned was as follows: they leaped through the flames, being perſuaded that ſo religious a ceremony required great purity. The bull and cow were both white.

Alba jugum niveo cum bove vacca tulit (21),

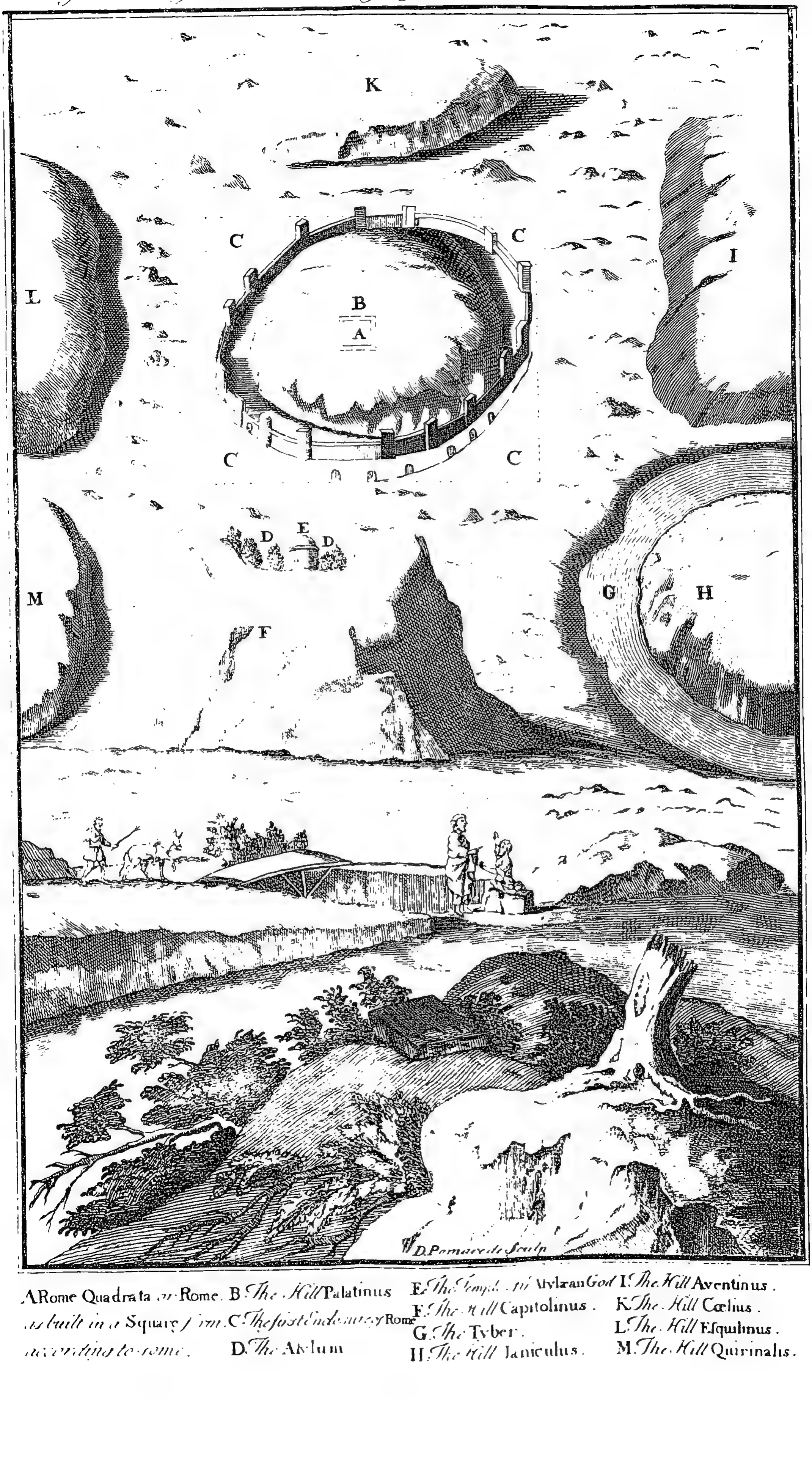
ſays *Ovid*. Their whiteneſs was a ſymbol of that purity of manners and innocence, which ſhould be the character of every citizen. *Iſidorus* (22) tells us, that a cow and an ox yoked together repreſented the foundation of cities, and ſettlement of colonies. By throwing the firſt fruits and a handful of earth into the trench, they admoniſhed the heads of the colony, that it ought to be their chief ſtudy to procure for their fellow-citizens all the conveniencies of life, to maintain peace and union amongſt a people come together from different parts of the world, and by this means to form themſelves into a body never to be diſſolved. By the care which the people took to throw the clods of earth back towards the city, they were inſtructed, that plenty in cities is owing to the fruitful product of the lands about them, and that they ought to bring every thing from abroad, that could contribute to the welfare of the inhabitants.

The whole length of the ground where the plough had paſſed was by the antients looked upon as ſacred and inviolable; and for this reaſon they thought themſelves obliged to ſpend the laſt drop of their blood in the defence of their walls; and to break through them was a crime of the higheſt nature.

In ſpeaking of the foundation of *Rome*, we have followed the account which *Livy*, and after him moſt of the *Latin* hiſtorians give us of that memorable event; but *Plutarch* tells us (23), that there is a great diſagreement among authors, both as to the founder of *Rome*, and the reaſon why it was ſo called: Some were of opinion, as that writer informs us, that the *Pelaſgian*, who had over-run the greater part of the habitable word, fixed there, and from their *power* and *ſtrength in arms*, in Greek Ρωμη, called the city by that name: others thought the city was built by ſome *Trojans*, who, eſcaping from *Troy*, were driven upon the coaſts of *Hetruria*; among them was a woman of diſtinction, named *Roma*, whoſe name was given to the new city. Others pretend, that *Roma* was the daughter of *Italus*

(20) *Feſtus de ling. Latin. l.* iii. (21) *Ovid. Faſt. l.* iv. (22) *Iſidor. l.* xxv. *c.* 2. (23) *Plut. in Romulo.*

The first Plan of Rome *as it was in y^e beginning of* Romulus's *reign.* over aga.^st p. 427 Vol. V.



A Rome Quadrata or Rome as built in a Square form according to Rome.

B *The Hill* Palatinus

C *The first Endeavours of* Rome

D *The* Asylum

E *The Temple of* Vylcan *God*

F *The Hill* Capitolinus.

G *The* Tyber.

H *The Hill* Janiculus.

I *The Hill* Aventinus.

K *The Hill* Cœlius.

L *The Hill* Esquilinus.

M *The Hill* Quirinalis.

Palatine ſtood by itſelf, the whole was incloſed within the line made by the plough, which formed almoſt the figure of a ſquare; whence it is called by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus Roma Quadrata*. *Plutarch* ſeems to make a diſtinction between *Roma Quadrata* and the city of *Rome*; for he ſays, that *Romulus* had built the former before he marked out the plan of the latter. But the authorities of *Fabius Pictor*, *Cato*, and *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* are of greater weight with us.

As to the exact year of the foundation of *Rome*, there is a great diſagreement among hiſtorians and chronologers. *Varro*, whoſe opinion is, according to *Petavius*, the moſt agreeable to the rules of chronology, places it in the third year of the ſixth olympiad; that is, according to the computation of the learned *Uſher*, whom we chuſe to follow, four hundred and thirty-ſix years after the deſtruction of *Troy*, and ſeven hundred forty-eight after the chriſtian æra (M). The *Romans*, if we may ſo call them, began to build, as *Plutarch* [s] and others inform us, on the twenty-firſt of *April*, which day was then conſecrated to *Pales*, goddeſs of the ſhepherds; whence the feſtival of *Pales* and that of the foundation of the city were afterwards jointly celebrated at *Rome* (N).

When *Rome* had received the utmoſt perfection, which its poor and rude founder could give it, it conſiſted of about a thouſand houſes, or rather huts, and was, properly ſpeaking, a beggarly village, whereof the principal inhabitants followed the plough, being obliged to cultivate, with their own hands, the ungrateful ſoil of a barren country, which they had ſhared among themſelves. Even the walls of *Romulus*'s palace were made of ruſhes and covered with thatch (O). As every one had choſen his ground to build upon without any regard to the regularity and beauty of the whole, the ſtreets if we may ſo call them, were both crooked and narrow. In ſhort, *Rome*, till it was rebuilt after the burning of it by the *Gauls*, was rather a diſorderly heap of huts, than a city built with any regularity or order [t]. From this mean and contemptible beginning, *Rome*, in proceſs of time, became the metropolis and miſtreſs of the whole known world, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

CHAP.

[s] Plut. ibid. [t] Val. Max. l. iv. Dio. Hal. & Plut. ibid.

Italus and *Lucaria*, or of *Telephus* the ſon of *Hercules*, and that ſhe was married to *Æneas*. Some will have her to have been the daughter of *Aſcanius*, *Æneas*'s ſon. The ſame writer ſpeaks of *Romanus*, the ſon of *Ulyſſes* by *Circe*, of *Romus* the ſon of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* ſent from *Troy*, and of *Roma*, a king of the *Latins*, who drove out the *Etrurians*; to each of theſe the building of *Rome* has by ſome authors been aſcribed. *Solinus* beſtows that honour on *Evander*, and adds that, *Rome* was firſt called *Valentia*; while others, as St. *Auſtin* informs us (24), pretend, that its antient name was *Febris*, borrowed from *Februa* the mother of *Mars*.

M. *Timæus* of *Sicily* thinks, that *Rome* and *Carthage* were built much about the ſame time, that is, thirty-eight years before the firſt olympiad. Q. *Cincius* places the foundation of *Rome* in the fourth year of the twelfth olympiad; *Fabius Pictor*, in the firſt year of the eighth; *Polybius* and *Diodorus Siculus*, in the ſecond year of the ſeventh olympiad; *Portius Cato* and others, in the firſt year of the ſame olympiad; *Marcus Verrius Flaccus*, the ſuppoſed author of the *Capitoline* tables, and *Livy*, in the fourth year of the ſixth olympiad. But the moſt exact *Roman* writers follow *Varro*'s calculation, according to which the foundations of *Rome* were laid near the end of the third year of the ſixth olympiad. *Plutarch*, from the teſtimony of ſome antient writers, tells us, that an eclipſe of the ſun happened the firſt day that *Rome* was founded, which was ſeen by *Antimachus* of *Teos*. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* mentions another eclipſe (25), which happened the ſame day that *Romulus* died. From theſe aſtronomical obſervations ſeveral writers have attempted, by the help of the tables of eclipſes, to fix the true æra of the foundation of *Rome*; but the fruit of their labour has been nothing but endleſs diſputes, in which every one is at liberty to chuſe what ſide he pleaſes.

(N) The *Palilia*, or *feaſt of Pales*, is ſometimes called *Parilia*, from the *Latin* word *Parere*, *to bring forth*, becauſe prayers were then made for the fruitfulneſs of the ſheep. *Ovid* mentions a very tedious courſe of ſuperſtitious ceremonies, which the ſhepherds went through on that occaſion. They had always a great feaſt at night, and when they were pretty merry, they concluded the whole with dancing over the fires they had made in the fields with heaps of ſtraw (26). As the *Romans* celebrated at the ſame time the feſtival of the foundation of their city, no victims were ſlain, becauſe they judged the ſhedding of blood unſuitable to ſo extraordinary a feſtival, which was deſigned only for public rejoicings.

(O) The hut of *Romulus* was long preſerved on the *Capitol*, according to *Vitruvius*, *Macrobius*, and *Seneca*, as a venerable monument of antiquity; and it was a point of religion with the *Romans* never to make uſe of any other materials but ruſhes and ſtraw to repair it, till it was at length deſtroyed by fire in the time of *Auguſtus*. But after all, this hut on the capitol could not be the houſe of *Romulus*, it being certain that he dwelt on mount *Palatine*.

(24) *Auguſtin. de civitat. Dei l.* iii. c. 11, & *ſeq.* (25) *Dio. Hal. l.* ii. *p.* 115. (26) *Ovid. Faſt.* 3. *v.*

CHAP. II.

The Roman *history, from* Romulus *to the* Commonwealth.

Romulus *chosen king.*

AS *Romulus* had taken upon himself the chief command of the colony only for the time the city was building, as soon as the work was finished, he assembled the people, and gave them liberty to chuse what kind of government they liked best. They, without hesitation, gave the preference to monarchy, and unanimously proclaimed *Romulus* king of *Rome.* But the prince elect, before he ascended the throne, begged leave to consult the will of the gods by auguries. It is said, that, after he had offered sacrifices to the gods in an open place, a flash of lightning was seen to gleam from the left, which was, according to the augurs, a lucky omen. From this time it became an established custom to have recourse to augury upon raising any one to the royal dignity, the priesthood, or any public employment. In process of time, this came to be only a matter of mere ceremony, though the custom, introduced by the example of the founder, subsisted above seven hundred years [u] (P). *Romulus* being thus declared king by the election of the people and approbation of the gods, applied all his thoughts to the establishing of good order in this new city, and a due subordination among his subjects. He himself put on a habit of distinction, and appointed twelve lictors to attend him as guards, each of them bearing an ax stuck in a bundle of rods, which was the usual symbol of sovereignty among his neighbours the *Hetrurians* (Q). He divided the three thousand three hundred men, of which his colony consisted, into three equal parts, called *Tribes* or *Thirds*, each being commanded by its præfect or tribune. The tribes were divided into ten *curiæ*, and these subdivided each into ten *decuriæ*: over the former was appointed officers, named *Curiones*, and over the latter *Decuriones*, each *curiæ* and *decuriæ* having their peculiar commanders. After this *Romulus* divided his small territory, not above five or six miles in extent, into three parts, but not equal. One was consecrated to the expences of religious worship; another reserved for the king's revenue, and the exigencies of the state; and the third, which was the most considerable, divided into thirty portions, to answer to the thirty *curiæ* [w] (R). The next thing which *Romulus* did was, to distinguish the people, according to their birth and dignity, into *Patricians* and *Plebeians.* The former, as being of a more noble extraction, were to take care of the religious rites and ceremonies, and to bear all the civil and military dignities; the latter to till the ground, feed cattle, and follow trades, but not to have any share in the government, to avoid the inconveniencies of a popular power. But to prevent the seditions, which such a distinction might produce, and to bind them to each other by reciprocal ties and obligations, every plebeian was allowed to chuse out of the body of the patricians a protector, who was obliged to assist him with his interest and substance, and to defend him from the oppressions of the great. These protectors were styled *patroni,*

Tribes, Curiæ, Decuriæ.

Patricians *and* Plebeians.

Patrons and clients.

[u] Dio Hal. p. 78. Cic. l. iii de legib. & l. iii. de nat deor. [w] Dio. Hal. l. ii. p. 76. Plut. in Romulo. Strab. l. v. p. 531.

(P) This practice continued from the time of *Romulus* to the end of the republic, and was sometimes used even under the emperors. Those who stood for employments went out early on the day which was appointed for their election, made a public prayer, and consulted the augurs. When their answers proved favourable, as they generally did, the augurs being commonly well paid for their pains, the candidates give out that the gods were not against their having the office, which they solicited. Upon this they were said to obtain and bear it *auspicato.*

(Q) Some think that he chose twelve lictors, because he had seen twelve vulturs, a number, which had given him the superiority over his brother.

(R) *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* expressly affirms, that each *curia* was subdivided into ten *decuriæ*, and that their lesser bodies were governed by *decuriones.* And, upon the strength of his authority, most compilers of the *Roman* history give the same account. But the learned *Grævius* is of opinion, that *Dionysius* by a mistake ascribes such a division to the *curiæ*, as was peculiar to the *turmæ* in the army (27).

(27) *Vide Grævium in præf. ad* 1. *Vol. Thes. antiq. Rom.*

a *patrons*, and the protected *clients*. It was the duty of the patron to adviſe his clients in point of law, to manage their ſuits, to take care of them as of their own children, and by all ways and methods to ſecure their peace and happineſs. The clients, on the other hand, were to aſſiſt their patrons with money on ſeveral occaſions, to ranſom them or their children, when taken in war, to contribute to the portions of their daughters, to defray in part the charges of their public employments, *&c.* They were never to accuſe each other, or take contrary ſides; and if either of them was convicted of having violated this law, the crime was equal to that of treaſon, and any one was allowed to kill the offender with impunity. This patronage was a tie as effectual as any conſanguinity or alliance, and had a wonderful effect towards maintaining b union and concord among the people, for the ſpace of ſix hundred years and upwards; during which time we find no diſſenſions nor jealouſies between the patrons and their clients even in the times of the republic, when the populace frequently mutinied againſt thoſe who were moſt powerful in the city [x].

AFTER this, *Romulus* formed a ſenate, which conſiſted of a hundred perſons choſen *Senate.* out of the patricians; but the choice was not made by the king himſelf; each tribe choſe three ſenators, and each of the thirty *curiæ* the like number, which made in all the number of ninety-nine; ſo that *Romulus* named only the hundredth, who was the head, or *prince of the ſenate*, and the chief governor of the city, when the king was in the field. They were called *patres* or *fathers*, either on account of their *age*, or c their *fatherly* care of their fellow-citizens. Their deſcendants, to whom alone ſome appropriated the name of *patricians*, were the prime nobility among the *Romans*. The ſenate being thus eſtabliſhed, *Romulus* ordered the *curiæ* to chuſe him a guard of three hundred young men, ten out of each *curia*; and theſe he called *celeres* from their *Celeres.* *agility*, and the expedition with which they executed the orders they received. They were all horſemen; but fought either on foot or on horſeback, as occaſion required or the ground would allow. They were commanded by a tribune called *Tribunus Celerum*, three centurions, and other inferior officers. *Romulus* in the next place proceeded to ſettle the reſpective powers and privileges of the king, ſenate, and people. The king's office at home was to take care of religious affairs; to be guard- d ian of the laws and cuſtoms; to decide the weightier cauſe between man and man, referring thoſe of leſs moment to the ſenate; to call together the ſenators, and aſſemble the people, firſt delivering his own opinion relating to the affairs he propoſed, and then ratifying by his conſent what was agreed on by the majority: abroad and in time of war, he was to command the army with abſolute authority, and to take care of the public money [y]. The ſenate were not only to be judges in cauſes of ſmall importance, but to debate and reſolve upon ſuch public affairs as the king propoſed, and to determine them by the plurality of voices. To the people he committed three things, *viz.* to create magiſtrates, enact laws, and reſolve upon any war that was propoſed by the king; but in all theſe things the approbation of the ſenate was e neceſſary.

WHEN order was thus eſtabliſhed in political affairs, *Romulus* thought it his duty to make ſome regulations in matters of religion. He did not indeed give it that form, to which it was afterwards brought, but contented himſelf with eſtabliſhing ſome ſort of regularity in the prieſthood, and in the worſhip of thoſe deities, which *Evander* had introduced, or *Æneas* brought from *Troy*, or the *Aborigines* worſhipped in their time. He appointed, that each *curia* ſhould have its own temple, and its peculiar gods and prieſts, that the people ſhould aſſemble on certain ſtated days in *cœnacula*, or *public halls*, and that they ſhould there feaſt in common on the victims that had been offered to the gods. He likewiſe eſtabliſhed feſtivals, whereby religion became an f eaſe and relief to the labouring people. The chief miniſters of the gods were choſen out of the patricians, and the inferior prieſts out of ſuch families only as were honourable. They were to be at leaſt fifty years old, and none but their wives were allowed to perform the functions of prieſteſſes. Their ſons were to wait at the altars to the age of puberty, and their daughters ſo long as they continued virgins. The ſons were called *camilli*, and the daughters *camillæ*. When a prieſt had no children of his own, he might chuſe the handſomeſt in his *curia* to attend him in his ſacrifices. As the ſacerdotal families were exempted from paying taxes and bearing arms, and beſides, their employment was for life, *Romulus* prohibited the ſeeking of it by intrigues and cabals, the

[x] PLUT ibid. DIO. HAL. p. 83—85. [y] DIO. HAL. ibid. p. 84, 85.

the purchaſing of it by money, and even the truſting of it to the hazard of lots. He left to each *curia* the free choice of their prieſts, auſpices, and augurs. The auſpices inſpected the intrails of the victims; and the augurs foretold future events by the flight and ſinging of birds (S).

The aſylum. Thus was the colony founded; but, as it was thin of inhabitants, *Romulus*, to attract ſtrangers from the neighbouring countries, opened an *aſylum* or *place of refuge* for fugitive ſlaves, homicides, outlaws, and perſons plunged in debt. Theſe he did not at firſt receive within the walls; but allotted them the hill *Saturnius*, afterwards called *Capitolinus*, for their habitation. Nor was the appearance of religion wanting

(S) As we ſhall frequently have occaſion, in the courſe of this hiſtory, to ſpeak of *Augurs* and *Haruſpices*, or *Aruſpices*, it may not be improper to give ſome account in this place of that kind of divination. The art of divination and foretelling future events, by the flight, chirping, or motions of birds, came from the *Chaldeans* to the *Greeks*, from them to the *Hetrurians*, and from the *Hetrurians* to the *Latins* and *Romans* (28). The name of *Augur* is derived by ſome *ab avium geſtu*; by others *ab avium garritu*, that is, either from *the motion and actions*, or *from the chirping and chattering of birds*. As *Romulus* himſelf was well verſed in this art, after he had divided the city into three tribes, he appointed an augur for each tribe (29). A fourth was added ſome time after, probably by *Servius Tullius*, who increaſed the tribes. Theſe four were all choſen out of the patricians; but in the year of *Rome* 454, at the ſolicitation of the tribunes, five perſons were added to the college, elected out of the common people (30); and in the year 672, *Sylla* increaſed their number to fifteen (31). The eldeſt of theſe preſided over the reſt, and was honoured with the title of *magiſter collegii* (32) Their office, which we find compriſed in the augural law mentioned by *Tully* (33), was to interpret dreams, oracles, prodigies, *&c.* and to tell, whether any action ſhould be fortunate or prejudicial to particular perſons or to the whole ſtate. Thus they were the interpreters of the will of the gods, with reſpect to the making of war or peace; and all were obliged to obey them in ſo important an article. We find five ſorts of auguries mentioned by the antients; 1. From the appearances in heaven, as thunder, lightning, comets, and other meteors. 2. From birds, whence they had the name of *Auſpices*, from the *Latin* words *avis* and *conſpicio*. Some birds furniſhed them with obſervations from their chattering or ſinging; others, from their flying. The former were called *Oſcines*, and the latter *Præpetes*. For the taking of both theſe ſorts of auguries, the augur went up to ſome high place, took the augural ſtaff, which was bent at one end like a croſier, and marked out with it the four *templa* or *quarters* of the heaven. Then he turned to the eaſt, and, in that ſituation, waited for the omen, which was of no ſignification, unleſs confirmed by another of the ſame ſort. 3. From birds kept in a coop for that purpoſe. The manner of divining from them was as follows: Early in the morning the augur that was to make the obſervation, after having commanded a general ſilence, ordered the coop to be opened, and then threw in a handful of crumbs or corn. If the chickens did not eat greedily, ſcattered their food about with their wings, let a great deal of it fall from their mouths to the ground, or, above all, refuſed to eat, the omen was reckoned unlucky, and ſome great misfortune portended; but if they fed greedily, and let none of their food drop out of their mouths, there was all the aſſurance that poſſibly could be wiſhed for of happineſs and ſucceſs (34). This ſort of augury was called *tripudium*, from the antient *Latin* word *pavire*, *to ſtrike*, and *terra*, *the earth*; becauſe the birds in eating greedily, ſtruck the ground with their beaks. The 4th ſort of augury was from beaſts, *viz.* wolves, goats, foxes, heifers, aſſes, rams, hares, weeſels, and mice. The general obſervations about them were, whether they appeared in a ſtrange place, or croſſed the way, whether they ran to the right or left, *&c.* The laſt ſort of divination by auguries, was from what they called *Diræ*, or *unuſual accidents* happening to any perſon, as ſtumbling, ſeeing apparitions, hearing ſtrange voices, meeting a wolf, a fox, a hare, *&c.* Any augur was allowed to take an obſervation; but the judging of the omen was left to the deciſion of the whole college.

As to the *Aruſpices*, they were ſo called *ab arris aſpiciendis*, that is, *from looking on the altars*. The *Roman* aruſpices were all taken at firſt from *Hetruria*, where their art was in great requeſt; but afterwards the ſenate ordered twelve of the ſons of the chief men in *Rome* to be ſent into that country, to learn there the rites and ceremonies of the *Etruſcan* religion, of which this ſcience was the chief part (34). The buſineſs of the aruſpices was to look upon the ſacred victims, and by them to foretel the ſucceſs of any enterprize. They took their obſervations from the victims before they were cut up; from their intrails after they were cut up; from the flame that uſed to riſe while they were burning; and laſtly, from the flour, bran, frankincenſe, wine, or water uſed in the ſacrifice. Before the victims were cut up, it was an ill omen when they would not come to the altar without being dragged, when they broke the rope, fled away, avoided the ſtroke, ſtruggled much after it, made a great bellowing, were long a dying, or bled but little. When the victim was cut up, they obſerved the colour of the parts, and whether any were wanting: a double liver, a little or lean heart, were counted very bad omens. If the heart was wholly miſſing, nothing could be thought more dreadful and fatal; if the intrails fell out of the prieſt's hands, or were more bloody than uſual, or of a pale colour, they portended ſudden danger and ruin. As to the flame of the ſacrifice, it furniſhed them with a good omen when it was pure and clear, roſe up in a pyramid without noiſe, and did not go out till the victim was conſumed. The ſmoke likewiſe was conſidered, whether it whirled about, or ſpread itſelf to the right or left, or yielded a ſmell different from that of broiled meat. If the incenſe they burnt melted all at once, and had an agreeable ſmell, it was a lucky omen. There were ſeveral other ſigns which ſupplied them with conjectures too inſignificant to be mentioned here. The buſineſs of the aruſpices was not reſtrained to the altars and ſacrifices; but they had an equal right to the explaining of other portents and monſters. Hence we find them often conſulted by the ſenate on extraordinary occaſions. If the *Roman* aruſpices lay under any diſrepute, others were ſent for out of *Hetruria*, where this ſcience had moſt credit.

(28) *Cic. de divin. & Orig. l.* iv. *cont. Celſ.* (29) *Plut. ibid.* (30) *Liv. l.* x. (31) *Flor. l.* iv. *c.* 3. (32) *Vide Alex. ab Alex. l.* v *c.* 19. (33) *Cic. de divan l.* ii. (34) *Vide Alex. ab Alex. ibid.* (35) *Cic. de divin. l.* i.

wanting to cover the king's policy: he erected a temple to a new ſort of divinity, called by him the *Aſylæan god* (T), under whoſe protection all criminals were to live ſecurely. Afterwards, when *Romulus* inlarged his new city, the aſylum was incloſed within the walls, and thoſe who had fled to it, being brought under ſome regulation, became citizens of *Rome* [z] (U). Nothing was now wanting, but women, to ſecure the duration of the ſtate; but, as the neighbouring people refuſed to give their daughters in marriage to ſuch a crew of vagabonds, *Romulus*, by the advice of his grandfather *Numitor* and the conſent of the ſenate, proclaimed a ſolemn feaſt and public games, in honour of *Equeſtrian Neptune*, called *Conſus*. This occaſioned a great concourſe of people, who flocked from the adjacent places to behold thoſe pompous ſhews, together with the new city; but in the midſt of the ſolemnity, the *Romans*, upon a ſignal given by *Romulus*, ruſhing in with their drawn ſwords among the ſtrangers, ſeized their daughters, and by main force carried them to their houſes, where they were kept till the next day, without any further inſult being offered to them, agreeable to the expreſs orders of *Romulus*. They were in all ſix hundred and eighty-three, and *Romulus* choſe ſo many huſbands for them, marrying them after the ſame manner that was ever after uſed in *Rome* (W). *The rape of the Sabine women*

THIS violence was highly reſented by the neighbouring people, eſpecially by the *Sabines*; but, as they were unwilling to engage in a war, their country being open on all ſides and defenceleſs, they firſt ſent to demand the reſtitution of their daughters, promiſing to enter into an alliance with the *Romans*, whereby they ſhould have liberty to intermarry with them; but *Romulus* was inflexible, demanding, on his part, that the *Sabines* ſhould confirm the marriages of his *Romans*. While the treaty, which went on ſlowly, ſuſpended hoſtilities on both ſides, *Acron*, whom the hiſtorians ſtyle king of *Cænina* (X), being provoked at the late audacious rape, and jealous of the growing power of the new city, took the field; and, being joined by the inhabitants of *Cruſtuminium* and *Antemnæ* (Y), made an incurſion into the *Roman* territories. *Romulus* inſtantly marched out againſt him, and having engaged the enemy in the open field, challenged their leader, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, to a ſingle combat, killed him, put his army to flight, and purſuing the fugitives to their town, made himſelf maſter of it without oppoſition. He ſpared the blood of the conquered; but razed their city, and carried the inhabitants to *Rome*, where he allowed them the ſame privileges as the moſt ancient citizens [a]. For this victory *Romulus* decreed himſelf the honours of a triumph; and bringing home the ſpoils of king *Acron*, conſecrated them to *Jupiter Feretrius*, ſo called, according to ſome, from the *Latin* word *ferire*, *to ſmite*, becauſe he had killed the king with his own hand; *Romulus defeats the Cæninenſes, and kills their king.*

[z] PLUT. & DIO. HAL. ibid.

[a] DIO. HAL. l. ii. p. 98. PLUT. ibid. LIV. l. i.

(T) *Plutarch* tells us, that the aſylum was put under the protection of the *Aſylæan* god; but who this god was, is unknown to us. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus* tells us, that, in his time, the place where the aſylum had been was conſecrated to *Jupiter*; whence ſome have conjectured, that the *Aſylæan* god was no other than *Jupiter*, worſhipped by *Romulus* under the title of *Aſylæus*, that is, *the protector of aſylums*.

(U) To this *Juvenal* alludes in the following verſes, addreſſed to a *Roman* citizen boaſting of his original and noble extraction:

At tamen ut longe repetas, longeque revolvas,
Nomen; ab inſumi gentem deducis ad vlo.
Majorum quiſquis primus fuit ille tuorum,
Aut latro fuit, aut illud, quod dicere nolo (35).

(W) The form uſed in marriage was, *Partake you of your huſband's fire and water*. This communication of fire and water between the huſband and wife, was the ſymbol of conjugal love and union, and inſinuated, that their goods were in common between them. The virgins ſeized on this occaſion were all called *Sabines*, becauſe the greater number was of that nation. The common opinion is, that they were in all ſix hundred and eighty-three; ſome ſay five hundred and twenty-ſeven, and others reduce them to thirty only, deriving the word *curia* from *Cures* the name of the town, of which the women were for the moſt part natives. But no hiſtorian of any account is of this opinion. *Romulus* found but one married woman among all thoſe who had been ſeized. Her name was *Herſilia*; and we are told by *Zenodotus*, quoted by *Plutarch*, that *Romulus* married her, and had a daughter by her, named *Prima*, becauſe ſhe was his firſt child, and a ſon, called *Abilius*; but other hiſtorians ſay, that *Herſilia* was married to a noble *Roman*, named *Hoſtus*; and that *Tullus Hoſtilius*, the third king of *Rome*, deſcended from her.

(X) *Cænina* was ſituated on the confines of *Latium* and the country of the *Sabines*; whence ſome geographers make it a city of the *Sabines*, and others of ancient *Latium*. *Cluverius* thinks, it ſtood on the banks of the *Anio* next to *Rome*; but *Holſtenius* places it on the oppoſite bank, in the neighbourhood of the preſent *Monticelli*.

(Y) *Cruſtuminium* and *Antemnæ* were either ſubject to the *Sabines*, or in their neighbourhood. Some geographers think, the former ſtood where *Marcigliano Vecchio* now ſtands, and place the latter on the *Tiber*, between the *Tiburtine* and *Nomantine* ways.

(35) *Juvenal. ſatir.* viii. *ver.* 272.

hand; or from the word *ferre*, *to carry*, becauſe *Romulus* had himſelf carried thither the armour of the king he had killed. A name of diſtinction was likewiſe given to Opima ſpolia the ſpoils; for they were called *opima ſpolia* (Z), becauſe they were more honourable than any other, on account of their being taken by the general of the *Roman* army from the enemy's general, after he had killed him with his own hand. *Romulus*, elated with this victory, marched with one legion (A), levied in haſte, againſt the *Antemnates* and *Cruſtumini*, who had joined the king of *Caenina*; and having, without much-ado, overcome them and taken their cities, at the requeſt of *Herſilia*, who was a native of *Antemnæ*, he not only pardoned the inhabitants, but tranſplanted them to *Rome*, where they were admitted to all the privileges of *Roman* citizens. By this conduct, the reputation of his clemency, as well as bravery, became ſo great, that ſeveral cities of *Hetruria* voluntarily ſubmitted to him. *Cœlius*, an *Hetrurian* leader, led all the troops under his command to *Rome*, and ſettled on a hill near the city, which, from him took the name of mount *Cœlius* [b]. And now *Romulus*, being obliged to inlarge the compaſs of his city, took in the hill *Saturnius*, called afterwards the *capitol*; and on the top of it built a citadel, which he committed to the government of a noble *Roman*, named *Tarpeius*. The citadel was ſurrounded on all ſides with ramparts and towers, which equally commanded the city and country. From the foot of the hill *Saturnius* a wall was carried on quite to the *Tiber*, and a gate opened in it, which they called *Carmentalis*, from *Carmenta*, the mother of *Evander*, who either lived there, or had in that place ſome altar or chapel erected to her.

Romulus *reduces* Cruſtuminium *and* Antemnæ.

Notwithstanding this increaſe of the *Roman* forces, the *Sabines* ſent a ſecond deputation to *Romulus*, to demand back their daughters; and, upon his refuſal, began hoſtilities, and marched towards *Rome* with an army of twenty-five thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe, under the command of their king *Titus Tatius*. *Romulus*, having received ſupplies from his grandfather *Numitor* and from *Hetruria*, marched out againſt them, at the head of twenty-thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe. *Romulus* poſted his army between the hills *Eſquilinus* and *Quirinalis*, while the *Sabines* encamped at the foot of the hill *Saturnius*, in the plain afterwards called *Campus Martius*. *Tatius*, finding the *Romans* too well fortified to be attacked, was very uneaſy about the ſucceſs of the enterprize. But an unforeſeen accident extricated him out of his difficulties; for *Tarpeia*, daughter to the governor of the citadel, being greatly taken with the bracelets and rings of the *Sabines*, called to them from above, and promiſed to betray the place into their hands, provided they gave her what they wore on their left arms. The *Sabines* readily agreed to grant her what ſhe required, and being by her admitted into the citadel, made themſelves maſters of that important place. We are told, that the *Sabines* cruſhed *Tarpeia* to death with their bucklers, which they threw upon her, thinking they diſcharged their promiſe by thus giving her what they wore on their left arms. From her the hill *Saturnius* took the name of *Tarpeius*, till the building of the capitol; and even then the ſteepeſt part of it, whence criminals were thrown down headlong, continued to be called *the Tarpeian rock*. The *Sabines*, now maſters of the citadel, had the advantage of being able to continue the war with more ſecurity. For a long time only light ſkirmiſhes paſſed between the two parties; but at laſt, as they both began to be tired with the charges of the war, they reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a general engagement, which was fought with great reſolution on both ſides, and renewed, for ſeveral days together, with almoſt equal ſucceſs. In the laſt conteſt the *Sabines* were at firſt put in diſorder, and obliged to take refuge in the citadel, which the *Romans*, who purſued them, expected to have re-taken. But the enemy rolling great ſtones from the top of the hill, wounded *Romulus* on the head, and ſtunned him ſo, that falling down ſenſeleſs,

His war with the Sabines.

[b] Plut. Liv. Dio. Hal. ibid.

(Z) *Feſtus* derives the word *opima* from *ops*, which ſignifies *the earth, and the riches it produces*; ſo that *opima ſpolia*, according to that writer, ſignify *rich ſpoils*. But *Plutarch* derives it from the word *opus*; ſo that *opima ſpolia*, and *ſpoils hard to be obtained*, are, in his opinion, one and the ſame thing This name was given, as *Plutarch* informs us, only to ſuch ſpoils as the general of the *Roman* army had taken from the general of the enemy's troops. Of the order, laws, and pomp of the ancient triumphs we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

(A) The word *legion* is derived from the *Latin* word *legere*, *to chuſe*, the legions conſiſting of choſen men. The number of men in a legion was different at different times, as we ſhall occaſionally obſerve in the ſequel of this hiſtory. In the times we are now ſpeaking of, a legion conſiſted of three thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, as we read in *Plutarch* (36)

(36) *Plut. in Romulo.*

a his, he was carried out of the field into the city. This accident inſpired the *Sabines* with new courage, who falling upon the *Romans*, put them to flight in their turn, and purſued them to the very gates of *Rome*. In the mean time, *Romulus*, coming to himſelf again, returned to the battle, encouraged his routed troops, and, having made a vow to *Jupiter* in order to obtain his favour (B), drove the enemy back to the citadel. Some writers tells us [c], that, in the heat of the engagement, the *Sabine* women, at the perſuaſion of *Herſilia*, ruſhing out of the city with their hair diſhevelled and their children in their arms, threw themſelves deſperately into the midſt of the darts and dead bodies, and, by their tears and intreaties, put a ſtop to the fury of their huſbands and fathers. But this is an adventure too wonderful not to be b thought fabulous. What part the *Sabine* women acted in the reconciling of the two people, will appear in the ſequel of the hiſtory.

Titus Tatius being in poſſeſſion of the citadel, and *Romulus* continuing ſhut up in his city, neither party was very forward to hazard another engagement. The *Sabines* were doubtful, whether they ſhould raiſe the ſiege and content themſelves with ravaging the *Roman* territory. The *Romans*, on their ſide, were no leſs undetermined what to do. They conſidered, that the *Sabines* were a powerful people, and that the late victory had neither been complete nor deciſive; but, on the other hand, they could not with honour reſtore the *Sabine* women; for that would have been an acknowledgment of their weakneſs, which would have made the enemy more haughty c and more difficult to treat with. But, while the men were thus deliberating, the women, at the perſuaſion of *Herſilia*, demanded an audience of the ſenate; and being admitted, laid before them a deſign which they had formed, without the privity of their huſbands. This was to mediate between the contending nations, and try whether they could put an end to the war, which had been undertaken for their ſake. Their propoſal met with no oppoſition in the preſent conjuncture of affairs. A decree was immediately paſſed, permitting the women to go upon the negotiation they propoſed. All the ſecurity that was required of them was, to leave one of their children at *Rome*; the reſt they were allowed to carry with them in their arms, in order to raiſe the compaſſion of their grandfathers. The women, being thus authorized, laid aſide their ornaments, and, putting on mourning, advanced to the camp of the *Sabines*, where, by throwing themſelves at the feet of their fathers and relations, they raiſed a general compaſſion. King *Tatius*, having aſſembled his chief officers, ordered the women to declare on what purpoſe they were come; which *Herſilia* is ſaid to have done in a long and pathetic ſpeech: after which ſhe begged a truce, that the chiefs of the two armies might have an opportunity of conferring together. As the *Sabines* wanted only an honourable pretence to put an end to the war, they were eaſily prevailed upon to accept the propoſal. Accordingly a truce was granted, during which the two kings had a conference, which ended to the ſatisfaction of both parties; for a treaty of union was made and confirmed by oath, the articles whereof were, 1. That the two kings ſhould reſide and jointly reign at *Rome*. 2. That the city ſhould ſtill, from *Romulus*, be called *Rome*; but the citizens *Quirites*, a name till then peculiar to the *Sabines* (C). 3. That the two nations ſhould become one; and that the *Sabines* ſhould be made free of *Rome* and enjoy all the privileges of *Roman* citizens [d]. Three *Sabine* families of great diſtinction are particularly ſaid to have ſettled at *Rome* on this occaſion, with their relations and dependents. The head of one was *Valerius Voleſus*; of another *Talus Tyrannus*; and of the third *Metius Curtius*, who had ſignalized himſelf in the laſt battle (D). To *Valerius Voleſus* Plutarch aſcribes the honour of negotiating the peace.

The Romans *and* Sabines *become one people.*

THE

[c] PLUT. ibid. LIV. l. i. c. 13. [d] DIO. HAL. LIV. PLUT. ibid.

(B) We are told, that, while the *Romans* were flying before the enemy, *Romulus* made a vow to *Jupiter*, in order to obtain his aſſiſtance for the ſpeedy rallying of his troops, and that they unexpectedly ſtopped at the ſight of their general, on his return to the field of battle. Being therefore fully convinced, that this was a particular bleſſing of heaven, he erected a temple to *Jupiter*, whom he called *Stator*, in memory of the happy moment, when the *Romans*, recovering from their fright, made *a ſtand* and faced the enemy (37).

(37) *Aur. Victor.*

(C) The word *quiris*, in the *Sabine* language, ſignified both a *dart*, and a *warlike deity armed with a dart*. 'Tis uncertain whether the god gave name to the dart, or the dart to the god; but, however that be, this god *Quiris*, or *Quirinus*, was either *Mars*, or ſome other god of war, and continued to be worſhipped in *Rome*, till *Romulus*, who, after his death, was honoured with the name *Quirinus*, took his place (38).

(D) While the *Romans* had the advantage, this brave *Sabine*, breaking into the centre of their army,

(38) *Plut. in Romulo.*

omiti-

The two nations being thus united, *Tatius*, in imitation of *Romulus*, formed a council of an hundred ſenators of his own nation, who were alſo ſtyled fathers, and enjoyed the ſame privileges with thoſe who had been inſtituted by the founder. The two councils aſſembled firſt at the houſes of their reſpective kings; but afterwards met at the ſame place, which from thence was called *comitium* (E). After this union of the two nations and ſenates, were inſtituted, according to *Livy*[c], the three bodies of *Roman* knights, called *Ramnenſes*, *Tatienſes*, and *Luceres*. The firſt body had its name from *Romulus*, the ſecond from *Tatius*, and the third from the *lucus* or grove where the aſylum ſtood, this order being formed out of thoſe who had peopled it. Theſe three bodies of horſe were incorporated into the *Roman* legions, which, from this time, conſiſted, according to the moſt common opinion, of four thouſand men each; whence a legion was called *quadrata*. As *Rome* was chiefly indebted to the *Sabine* women for this happy increaſe of wealth and power, honourable privileges and marks of diſtinction were allowed them; every one was commanded to give way to them; all immodeſt and too free diſcourſes were forbidden in their preſence; no indecent objects were to be brought into their ſight; in capital cauſes they were exempted from the juriſdiction of the ordinary judges; and laſtly, their children were allowed to wear a golden ball hanging from their necks, and a particular robe, called *prætexta*, to diſtinguiſh them from the vulgar (F).

The creation of the firſt Roman *knights.*

[c] Liv. l. i. c. 13.

and rallying his countrymen who had been put in diſorder, turned the ſcale in their favour. But *Romulus*, meeting him and engaging him in ſingle combat, obliged him, as he was already wounded, to quit the field. *Curtius*, being ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemy, choſe rather to throw himſelf into a pool, made by the inundation of the *Tiber*, than to go a great way about. As the pool was deep, and full of mud, *Romulus*, thinking his enemy was loſt, left him and rejoined his army; but the *Sabine* was taken out of the water, and the place ever after called *Lacus Curtius*, even when it was dried up, and almoſt in the center of the *Roman* forum (38). *Procilius* ſays, that the earth having opened, the aruſpices declared it neceſſary for the ſafety of the republic, that the braveſt man in the city ſhould throw himſelf into the gulf; whereupon one *Curtius*, mounting on horſeback, leaped armed into it, and the gulf immediately cloſed. Before the building of the common ſewers, this pool was a ſort of ſink, which received all the filth of the city. Some writers think, that it received its name from *Curtius* the conſul, collegue to *M. Genucius*, becauſe he cauſed it to be walled in by the advice of the aruſpices, after it had been ſtruck with lightning (39).

(E) The word *comitium* is derived from the ancient *Latin* verb *cumire*, which ſignifies *to meet*. The comitium was at the foot of the hill *Palatinus*, over againſt the capitol. Not far from thence the two kings built the temple of *Vulcan*, where they uſually met to conſult the ſenate about the moſt important affairs.

(F) Authors are divided in their opinions about the form of this ornament, which the *Sabine* women were allowed to hang about the necks of their children. It was called *bulla*; and *Plutarch* ſays (40), that it was like the little bubbles which the drops of rain make, when they fall upon running water. It is therefore probable, that theſe little golden balls were hollow and light. Others think they were but half globes, being on one ſide flat, and on the other globular. *Macrobius* ſays, that *Tarquin* the elder extended the right of wearing this ornament to all the children of the patricians, and that he began with his own. The young men, when they attained the age of manhood, quitted the *bulla*, and made an offering of it to the *dii lares*, or *houſhold gods*. As to the *prætexta*, it had a border of purple round its edges; whence it took its name. This robe was wore by girls till their marriage, and by boys till they were ſeventeen, when they took the *toga virilis*, or *manly robe*. But what in the time of *Romulus* was a mark of diſtinction for the children of the *Sabine* women, became afterwards very common; for even the children of the *liberti*, that is, of thoſe who were made *free*, wore robes bordered with purple in their youth. In proceſs of time the great magiſtrates wore them, not only at *Rome*, but in the colonies and municipia. This *prætexta* was not only a mark of the quality of the perſon that wore it, but was beſides looked upon as a ſacred habit, and a kind of guard or defence againſt the injuries to which children are expoſed. Thus *Perſius* calls it *puniceæ purpura* (41); and *Quintilian*, in one of his declarations ſtyles it, *the ſacred habit of the* prætexta, *the robe, which raiſes in us a holy reverence and veneration to the helpleſs condition of childhood*. In proceſs of time the *bulla* became as common as the *prætexta*, all the ſons of the *ingenui* or *freeborn* being allow'd to wear it; but with this diſtinction, that their *bulla* was not of gold, but of leather, as *Juvenal* inſinuates in the following verſes:

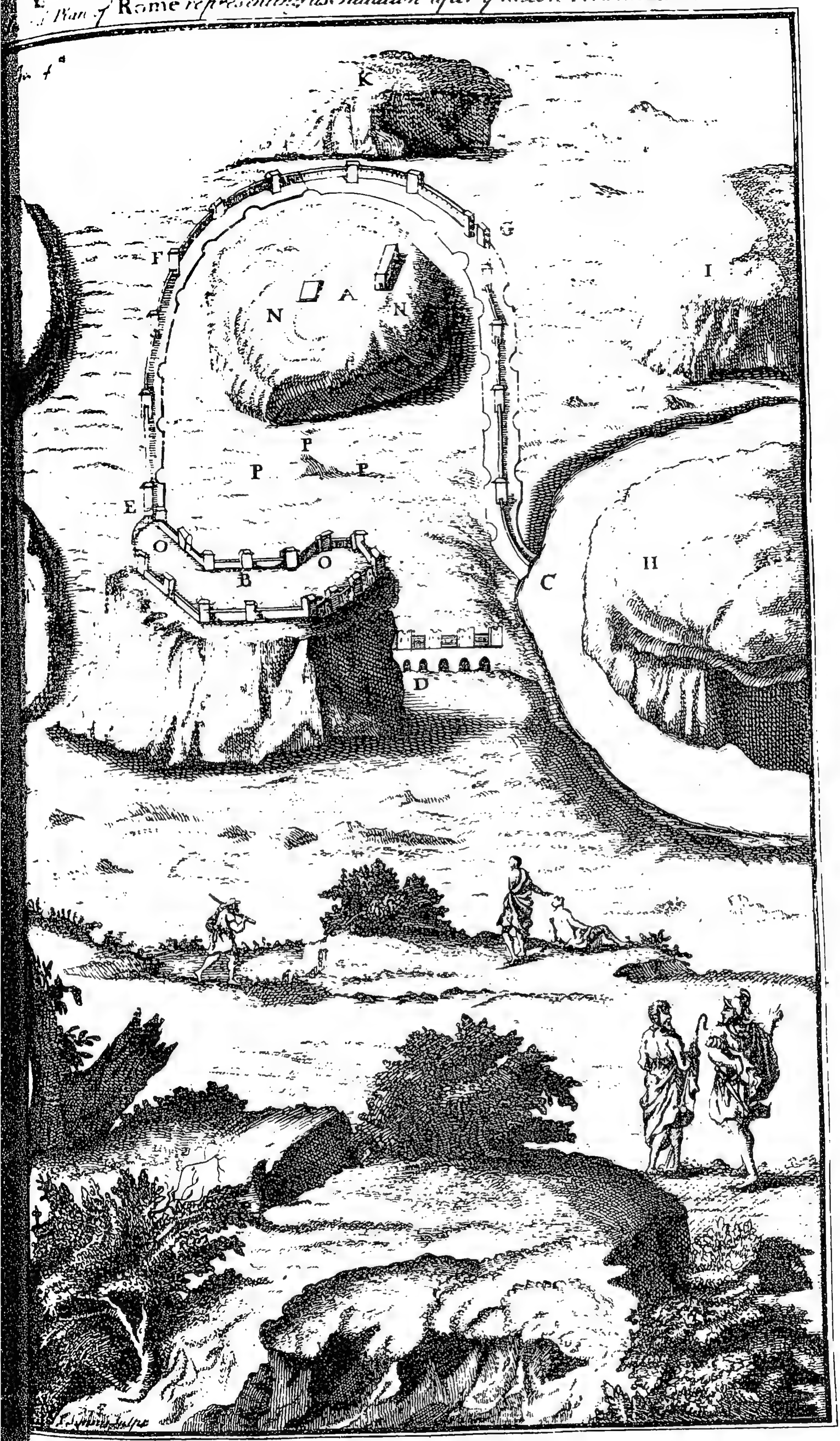
——— *Etruſcum puero ſi contigit aurum,*
Vel nodus tantum, & ſignum de paupere loro (42).

The poet calls the *bulla aurea*, *Etruſcan* gold, becauſe that ſort of ornament was uſed by the *Etruſcans* long before it was introduced among the *Romans*. In the account we have given here of the *bulla aurea* and *prætexta*, we have followed *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* and *Livy*; but *Macrobius*, on the authority of ſome writers, relates the matter in a quite different manner; for he ſays, that *Herſilia*, being carried away with her daughter, fell in marriage to *Hoſtus*, an officer of great diſtinction, and was the firſt who bore a child to *Rome*. To this child alone, who was called *Hoſtus Hoſtilius Romulus* granted the privilege of wearing the *bulla aurea*. ſome fanſy, that *Tarquinius Priſcus*, in a triumph for a victory gained over the *Sabines*, firſt honoured his own ſon with the *prætexta* and *bulla aurea*, for killing one of the enemy's chief commanders with his own hand. Others, without mentioning this victory, preſerve, that *Tarquin*, among other wiſe conſtitutions, took particular care to aſſign the proper habit both to the boy and

(38) *Dio Hal. ibid.* (39) *Varro de ling. Lat. l.* iv. (40) *Plut. ibid.* (41) *Perſius, ſat.* v. (42) *Juvenal. ſat.* v. *ver.* 164.

over ag.ª p. 432

A Plan of Rome representing its Situation after y.e Union between Romulus & Tatius



A The Hill Palatinus
B The Capitol
C The Tyber
D The Gate Carmentalis
E The Gate Pandana
F The Gate Musonia
G The Gate Romanulia
H The Hill Janiculus
I The Hill Aventinus
K The Hill Cœlius
L The Hill Esquilinus
M The Hill Quirinalis
N The Habit.n of the Rhamnenses
O The Habit.n of the Tatienses
P The Habit.n of the Luceres

Chap. 2.

THE two kings reigned jointly, and in great harmony, for the ſpace of five years, *Romulus* holding his court on the hill *Palatinus*, and *Tatius* reſiding on the hill *Tarpeius*. The *Sabines* ſettled on a hill, called by them *Quirinalis*, either in memory of their city *Cures*, or in honour of their god *Quiris*. The place between the hills *Palatinus* and *Tarpeius* became a common market-place for the two united nations, and was called the *forum*. The union of the two nations ſoon produced a mixture of manners, cuſtoms, and religion. The *Sabines* adopted the *Roman* gods, and the *Romans* thoſe of the *Sabines*. They unanimouſly inſtituted the feſtival called *matronalia*, in memory of the peace concluded by the mediation of *the women* (G). As to martial affairs, the conqueſt of *Cameria*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, was the only military atchievement under the two kings. Four thouſand of its inhabitants were tranſplanted to *Rome*, and a colony ſent from thence to *Cameria*. In the ſixth year of *Romulus* and *Tatius*, the latter, having provoked the *Lavinians*, by protecting ſome of his friends who had ravaged their territories, was by them murdered at the foot of the altar, while he was offering a ſacrifice together with *Romulus*, in the city of *Lavinium*, to the tutelary gods of the ſtate. *Romulus* conveyed the body of his colleague to *Rome*, with great pomp, and cauſed it to be honourably interred on mount *Aventine*. The *Lavinians*, fearing the reſentment of *Romulus*, delivered up the aſſaſſines into his hands; but he ſent them back unpuniſhed, which gave occaſion to ſuſpect, that he was not at leaſt diſpleaſed at the death of his collegue [f].

Death of Tatius.

NOT long after, a cruel plague, attended with a great famine, breaking out at *Rome*, the *Camerini* laid hold of this opportunity to ſhake off the yoke, and lay waſte the *Roman* territory. But *Romulus* marching out againſt them, gave them battle, killed ſix thouſand of them on the ſpot; and returning to *Rome*, entered the city in triumph, as he had done after the defeat of *Acron*. The like ſucceſs attended him againſt the *Fidenates*, whoſe city, ſtanding about forty furlongs from *Rome*, he took, and made it a *Roman* colony. This drew new enemies upon him; for the *Veientes* (H), reclaiming *Fidenæ*, as a city within their juriſdiction, laid ſiege to it; but their forces being defeated in two battles, and a great number of them taken priſoners, together with their commander, they were forced to prevent their total ruin by a timely ſubmiſſion. They therefore ſent embaſſadors to *Rome* to ſue for peace; and *Romulus* granted them a truce for a hundred years, upon the following conditions, *viz.* that they ſhould deliver to him ſeven ſmall towns on the *Tiber*, ſome ſalt-pits near the mouth of that river, and ſend fifty of their chief citizens to *Rome*, to be kept there as hoſtages. A war thus advantagiouſly ended procured *Romulus* the honour of a third triumph, which, as the city was much increaſed both in riches and inhabitants, exceeded in all likelihood the two former. The priſoners were all ſold for ſlaves; and what was done at this ſale gave riſe to a cuſtom, which prevailed ever after; for when they returned thanks to the gods for any victory, they uſed to dreſs an old man in a purple robe, with a child's bulla about his neck, and cry round him, *Sardians to ſell.* By this ceremony they alluded to the old king or governor of the *Veientes*, who, in this war, had behaved like a child; and to the *Veientes*, who, with the other *Hetrurians*, were a colony of *Lydians*, whoſe metropolis was the city of

Romulus *defeats the* Camerini, Fidenates, *and* Veientes.

[f] DIO. HAL. p. 110.

and girls, and appointed the *prætexta* and *bulla aurea* for the ſons of the ſenators and patricians, and the *prætexta* alone for their daughters, and alſo for the ſons of thoſe who had ſerved among the horſe the full time the law required. The figure of a man's heart was ſometimes impreſſed on the *bullæ aureæ*, to put thoſe who wore them in mind of this moral truth, that men are only valuable for the qualities of their *hearts*. In like manner the purple colour of the *prætexta* was to remind them of the modeſty which became them at that age (43).

(G) This feſtival was celebrated on the firſt of *March*. *Ovid* (44) gives other reaſons for the inſtitution of it, *viz.* to obtain of *Mars* the bleſſing of bearing good children; a bleſſing which he firſt beſtowed on *Rhea Sylvia*. But, at the ſame time, the poet owns, that the *matronalia* were chiefly inſtituted in memory of the benefits the *Romans* had received from the *Sabine women*. During this feſtival, the *Roman* women, ſuch as were married, ſerved their ſlaves at table, and received preſents from their huſbands, as the huſbands did from their wives in the time of the *ſaturnalia*. As the feſtival of the *matronalia* was conſecrated to *Mars*, and, as ſome will have it, to *Juno Lucina*, ſacrifices were offered to both theſe deities. This feaſt was the ſubject of *Horace*'s ode,

Martiis cælebs quid agam calendis, &c.

(H) *Veii* was ſituated on a craggy rock, about one hundred furlongs from *Rome*, and is compared by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* to *Athens* for extent and riches. *Cluverius* places it in the neighbourhood of the preſent *Scroſano*.

(43) *Macrob. ſaturnal. l.* i. *c.* 6. *Vide Dacier. in Horat. l.* v. *od.* 5.

(44) *Ovid. triſt. l.* iii.

of *Sardis* [g]. Other writers date this cuſtom from the time of the conqueſt of *Sardinia* by *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, when ſuch a number of ſlaves was brought from that iſland, that nothing was to be ſeen in the markets but *Sardinians*.

The laws of Romulus.

This was the laſt war in which *Romulus* engaged. He employed the remaining part of his life in ſettling the government on the ſureſt foundations. He made many good laws; but we have only ſome fragments of them remaining. The firſt relates to marriages, and forbids a wife to leave her huſband upon any pretence whatſoever; but, at the ſame time, allows the huſband to put away his wife, and even to punish her with death, in caſe ſhe were convicted of adultery, poiſoning, making falſe keys, or only of drinking wine. Each huſband was confined to one wife, their goods being in common between them; but under the adminiſtration of the huſband. In relation to children, *Romulus* gave their fathers an abſolute power over them; ſo that they could, by their own private authority, impriſon them, ſell them for ſlaves, and even put them to death, of whatever age they were, and whatever dignity, office, or employment they held [h]. He appointed no puniſhment for real parricide; but called all murder ſo, thinking the latter a deteſtable crime, but the former impoſſible; and indeed it was unknown in *Rome* for near ſix hundred years, as divorces were notwithſtanding the power granted to huſbands, for five hundred and twenty years [i].

He provokes the ſenate by his arbitrary behaviour.

Romulus, in the latter end of his reign, whether elated with his former ſucceſſes, or carried away with ſome pleaſing notions of arbitrary power, began to enlarge his prerogative beyond the bounds he had formerly ſet to it, and to pay no longer any deference to his great council. The ſenators were aſſembled indeed; but merely for form-ſake and to ratify his commands. But what moſt of all provoked the fathers was, his ſharing the conquered lands among his ſoldiers, as he pleaſed, without conſulting them, and his reſtoring to the *Veientes* their hoſtages, againſt their opinion. This haughty and arbitrary carriage they could not brook, and therefore conſpired his deſtruction; which they ſoon after effected. *Romulus* having appointed a review of his troops on a plain without the city, the ſenate attended him thither. While he was haranguing them, a ſudden ſtorm of hail and thunder diſperſed the army; and the ſenators, remaining alone with the king, thought this too favourable an opportunity to be neglected. The king was therefore ſlain, and his body conveyed out of ſight in an inſtant. Some writers tell us, that, the better to conceal the fact, the ſenators cut him in pieces, each of them carrying away one under his robe (I). However that be, the ſenators took occaſion, from the ſecrecy of the fact and the concealment of the body, to perſuade the multitude, that the king was all on a ſudden ſurrounded by a flame and ſnatched up into heaven; but this ſtratagem did not appease the ſoldiery, till *Julius Proculus*, a ſenator of great diſtinction, having aſſembled the curiæ, told them, that *Romulus* had appeared to him, and injoined him to acquaint his people, that it had pleaſed the gods he ſhould return to heaven, from whence he originally came; but that he would be always a propitious god to them, under the name of *Quirinus*. As *Julius Proculus*, who was eſteemed a man of great probity, and had been always thought a friend to *Romulus*, ſwore to the truth of this ſtory, all ſuſpicions were laid aſide, and divine honours decreed to the new deity [k]. His death happened on the ſeventh day of *July*, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his reign, and ſixtieth, or, as others ſay, fifty-fifth, year of his age. Such was the end of *Romulus*, the founder and firſt king of *Rome*. He was thought to be the ſon of *Mars*, and it does not appear, that he ever acted unbecoming that character, having, in a ſhort time, made his ſmall colony formidable to all the neighbouring nations. Nor

Is murdered. Year after the flood 2288. *Before Chriſt* 711. *Of* Rome 37.

was

[g] Plut. & Dio. Hal. ibid. [h] Dio. Hal. l. ii. p. 92. A. Gell. c. 23. [i] Plut. ubi ſupra. [k] Dio. Hal. l. ii. p. 119. Plut. Liv. ibid.

(I) Hiſtorians differ about the place where *Romulus* loſt his life; ſome ſaying he was killed in the open field, while he was haranguing his troops; others, that he loſt his life in the temple of *Vulcan*, or in the ſenate. Neither do they agree about the manner in which he was aſſaſſinated; ſome ſay, he was murdered by the people, for ſhewing more favour to thoſe who were newly come to *Rome* from the conquered cities, than to the ancient inhabitants; while others pretend, the ſenators ſtabbed him in full ſenate, and having cut his body in pieces, every one carried a part of it away under his robe. However that be, his death gave riſe, according to *Plutarch* (45), to the *caprotine nones*, or *poplifugium*, that is, *the flight of the people*, a feſtival in the *Roman* kalendar, on the nones of *July*. But other authors give another origin to this feſtival; of which we ſhall ſpeak in a more proper place.

(45) *Plut. ibid.*

was his wiſdom and policy inferior to his courage; for, in a few years, he increaſed his ſubjects, from three thouſand three hundred men, to forty-ſeven thouſand; and, what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, formed a people out of a gang of ſlaves and profligates, who in proceſs of time became maſters of the world, and yet were long more renowned for their virtue, than for their courage or conqueſts. After the death of his grandfather *Numitor*, the ſovereignty of *Alba* devolved upon him; but he reſerved to himſelf no other power over it, than that of naming annually a magiſtrate, with the title of dictator, to govern it in form of a republic; which is ſomewhat ſurprizeing in a prince, who was ſo eagerly bent on extending his dominions, and ſubjecting all the ſtates around him.

His death is followed by an inter-regnum.

Romulus dying without iſſue, the city was greatly divided about the election of a new king. The *Romans* did not judge it by any means adviſeable to reſign the regal authority to the *Sabines*; and, on the other hand, the *Sabines* thought it was but juſt, that the king ſhould be choſen out of their nation, ſince they had peaceably ſubmitted to *Romulus*, and contributed, as much as the *Romans*, to the raiſing of the city to its preſent pitch of wealth and power. During theſe diſputes, the ſenators, to prevent anarchy and confuſion, took the ſovereignty into their own hands. The two hundred ſenators divided themſelves into decuries or tens. Theſe decuries drew lots which ſhould govern firſt, and the decury, to whoſe lot it fell, enjoyed the ſupreme authority for five days, yet in ſuch manner, that one perſon only of the governing decury had the badges of ſovereignty at a time. To theſe another decury ſucceeded, each of them ſitting on the throne in his turn, wearing the crown, &c. This form of government, which was called *inter-regnum*, laſted little more than a year, when the people, growing weary of ſuch frequent change of maſters, obliged the fathers to reſolve on the election of a king. The *inter-rex* therefore for the time being, having ſummoned the people, addreſſed them thus: Elect yourſelves a king, O *Romans*; the ſenate gives their conſent; and, if you chuſe a prince worthy to ſucceed *Romulus*, the ſenate will confirm your choice. The people were ſo well pleaſed with this condeſcenſion of the ſenate, that they remitted the choice to them. But, as the old difficulty ſtill remained, whether the king ſhould be a *Sabine* or a *Roman*, this occaſioned long diſputes, till at length they came to this agreement among themſelves, that the *Romans* ſhould chuſe the king, but ſhould be obliged to elect a *Sabine*. There was at this time an auſtere *Sabine* philoſopher, who led a ſolitary life, and was wholly taken up with the worſhip of the gods. His name was *Numa Pompilius*, and he was the fourth ſon of *Pompilius Pompo*, an illuſtrious *Sabine*. He had married *Tatia*, the daughter of king *Tatius*, and, together with her, remained in his native country, preferring the tranquillity of a private life to the ſplendor of a court. Upon the death of his wife, with whom he had lived thirteen years, he gave himſelf up intirely to the ſtudy of wiſdom; and, leaving the city of *Cures*, confined himſelf wholly to the country, wandering from ſolitude to ſolitude, in ſearch only of thoſe woods and fountains, which religion had made ſacred. This gave riſe to the fable, which was very early received among the *Sabines*, that *Numa* lived in familiarity with the nymph *Egeria* (K). This man both the ſenate and people pitched upon to be their king; and, without delay, diſpatched *Julius Proculus* and *Valerius Voleſus*, two ſenators of diſtinction, to acquaint *Numa* with their reſolution, and make him an offer of the kingdom. The *Sabine* philoſopher rejected at firſt their propoſal; but, being at laſt prevailed upon by the arguments and intreaties of the deputies, joined with thoſe of his father and of *Martius* his near relation, he yielded at laſt; and, having offered ſacrifices to the gods, ſet out for *Rome*, where he was received by all ranks of people with loud ſhouts of joy. *Spurius Vettius*, the *inter-rex* for the day, having aſſembled the curiæ, he was elected in due form, and the election was unanimouſly confirmed by the ſenate [1].

Numa Pompilius *elected to ſucceed* Romulus.

THIS

[1] DIO. HAL. l. ii. p. 121. PLUT. LIV. ibid.

(K) *Numa*'s inclination to ſolitude, and his cuſtom of retiring into the ſecret places of the foreſt of *Aricia*, gave riſe to ſeveral popular opinions. Some believed, that the nymph *Egeria* herſelf dictated to him the laws, both civil and religious, which he eſtabliſhed. Of this perſuaſion he took advantage, when he was on the throne, to bring about a reformation of *Rome*. Others, leſs favourable to *Numa*'s reputation, have thought, that, under this affected paſſion for woods and caves, was concealed another, more real and leſs chaſte. This ſeems to have been the opinion of *Juvenal*, who, in ſpeaking of this grove, known to the *Romans* by the name of *Lucus Egeriæ*, or *the grove of* Egeria, ſays,

Hic ubi nocturnæ Numa conſtituebat amicæ (46).

(46) *Juvenal. ſatir.* iii. *ver.* 12.

This king's reign was no-ways memorable for battles or conqueſts; for he made it his chief ſtudy to quiet all contentions at home, to reform the manners of the *Romans*, and to eſtabliſh good policy in the city. The firſt thing he did was, to diſmiſs the royal guard of three hundred *celeres*, ſaying, He would not rule over a people, of whom he conceived the leaſt diſtruſt. In the next place, he applied himſelf to quiet the diſſentions at *Rome*, to bring all the citizens to a perfect concord and harmony among themſelves, and to moderate the warlike ardour of the *Romans*, by impreſſions of religion. *Plutarch* tells us [m], that he had true notions of the deity, that is, of a firſt principle of all things, impaſſible, inviſible, incorruptible, and purely intelligible; and therefore prohibited the repreſenting of God in the reſemblance of man or beaſt. The ſame author adds, that, for the ſpace of one hundred and ſixty years, there were no painted nor graven images in the *Roman* temples or ſanctuaries. But tho' *Numa* had, according to *Plutarch*, right notions of the deity, yet he did not introduce the true worſhip of the Supreme Being; but authorized both the *Sabine* and *Alban* ſuperſtitions, introducing only order and decency in the performance of them. With this view he divided the miniſters of religion into eight claſſes, *viz. Curiones*, *Flamines*, *Celeres*, *Augurs*, *Veſtal Virgins*, *Salii*, *Feciales*, and *Pontifices*. The *Curiones* were the particular prieſts of each *curia*. The *Flamines*, ſo called from the faſhion or colour of their *caps* (L), were prieſts, whoſe miniſtry was confined to ſome particular god, from whom they took their name, as the *Flamen Dialis*, the *Flamen Martialis*, *&c.* The *Celeres* were inferior miniſters, whoſe duty it was to take care of the ſacrifices, under the direction of the tribunes, who had commanded them when they were guards to *Romulus*. The *Augurs* not only foretold future events by the flying of *birds*, but had many other kinds of divination under their province. The *Veſtals* were wholly devoted to the goddeſs *Veſta*, and obliged, under the ſevereſt penalty, to keep the ſacred fire in her temple perpetually burning. The *Salii* were the guardians of the *ancilia*, or twelve ſhields, hung up in the temple of *Mars*. They took their name from their *dancing* in the celebration of the annual feſtival inſtituted in memory of a miraculous ſhield, which, *Numa* pretended, fell down from heaven. The buſineſs of the *Feciales* was to demand ſatisfaction for the injuries *Rome* received from her enemies, to proclaim war againſt them, in caſe of refuſal, and to take care that all treaties with the neighbouring nations were faithfully obſerved. The *Pontifices* (M) were the moſt venerable of all the claſſes; their office was, to give judgment in all cauſes relating to religion, to inquire into the lives and manners of the inferior prieſts, and to puniſh them, if they ſaw occaſion; to regulate the feaſts, ſacrifices, and all other ſacred inſtitutions; to determine what works ſhould be deemed lawful, and what unlawful, on feſtival days. They had a preſident over them, with the title of *Pontifex Maximus*, whoſe office was one of the moſt honourable in the commonwealth. Some ſay, that *Numa* reſerved this eminent dignity for himſelf; and others, that he conferred it on his relation *Numa Marcius*.

He diſmiſſes the guard of 300 celeres.

Divides the miniſters of religion into eight claſſes.

Numa's view, in thus multiplying the ceremonies of religion, was the more effectually to divert the *Romans* from purſuits of ambition and violence of arms. For the ſame purpoſe, or, at leaſt, to put a check to the haſty temper of ſo fierce a people, ever ready, upon the ſlighteſt occaſions, to begin a war, he dedicated a temple to *Janus*, the ſymbol of prudence, which looks two ways, and examines what is paſt and what may come. This temple was to ſtand open in time of war, and to be ſhut in time of peace. He likewiſe erected an altar to *Bona Fides*, or *Good Faith*, in order to bring the republic to be faithful to her treaties; and the private citizens to their private contracts.

Dedicates a temple to Janus.

[m] Plut. in Numa.

(L) Theſe prieſts were firſt called, as *Plutarch* informs us, *Pileamines*, from the *Greek* word πίλος, or the *Latin pileus*, which ſignified a ſort of *cap* which was peculiar to them. Others think they took their names from the *flame-coloured tufts* they had on their caps. They were choſen by the people, and inaugurated by the *pontifex maximus*. The *Flamines* could not be depoſed but for very great reaſons. Their wives, who were called *Flaminicæ*, partook of the prieſthood of their huſbands, and ſhared with them the care of the ſacrifices. A *Flaminica* could not be divorced on any account; and, upon her death, the *Flamen* loſt his ſacerdotal dignity.

(M) The word *Pontifex* is by moſt authors derived from *pons* and *facere*, *the repairs of the bridges*, which were deemed ſacred, being committed to the *Pontifices*. But *Plutarch* finds fault with this etymology, and tells us, that the word *Pontifex* was in uſe at *Rome* before there were any bridges there. He derives it from the word *potis*, which, in old *Latin*, ſignified *powerful*. Others take it to be a compound of *potis* and *facere*, where *facere* ſignifies *to ſacrifice*. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of the functions of each claſs of prieſts in the courſe of this hiſtory.

contracts with one another. The ſame ſpirit of equity made him introduce another kind of deities, under the name of *Termini*, or *Boundaries*, which he cauſed to be placed on the borders of the *Roman* ſtate, and of each man's private lands. In honour of theſe deities he inſtituted a feſtival called *terminalia*, which was annually celebrated on the twenty-ſecond or twenty-third of the month of *February*. To remove the *Dii Termini* was deemed a ſacriledge of ſo heinous a nature, that any man might kill with impunity the tranſgreſſor [n].

Improves the laws.

THE reformation of religion was followed by an improvement of the laws, in which he had a particular regard to the preſerving of modeſty in women; nevertheleſs he permitted husbands to lend their wives after they had had children by them. This was a kind of temporary divorce in favour of thoſe men, whoſe wives were barren; but the husbands ſtill continued to have the ſame power over them, and could call them home, or lend them to others, as they pleaſed. He reformed the law made by *Romulus*, with relation to the power of parents over their children; for he would not ſuffer a father to ſell his ſon after marriage, thinking it unjuſt, that a woman, who married a freeman, ſhould be obliged to live with a ſlave.

Encourages agriculture.

FOR the encouraging of agriculture, *Numa* ſhared the lands, which the late king had obtained by conqueſt, among thoſe who had no other occupation. And the better to keep them conſtantly attentive to the improvement of their farms, he diſtributed them into *pagi* or *villages*, over each of which he appointed a chief or ſuperintendant, whoſe buſineſs was to keep a watchful eye over the huſbandmen, to encourage them when diligent, to puniſh them when ſlothful, and to make a report of the progreſs of agriculture in his diſtrict to the king, who often advanced the induſtrious huſbandmen to the firſt dignities in the ſtate. By this means the lands were cultivated, and the city diſburdened of the idle ſoldiery, who had been accuſtomed, under *Romulus*, to live by rapine [o].

Diſtributes the citizens into diſtinct bodies of tradeſmen.

BUT the maſter-piece of *Numa*'s policy was, his diſtributing the citizens of *Rome* into diſtinct bodies of tradeſmen. The city had been hitherto rent into two factions, occaſioned by the union of the *Sabines* and firſt *Romans*; and nothing could be more dangerous than ſuch a diviſion of the ſtate, as it were, into two different nations. *Numa* therefore, to take away all diſtinction of *Roman* and *Sabine*, divided all the inhabitants according to their ſeveral trades and occupations, making every profeſſion a particular company and ſociety, and appointing to each their reſpective courts and privileges. In this diviſion the muſicians had the firſt rank, becauſe employed in the offices of religion. The goldſmiths, carpenters, curriers, dyers, taylors, *&c.* formed alſo diſtinct communities, and were all allowed to make by-laws among themſelves, to have their own feſtivals, particular ſacrifices, *&c.* By this means the *Romans* and *Sabines*, being intermixed in the ſame ſocieties, forgot their party-names, and where brought to an intire union [p].

Reforms the kalendar.

THE laſt reformation which *Numa* undertook was, that of the kalendar. *Romulus* had divided his year into ten months, which, according to *Plutarch*, had no certain, or equal, number of days, ſome conſiſting of twenty, ſome of thirty-five, and ſome of more [q]. But *Macrobius* tells us [r], that he ſettled the number of days with more equality, allotting to *March*, *May*, *Quintilis*, and *October*, one-and-thirty days; to *April*, *June*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *November*, and *December* thirty, making up in all three hundred and four days. *Numa* was better acquainted with the celeſtial motions, and therefore, undertaking to reform the kalendar, in the firſt place added the two months of *January* and *February*. To compoſe theſe two months, he added fifty days to the three hundred and four, in order to make them anſwer to the courſe of the moon; he then took ſix more from the ſix months that had even days, adding one odd day more than he ought to have done, merely out of ſuperſtition, to make the number fortunate (N). However, he could get but eight-and twenty for *February*; and therefore that month was always counted unlucky. Beſides this, he obſerved the difference between the ſolar and the lunar courſe to be eleven days; and, to remedy the inequality, he doubled thoſe days after every two years, adding an inſterſtitial month

[n] PLUT. LIV. & DIO. HAL. ibid.
[o] PLUT. in Numa.
[p] Idem ibid.
[q] Idem ibid.
[r] MACROB. ſaturnal. l. i. c. 12.

(N) The pagans look on an even number as the ſymbol of diviſion, becauſe it could be divided into two equal parts; whereas an odd number was, for the contrary reaſon, the ſymbol of concord. This prejudice gave birth to a thouſand ſuperſtitious practices, which, in ſome countries, are ſtill kept up by thoſe whom reaſon and religion ought to have undeceived.

month after *February*, which *Plutarch* calls in one place *Mercidinus* [s], and in another *Mercedonius* [t] (O). As *Numa* was ſenſible, that the ſolar year conſiſted of three hundred ſixty-five days and ſix hours, and that the ſix hours made a whole day in four years, he commanded, that the month *Mercidinus*, after every four years, ſhould conſiſt of twenty-three days; but the care of theſe intercalations being left to the prieſts, they put in or left out the intercalary day and month, as they fancied it lucky or unlucky, and, by that means, created ſuch a confuſion, that the feſtivals and ſolemn days came, in proceſs of time, to be kept at a ſeaſon quite contrary to what they had been formerly [u]. 4

Numa *dies.* *Numa* had now reigned near forty-three years, and was in the eighty-ſecond of his age, when he died of a diſtemper, which gradually wore him away, without impairing the vigor of his mind. During the time of his long reign, peace had ſo ſoftened the warlike temper of the *Romans*, that it might be literally ſaid of them, that their weapons were changed into inſtruments of huſbandry. No inteſtine ſeditions, no ambitious deſigns of the throne, not ſo much as any murmurs againſt the perſon of the king, or his adminiſtration, appeared among them. When he died, he was as ſincerely lamented by the *Romans*, as if every man had loſt his deareſt friend or his own father. Strangers, to whom he was equally dear, upon the news of his death, flocked from all parts to *Rome*, to celebrate his obſequies, bringing along with them perfumes and crowns to be uſed at his funeral. As he had forbid the burning of his body, it was put into a ſtone coffin, and buried, purſuant to his own orders, with the greateſt part of the books he had writ, at the foot of the hill *Janiculus* (P); whither he was carried on the ſhoulders of his ſenators, and followed by all the people, who, with tears and lamentations, bewailed the loſs of ſo good a prince. He left behind him but one daughter, named *Pompilia*, who was married to *Numa Marcius*, by whom ſhe had *Ancus Marcius*, the fourth king of *Rome* [w] (Q).

Tullus Hoſtilius. *Year of the flood* 2333. *Of Chriſt* 666. *Of* Rome 82. THE death of *Numa* was followed by an inter-regnum, which proved very ſhort, *Tullus Hoſtilius* being unanimouſly choſen by the people, and accepted by the ſenate. *Hoſtus*, the grandfather of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, was originally of *Medulia*, a city of *Latium*, but had ſettled at *Rome* about four years after its foundation. There he married the famous *Herſilia*, or, as others will have it, her daughter, and had by her *Hoſtus*

[s] Plut. in Numa. [t] Idem in Jul. Cæſ. [u] Idem ibid. Vide Censorin. de die natali, c. 22.
[w] Plut. Dio. Hal. & Liv. ibid.

(O) *Feſtus* ſpeaks of certain days, which he calls *mercidonii dies*, becauſe they were appointed for the payment of *workmen* and *domeſtics*. Perhaps the intercalary month was for the ſame reaſon called *mercedonius*, from the *Latin* word *merces*, ſignifying *wages*. As for the other months, *January* had its name from *Janus*; *February* was ſo called from the *expiations*, ſignified by the word *februa*, which were performed in this month; *March*, the firſt month of *Romulus*'s year, had its name from *Mars*, his ſuppoſed father; *April*, from *Venus*, called by the *Greeks* Ἀφροδίτη; *May*, from *Maia*, the mother of *Mercury*, according to *Plutarch* (47); tho' *Macrobius* makes the *Maia*, to whom *May* was conſecrated, the ſame with *Rhea*, *Ops*, or *the Earth*, and different from *Mercury*'s mother (48); *Ovid* brings it from the word *majores* or *elders* (49). *June* either comes from *juventus*, becauſe this is the *youthful* and gay part of the year (50); or is a contraction of *Junonius*, and dedicated to the goddeſs *Juno* (51). The other months had their names from their order, as *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *November*, and *December*. Only *Quintilis* and *Sextilis* afterwards changed their names into *July* and *Auguſt*, in honour of *Julius Cæſar* and his ſucceſſor *Auguſtus*.

(P) The books, which he ordered to be buried with him, were dug up again four hundred years after his death, and burnt by a decree of the ſenate. He therein explained his reaſons for the novelties he had introduced into the *Roman* worſhip. We are indebted to *Varro* for this account (52). *One Terentius*, ſays he, *had a piece of ground near the Janiculum; and a huſbandman of his, one day accidentally running his plough over* Numa's *tomb, turned up ſome of the legiſlator's books, wherein he gave his reaſons for eſtabliſhing the religion of the* Romans *on the foot on which he left it. The huſbandman carried the books to the prætor, and the prætor to the ſenate, who, after having read his frivolous reaſons for his religious eſtabliſhments, agreed, that the books ſhould be burnt, according to* Numa's *intentions; and it was accordingly decreed, that the prætor ſhould throw them into the fire.* St. *Auſtin* thinks there were ſome footſteps of magic in theſe books, of which *Numa* had been in his life-time ſuſpected. *Aurelius Victor* aſſures us, that *Numa*'s motives for the religion he eſtabliſhed at *Rome*, were found to be ſo trivial, that the ſenate thought fit to ſuppreſs them.

(Q) Some writers have given *Numa* four ſons, who, they ſay, were afterwards the ſtocks of four illuſtrious families. But the common opinion is, that he had only one daughter, named *Pompilia*; and ſhe is ſaid to have been born to him of a ſecond wife, by name *Lucretia*, whom he married after his election to the crown. *Ancus Martius*, his grandſon, was only five years old when his grandfather died; and therefore paſſed by in the next election, as not being of an age fit to govern.

(47) *Plut. in Numa.* (48) *Macrob. ibid.* (49) *Ovid. faſt. ver.* 41. (50) *Plut. ibid.*
(51) *Macrob. ibid.* (52) *Varro apud S. Auguſt. l.* vii. *de civit. Dei, c.* 24.

Hoſtus Hoſtilius, the father of *Tullus Hoſtillus* (R). *Tullus* began his reign, by diſtributing certain lands, which were the demeſnes of the crown, among ſuch of his ſubjects as had no lands of their own. This act of generoſity immediately gained him the hearts of his people. As he was of a bold and fiery temper, he was more inclined to tread in the ſteps of *Romulus* than of *Numa*; and it was not long before he had a favourable opportunity of ſeconding his martial inclination. *Cælius*, or, as *Livy* ſtyles him, *Cluilius*, who was at the head of affairs in *Alba*, being jealous of the growing greatneſs of *Rome*, privately commiſſioned ſome of the moſt indigent among his ſubjects to lay waſte the *Roman* territory, not doubting, but this would ſoon give occaſion to a war between the two nations: nor was he diſappointed in his expectation; for a *Roman* army, entering the territories of *Alba*, attacked the robbers, ſlew many of them, and took a great number of priſoners. *Cluilius*, having now a plauſible reaſon for engaging his people in a war with the *Romans*, convened an aſſembly; and by exaggerating the loſſes which *Alba* had ſuſtained, brought them to this reſolution, that an embaſſy ſhould be firſt ſent to *Rome*, to demand ſatisfaction; and, in caſe they refuſed it, that war ſhould be declared. When the embaſſadors arrived at *Rome*, *Tullus*, gueſſing at their errand, made uſe of various pretences to defer giving them audience; and, in the mean time, ſent an embaſſy to *Alba*, with orders to require ſatisfaction on the part of *Rome*. A fecialis was at the head of the embaſſadors, who, finding *Cluilius* in the midſt of the public forum, diſcharged his commiſſion, and put him in mind of the ancient treaty between the two nations, whereby it was ſtipulated, that they ſhould never make war upon one another, till a reparation of injuries on either ſide had been previouſly aſked in a friendly manner. To this *Cluilius* anſwered, That he had already ſent embaſſadors to *Tullus*, but to no effect; and therefore declared war againſt him. Hereupon the fecialis, calling the gods to witneſs, that the *Romans* had been firſt refuſed their demands, and that they might therefore declare war without any infraction of the treaty, left *Alba*, and ſet out for *Rome*. Upon the return of the *Roman* embaſſadors, *Tullus* ſent for the *Alban* deputies; and being told by them, that their errand was to demand ſatisfaction of him, and, in caſe of a refuſal, to declare war, the king replied, Go, *tell your maſter, that the king of* Rome *calls the gods to witneſs which of the two nations firſt refuſed the other ſatisfaction, that they may cauſe all the miſeries of this war to fall upon thoſe who firſt broke the treaty.* Thus did *Tullus* reduce to bare appearances that ſincerity, which his predeceſſor had laboured to eſtabliſh in *Rome* [x].

His war with the Albans.

The *Roman* fecialis had allowed *Cluilius* the ſpace of thirty days before hoſtilities were to begin; which was no ſooner elapſed, than both armies took the field. But when they came in ſight of each other, whatever was the cauſe of it, their ardor cooled, neither party caring to come to an engagement. This inaction raiſed great murmurs in the *Alban* army againſt *Cluilius*, as the author of a mock war; inſomuch, that, not being able to bear their reproaches, he reſolved to offer the *Romans* battle, or, if they declined it, to force their intrenchments. But the next morning he was found dead in his tent in the midſt of his guards, without any ſigns of violence; which occaſioned various conjectures, ſome imputing his death to the friends of *Rome*, others to the anger of the gods, who, they ſaid, had thus puniſhed him for beginning an unjuſt and unneceſſary war; but the greater part looked upon it as a common accident, and therefore choſe in his room one *Metius Fuffetius*, or, as others call him, *Suffetius*,

[x] Liv. l. i. c. 22.

(R) *Hoſtus* had ſignalized himſelf under *Romulus* in his wars with the *Sabines* and *Fidenates*. He was the firſt who entered the breach at the taking of *Fidenæ*, and was on that account rewarded by *Romulus* with a *mural* crown. This was the reward beſtowed by generals on the perſon who firſt ſcaled the walls of a beſieged city. In the ſecond battle with the *Sabines*, *Hoſtus* was killed, and his death occaſioned the flight of the *Romans* (53). Nevertheleſs he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf, before the *Roman* army was put to flight, in ſo eminent a manner, that the remembrance of his gallant behaviour was preſerved by an inſcription on a pillar erected on the field of battle (54). As for *Hoſtus Hoſtilius*, the ſon of *Hoſtus* and father of *Tullus*, we find nothing worth mentioning ſaid of him. But *Tullus Hoſtilius* appeared both to the *Roman* people and ſenate to be poſſeſſed of all thoſe qualifications, which could be deſired in a ſucceſſor to *Numa*. What ſome hiſtorians ſay of his education, has no appearance of truth (55), *viz.* that he was brought up in woods, and there kept ſheep, as a common ſhepherd; it being no-ways credible, that one of the firſt and moſt wealthy of the *Roman* citizens ſhould employ his ſon in that mean office.

(53) *Plin. l.* xvi. *c.* 4. (54) *Dio. Hal. l.* iii. *p.* 136. (55) *Val. Max. l.* iii. *c.* 4.

Suffetius, a man no leſs famous for his hatred to the *Roman* name than *Cluilius*. He had been one of the chief promoters of the war; but whether he diſtruſted his own skill in the management of it, or did not care to venture an engagement, he continued, under various pretences, in the ſame inactivity which he had blamed in his predeceſſor. In the mean time, he received certain advice, that the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* were preparing to fall upon both armies, when they ſhould be weakened by a battle. This intelligence ſtill increaſed his delays, and he now thought of nothing but coming to a conference with the king of the *Romans*, and changing the preparations of war into a ſincere reconciliation. With this view he marched out of his intrenchments; and *Tullus*, not doubting but his deſign was to offer him battle, went out to meet him: but he was greatly ſurprized to find, that the *Alban*, inſtead of coming to an engagement, demanded an interview. However, he readily granted him his requeſt, and the two commanders came to a parley at the head of their reſpective armies. After reciprocal ſalutations and proteſtations of friendſhip, as if it had never been interrupted, *Fuffetius* acquainted the *Roman* king with the conſpiracy of the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*, and produced the letters he had received from his friends in *Fidenæ*. *Tullus* acknowledged that he had received the ſame intelligence, which had induced him to keep within his camp, and prevented his undertaking any thing againſt the *Albans*. Both conſented to end the quarrel in an amicable manner, and expreſſed a willingneſs to unite the two nations; but, in order to make the union more durable and perfect, *Tullus* propoſed, that all, or at leaſt the chief, families of *Alba* ſhould remove to *Rome*; or, in caſe they were unwilling to leave their native city, that one common-council ſhould be eſtabliſhed to govern both cities under the direction of one of the two ſovereigns. *Fuffetius* took aſide thoſe who attended him, to conſult with them about this propoſal; but they, though willing to come to an union with the *Romans*, abſolutely refuſed to leave *Alba*; ſo that the only difficulty remaining was, to ſettle which city ſhould have the ſuperiority. *Fuffetius* ſpoke in favour of *Alba*, alledging that ſhe was the metropolis. or mother-city, whereas *Rome* was but a colony. *Tullus* urged in behalf of *Rome* her ſuperiority in wealth and power, and in the cloſe of his ſpeech propoſed to terminate the diſpute by a ſingle combat between himſelf and *Fuffetius*. The *Alban* general, not caring to enter the liſts with *Tullus*, declined this offer, and made a new propoſal, which was, that three champions ſhould be choſen out of each camp to decide the difference; and to this *Tullus* agreed. The agreement was no ſooner known in the two armies, than it excited a ſtrong emulation among the young warriors, for the honour of being choſen to this important combat. But while the choice of the champions was yet in ſuſpence, *Fuffetius* caſt his eyes upon three *Albans*, whoſe birth had ſomething wonderful in it. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*[y] gives us the following account of it: *Sequinius*, an illuſtrious citizen of *Alba*, had two daughters; one he married to *Curiatius*, a citizen of *Alba*, and the other to *Horatius*, a citizen of *Rome*. Theſe two ſiſters were brought to bed on the ſame day, each of three male children, who were now in the flower of their age, and remarkable for their ſtrength and dexterity. The *Alban* general therefore, imagining that the gods had brought them into the world on purpoſe to determine the fate of their reſpective countries with their ſwords, communicated his thoughts to the king of *Rome*, and exhorted him to pitch upon the three *Horatii*, as he had fixed his choice on the three *Curiatii*. *Tullus* accordingly propoſed the matter to the *Horatian* family, but would lay no reſtraint upon them. The three young heroes anſwered, that they could not diſpoſe of their lives without his conſent, from whom they had received them. Old *Horatius*, the father of the three brothers, was under no ſmall apprehenſion of a combat, wherein much of the blood of his family would be ſpilt; and, as an additional matter of concern, one of his daughters was betrothed to one of the *Curiatii*. However, the love of his country getting the better of all other conſiderations, he left his children to their own choice; and when he underſtood that they, following the example of the *Curiatii*, preferred a glorious death, or important victory, to an inglorious life, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and, embracing his children, cried out, *I am a happy father*; and then commanded them to declare his conſent to the king.

The Horatii *and* Curiatii.

The diſpute between Alba *and* Rome *decided by them.*

And now the combat of the *Horatii* and *Curiatii* being proclaimed in both camps, *Tullus* led the former, and *Fuffetius* the latter, the people ſtrewing the way, as they paſſed, with flowers, and putting garlands on their heads; for they were looked upon as

[y] Dio. Hal. l. iii. p. 148.

as victims, which had voluntarily devoted themſelves for their country. A great plain lying between the two camps was choſen for the place of the combat; and the two kings advanced with their champions and feciales to the middle of it; and, before the engagement began, concluded a treaty, which ſerved as a pattern for moſt of the treaties that were ever after made by the *Romans* (S). This done, the *Roman* and *Alban* champions advanced with a ſlow pace, each towards his antagoniſt. But when the people expected to ſee them engage, they quitted their arms, and flew to embrace one another with all the marks of the moſt tender and ſincere friendſhip. At this moving ſight the ſpectators, not able to refrain their tears, began to complain of their kings, for engaging ſo near and affectionate relations to ſhed one another's blood. But the tenderneſs of the young heroes did not abate their courage: Each of them returned to his arms, and choſe his adverſary. The eldeſt of the *Horatii* engaged the eldeſt of the *Curiatii*, and the other two choſe their adverſaries, in the ſame manner, according to their age (T). The noiſe of their arms was already heard at a great diſtance, and the air rung with a confuſed mixture of ſhouts and acclamations from both camps, as either of the combatants appeared to have the advantage. The ſkill and dexterity of the champions kept the victory long in ſuſpenſe. At length the eldeſt of the *Horatii* received a mortal wound, and fell. At this ſight the *Albans* triumphed, and their joyful acclamations threw the *Romans* into the utmoſt conſternation, which was ſoon after changed into deſpair, when they ſaw the ſecond *Horatius*, being run through by another of the *Curiatii*, expire on the body of his brother. But the three *Alban* brothers were all wounded, and the remaining *Horatius* unhurt and vigorous. However, not thinking himſelf a match for the three brothers together, he made uſe of a ſtratagem to ſeparate them: he cunningly retreated, as if he fled; and the *Curiatii* purſuing him, but at unequal diſtances, as their wounds allowed them, the *Roman* champion turning ſhort upon them, ſlew them all, before one could come up to the aſſiſtance of the other; and, big with this victory, ſeized the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed, while

(S) Of this treaty *Livy* gives us the following account: Firſt, one of the college of the feciales, named *Marcus Valerius*, aſked king *Tullus*, *Whether he gave him orders to conclude a peace with the* pater patratus *of the* Albans? The king anſwered, *He did. Give me then*, replied the herald, *the ſign of my commiſſion*: this ſign was to be ſome vervein plucked up by the roots. *Yes*, anſwered the king, *bring me it by the roots. You ſhall bring that is pure.* At theſe words the fecialis went and gathered ſome vervein on a little hill, brought it, and went on thus: *Do you then appoint me to be fecialis and plenipotentiary of* Rome *to the* Albans, *and engage to protect my equipage and retinue?* The king replied, *ſo far as is conſiſtent with my own, and that of the* Roman *people.* Then *Valerius*, the fecialis, appointed *Spurius Fuſius* to be *pater patratus* of the treaty, by crowning him with vervein. His office, as ſuch, was to pronounce aloud the words of the oath in the name of the *Roman* king and people, and to repeat the whole form of the treaty. After this ceremonial, which paſſed only among the *Romans*, the new *pater patratus* read the articles of the convention in the preſence of the gods, and then expreſſed himſelf thus: *Hear, O Jupiter: hear, O* pater patratus *of the* Alban *people*; *hear, O Alban people; of theſe articles, as I have read them out of theſe waxen tablets, without fraud or deceit, and as they have been from one to the other clearly underſtood, the* Roman *people firſt ſhall not violate them. If they ſhould violate them by public authority and by fraud, may* Jupiter *on that day ſtrike them, as I ſhall now ſtrike this ſwine. Strike them to the ground, great* Jupiter, *be as much ſtronger, as thy power is greater.* At which words he killed a ſow, which was to be offered up as a ſacrifice, in confirmation of the treaty, by a blow on the head with a flint. The heralds of the *Albans* ſacrificed the lambs, and alſo offered their ſacrifices.

As to the *pater patratus*, it is not eaſy to determine whether he was a conſtant officer, and chief of the feciales, or only a temporary miniſter elected for the denouncing of war, or making a peace, which were both done by him. *Roſinus* makes him the conſtant governor or head of the feciales (57); *Feneſtella* looks upon him as a diſtinct officer (58). *Pomponius Lætus* (59) and *Polydore Virgil* (60) are of opinion, that he was only choſen by one of the feciales upon ſuch occaſions as we have juſt now mentioned. No perſon was intruſted with this office, but who had a father and a ſon both alive, and therefore *pater patratus* is no more than a more perfect ſort of father, as they imagined him to be, whoſe own father was ſtill living after he himſelf had been a father for ſome time. That a *pater patratus*, that is, one, who had both a father alive, and was himſelf father of children ſtill alive, ſhould be always choſe for the above-mentioned purpoſes, was, according to ſome writers, a political law eſtabliſhed by *Numa*, that king being well apprized, that a man, who had a father and children alive, would be more inclined to be faithful to his country, and promote the common intereſt. Some think that the *pater patratus* was ſo called a *patrando jurejurando*, that is, from *the oath* he was obliged to take to atteſt the juſtice of his demand. *Feſtus* ſays, he was ſo called, becauſe by virtue of his commiſſion he acted as *pater patriæ*, that is, *father of his country*.

(T) *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, by telling us, that the eldeſt of the *Curiatii* choſe out the eldeſt of the *Horatii*, and that the other two choſe their adverſaries according to their age, ſeems to inſinuate, that the two ſiſters had each three children one after another, and at different births; for he plainly ſuppoſes that they were not all of the ſame age. But this difference of age moſt authors explain by the order in which the laws placed twins.

(56) *Liv. l.* i. c. 25. (57) *Roſin. l.* iii. c. 21. (58) *Anſt. de imper. rom. l.* iv. c. 14. (59) *Pomp. Lætus de magiſt. Rom. c.* 6. (60) *Polyd. Virgil. l.* iv. c. 6.

while the *Roman* camp refounded with joyful acclamations in honour of their h ro (U). Thus *Rome* gained the ſuperiority over *Alba*, her mother city, which *Fuffetius* acknowledged on the very field of bat le, ſaluting king *Tullus* as his ſovereign, and aſking him what were his commands? *Tullus* anſwered, *I command you nothing, but to keep the* Alban *youth in a readineſs to march at my orders, in caſe I make war upon the* Veientes [y].

Horatius *kills his own ſiſter.*

As *Horatius* was returning to the city in a ſort of triumph, he was met by his ſiſter, who, in ſeeing him loaded with the ſpoils of the three brothers, among which was a military robe, which ſhe had wrought with her own hands for the *Curiatius*, to whom ſhe had been betrothed, could not forbear tearing her hair, beating her breaſt, and reviling her brother with the moſt provoking and reproachful words, for imbruing his hands in the blood of his relations. Hereupon *Horatius*, flushed with his late victory, and inraged at his ſiſter's unſeaſonable grief, killed her upon the ſpot, and went on ſtrait to his father's houſe, who not only approved of the action, but would not allow his daughter to be buried in the ſepulchre of the *Horatian* family. However, when *Tullus* returned to *Rome*, young *Horatius* was brought by ſome illuſtrious citizens to his tribunal, to take his trial there. They thought it dangerous to abate the rigor of the laws in favour of conquerors; and therefore inſiſted on his being tried and condemned, if found guilty. *Tullus*, being divided between his regard for the laws, and the deſire he had to ſave the young *Horatius*, and foreſeeing he ſhould be cenſured by ſome for condemning, and by others for acquitting, the criminal, cautiouſly turned the affair into a ſtate crime, the cognizance of which did not belong to him, but to two commiſſioners, or *duumviri*, whom the king was to name. As the crime was notorious and not diſowned by the priſoner, the *duumviri*, without delay,

Is condemned by the duumviri, *but tried by the people.*

pronounced ſentence againſt him in theſe words: *We judge you to be guilty of treaſon, go, lictor, and tie his hands.* As ſoon as judgment was given, *Horatius*, by the king's advice, appealed to an aſſembly of the people, by whom the ſentence against the criminal was revoked, rather through admiration of his courage, ſays *Livy*, than for the juſtice of his cauſe. However, that the crime might not go wholly unpunished, *Horatius* was condemned to paſs under the yoke, an ignominy with which it was uſual to treat priſoners of war, who had cowardly ſurrendered their arms. The king alſo appointed expiations to pacify the anger of the gods provoked by this violation of the laws. Nor was this all; the pontifices erected two altars, the one to *Juno*, and the other to *Janus*, which were ſtill remaining in the time of *Auguſtus*, together with the yoke, known by the name of *Sororium Tigillum*, under which they made the criminal paſs [z].

Tullus *makes war upon the* Veientes.

Tullus, mindful of the ſuſpicious behaviour of the *Fidenates*, during his war with the *Albans*, cited them to appear before the ſenate of *Rome*, and anſwer for their conduct. But they, being conſcious of their guilt, and in private intelligence with *Fuffetius*, who had ſtirred them up under-hand in hopes of ſhaking off the *Roman* yoke, refuſed to obey, and, in conjunction with the *Veientes*, took the field. *Fuffetius*, in compliance with *Tullus*'s orders, joined him with the *Alban* troops; but the day before the battle he acquainted his principal officers with his deſign, which was to ſtand neuter, till fortune had declared for one ſide, and then join the conqueror. The project was univerſally approved, and all, who were preſent, bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to conceal his deſign and obey his orders. In the mean time, the armies marched out of their intrenchments, and, while they were in motion, *Fuffetius*, leaving the place he had been poſted in, retired with his men to a riſing ground. *Tullus*, being apprized of his deſertion, in that diſtreſs made privately a vow to add two more prieſts to the college of the *Salii*, and to build a temple to *fear* and *paleneſs*; and then diſſembling his fear, cried out with a loud voice, which was heard both by his own men and by the enemy; *Courage, friends, we have conquered; it is by my order, that the* Albans *are poſſeſſing themſelves of the hill, whence they are to fall down upon the enemy.* The confidence of the king inſpired his troops with courage; and the *Fidenates* and *Veientes*, on the other hand, looking on the inaction of the *Albans* as ſuſpicious, began to diſtruſt them. And thus the diſcouragement one army was under, and the valour of

The treachery of the Albans.

[y] Liv. l. i. c. 25. Dio. Hal. l. iii. p. 156. [z] Liv. & Dio. Hal. ibid.

(U) *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* ſays, that one of the *Curiatii* was killed in the beginning of the combat; ſo that there were but two *Curiatii* left to encounter the *Horatius*, who was conqueror. But all the *Latin* hiſtorians contradict him in this particular, and we have choſe to follow the greater number.

of the other, decided the day. The *Roman* cavalry fell upon the *Fidenates* with great resolution, and obliged them to retire in disorder to *Fidenæ*. *Tullus*, without losing time in pursuing them, returned upon the *Veientes*, who, being disheartened at the defeat of their allies, after a faint resistance betook themselves to flight, and perished for the most part either in the *Tiber*, while they attempted to save themselves by swimming, or on the banks of that river by the swords of the *Romans*, who overtook them [a]. Then *Fuffetius*, coming down from his hill, fell upon the remains of the dispersed *Fidenates* and *Veientes*. But *Tullus*, concealing his knowledge of *Fuffetius*'s treachery, went privately in the night to *Rome* to consult the senate, and returned to the camp by break of day. He then detached *Horatius*, who had conquered the three *Albans*, with a chosen body of horse and foot to demolish *Alba*, as had been concerted with the senate. While these orders were executing, *Tullus* commanded both the *Roman* and *Alban* troops to attend him unarmed; but with private instructions to the *Romans* to bring their swords concealed under their garments. When they were all assembled, he laid open the perfidiousness and treachery of *Fuffetius* in a long speech; and in the conclusion ordered him to be fastened to two chariots drawn by horses, and to be torn asunder. His accomplices were all put to the sword; but the rest of the *Alban* soldiers were carried to *Rome* with the citizens, and the chief men among them were even admitted into the *Roman* senate. Others were promoted to the dignity of knights, and all without exception enjoyed the privileges of *Roman* citizens [b]. Thus fell the city of *Alba*, famous for its riches, the number of its inhabitants, and above all for being the mother of *Rome*. This new increase of inhabitants obliged *Tullus* to enlarge the limits of the city; he took in mount *Cælius*, allowing the *Albans* to settle there, and built on the same hill his own palace. The next spring he marched against the *Fidenates*, defeated them in a pitched battle, and having obliged them to shut themselves within their walls, by cutting off all succours and provisions, reduced them to such straits, that they surrendered at discretion. The ring-leaders of the revolt were punished, but the rest suffered to continue in their native city, under the same form of government, only dependant upon *Rome*. So complete a victory procured him the honours of a triumph, in which the spoils of the conquered enemy were carried before him as trophies.

Alba *demolished and the inhabitants transplanted to* Rome.

Tullus *defeats the* Fidenates.

As the power and wealth of *Rome* were much increased by these repeated victories and the destruction of *Alba*, *Tullus* demanded satisfaction of the *Sabines*, who were a very powerful nation, for the insults which had been formerly offered to some *Roman* citizens at the temple of the goddess *Feronia*, which stood at the foot of mount *Soracte*, upon the banks of the *Tiber*, and was frequented both by the *Sabines* and *Romans* (W). The *Sabines*, having solicited in vain the neighbouring nations to join them, kept themselves for some time on the defensive only. But at length, being provoked by *Tullus*, who laid waste their country, they came to an engagement, which proved so bloody, that both nations, terrified with the numbers of their slain, retired into their respective countries, without attempting any thing more that campaign. The next year the war was renewed with more fury than before. Both armies met in the neighbourhood of *Fidenæ*, a town about thirteen miles from *Rome*, and fought with incredible fury, victory inclining to neither side, till *Tullus*, giving his men new courage, by making a vow to institute on the same day a festival in honour of *Saturn* and *Ops* (X), gained a complete victory. The conquered had no other resource, but to

Gains a compleat victory

[a] Liv. l. i. c. 27. Dio. Hal. l. iii. p. 165. [b] Dio. Hal. p. 171. Liv. ibid.

(W) The goddess *Feronia* presided over forests, gardens, and orchards, and is thought by some to be the same with *Flora* or *Proserpine*. Her temple was frequented by the neighbouring nations, who came to pay their homage, and make offerings to the deity, whom they worshipped in common. A fair was kept annually near her temple, and the preceding year some *Roman* citizens had been on that occasion robbed, and kept in captivity by the *Sabines*, who refused to set them at liberty, when demanded by the country, saying, that the *Romans* had used them in the same manner, by opening an asylum, and peopling *Rome* with their fugitives.

(X) The festivals of *Saturn* and *Ops*, or *Rhea*, were kept in the month of *December*, under the name of *Saturnalia* and *Opalia*, which were, properly speaking, one and the same solemnity, continued for several days together. The festival appropriated to *Saturn* was fixed to the sixteenth of the calends of *January*, and that of *Ops* to the fourteenth. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* ascribes the origin of them to *Tullus Hostilius*'s vow. But *Macrobius* assures us, that they were celebrated in *Italy* long before the building of *Rome* (61). Servants had at this time a right of being served by their masters, wearing their cloaths, and reproving them for their faults. In this sense *Horace* encourages his servant to speak his mind freely, applying himself to him thus.

Ais,

(61) *Macrob. Saturnal. l.* i. *c.* 7.

to implore the clemency of the conqueror; and *Tullus*, whose bare name made them a tremble, granted them a peace upon his own terms [c].

Tullus, flushed with success, summoned all the *Latin* towns, which had been dependent on *Alba*, to submit to the *Roman* laws, and folllow the fortune of their metropolis. Upon this it was resolved in a general assembly of the *Latins* held at *Feronium*, that they should not by any means submit to *Rome*, but to the utmost of their power maintain their ancient independency. Two generals were elected by the assembly, viz. *Ancus Publicius* of *Cora* and *Spurius Vecilius* of *Lavinium*, to whom a full power was granted of declaring war or making peace, as they should think fit. However, the *Romans* did not think it adviseable to make war upon them in a regular manner; they contented themselves with making inroads and incursions, and destroying their harvest. *Medulia* alone, which had received a colony in *Romulus*'s time, and had now joined the *Latins*, was taken, and, as was then thought, put out of a condition of ever taking up arms again [d].

Takes Medulia, *a* Latin *city.*

Some years after, the *Sabines*, thinking themselves in a condition to repair their ancient losses, invaded the *Roman* territories, and, dividing themselves into small parties, over-ran the whole country. As they met with little opposition, they began to entertain thoughts of laying siege to *Rome*. But *Tullus*, marching out against them, defeated them in a pitched battle, and made them once more sensible of the superiority of *Rome*.

Defeats the Sabines *a second time.*

Tullus, being now advanced in years, fell into superstition, and was easily imposed upon by stories of prodigies and voices from heaven. Sometimes they told him, that it had rained stones on the hill of *Alba*, and sometimes that a voice from heaven had been heard there, commanding the *Albans* to resume their ancient ceremonies. The king believed these prodigies, and appointed expiatory sacrifices for nine days, which gave rise to the custom of employing nine days to appease heaven, as often as men were alarmed with prodigies of this kind. As to the manner of his death, authors disagree; some tell us, that he was killed by lightning, with his wife, children, and his whole family (Y); others are of opinion, that he died by the hands of *Ancus Marcius*, his successor, who slew him and his whole family, while they were performing a domestic sacrifice, and then set fire to the palace to conceal his crime. He died after a reign of thirty-three years, leaving the city greatly increased, but the dominions much the same as they had been in the time of *Romulus*. As he was looked upon as a man struck by the gods, we find no mention in history of honours decreed to his ashes, or even of the place of his burial.

His death.

After a short inter-regnum, the people and senate unanimously chose *Ancus* (Z) *Marcius*, the grandson of *Numa*, by his daughter *Pompilia* and *Marcius* his relation, the

[c] Dio. Hal. p. 175. [d] Idem ibid.

Age, libertate Decembri,
Quando ita majores voluerunt, utere: narra (62).

This, according to some, was done in memory of the liberty enjoyed in the golden age, before the names of servant and master were known. Besides, friends at this time sent presents to one another: no war was to be proclaimed, and no offender executed. One day only was kept at first, the fourteenth of the calends of *January*; but the number was afterwards increased to three, four, five, and, some say, to seven days (63).

(Y) He is said by some to have studied magic, and to have hid himself in a private place to perform a magical sacrifice; but that, omitting some part of the necessary ceremonies, he so incensed the god, to whom he was sacrificing, that the inraged divinity set his palace on fire by lightning, and destroyed his wife and children in the flames (64).

(Z) Every *Roman* had, generally speaking, three and sometimes four, names: the first was called *prænomen*, the second *nomen*, the third *cognomen*, and the fourth *agnomen*. The *nomen* shewed the family, from which he was sprung; the *prænomen* and *cognomen* were often nick-names, taken from the circumstances of the person's birth, or his defects, or bodily qualities; and the *agnomen* was a title of honour; as *Africanus*, *Germanicus*, &c. Thus the prince of the *Roman* orators was called *Marcus Tullius Cicero*. The prænomen *Marcus* signified that he was born in the month of *March*; his *nomen*, or name *Tullius*, was that of his family, and his *cognomen*, or surname *Cicero*, alluded to *the mark or wart* he had in his face, which was like a vetch, called by the *Latins cicer*. *Valerius* tells us, that *Marcius* had the name of *Ancus* from the *Greek* word ἀγκων, because he had *a crooked arm*, which he could not stretch out to its full length. We must observe here, that the *ingenui* alone, or those, who were free-born, were allowed to take three names. Hence *Juvenal*,

Si quid tentaveris unquam
Hiscere, tanquam habeas tria nomina, &c. (65).

For the slaves in ancient times had no name, but what they borrowed from the *prænomen* of their masters; as *Lucipor*, *Publipor*, *Marcipor*, that is

(62) *Horat. l.* ii. *satir.* 7.
(63) *Lipsius saturnal. l.* i. *c.* 3.
(64) *Dio. Hal. p.* 1-5
(65) *Juvenal. sat.* 5. *v.* 126.

the ſon of that *Marcius*, who perſuaded *Numa* to accept of the kingdom, and afterwards killed himſelf, becauſe he was choſe in his room. The new king began his reign, by endeavouring to reſtore the religious ceremonies, which had been neglected in the laſt reign, to their former uſe, and to revive huſbandry, adviſing his ſubjects to lay aſide all ſorts of violence, and to return to their peaceable employments. Notwithſtanding this ſeeming inclination to peace, *Ancus* in his heart loved war, and was deſirous of the honours of a triumph. However, the love he affected for the arts of peace, gained him the affections of his ſubjects; but at the ſame time drew upon him the contempt of the neighbouring nations. The *Latins* were the firſt, who made him give way to his martial inclination. Theſe, pretending that their treaty with the *Romans* was no longer binding, than while king *Tullus* lived, made inroads into the territories of *Rome*. *Ancus* therefore reſolved to be revenged on them; but, out of reſpect to the laws of *Numa*, omitted no ceremony in declaring war, which that law-giver had appointed (A). He then took the field with an army conſiſting intirely of new-raiſed troops, marched to *Politorium* (B) a *Latin* city, and made himſelf maſter of the place before the *Latins* could relieve it. He ſpared the city, and only tranſplanted the inhabitants to *Rome*, ſettling them with thoſe of *Tillena* and *Ficana*, two other cities of *Latium*, which he likewiſe took, on the hill *Aventinus*. The next year he retook *Politorium*, which the *Latins* had repeopled, and upon this ſecond reduction demoliſhed it intirely. He then laid ſiege to *Medulia*, a place of great ſtrength, which he took, after having led his troops four years ſucceſſively againſt it. He likewiſe made himſelf maſter of *Ficana*, deſtroying it with fire and ſword. This city he had taken in the beginning of the war; but, having neglected to demoliſh it, the *Latins* had poſſeſſed themſelves of it, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he reduced it the ſecond time. The *Latins*, inraged, but not diſcouraged, at their loſſes, made great preparations, and took the field, with all the forces they could draw together. But *Ancus*, having defeated them in a pitched battle, obliged them to ſue for a peace, and triumphed at *Rome* for the advantages he had gained over them. The *Fidenates*, *Veientes*, and *Volſci*, felt likewiſe the effects of his martial diſpoſition. The *Fidenates* had revolted during the *Latin* war; and it was no ſooner ended, than *Ancus* marched againſt them, and took their city by ſap; this being the firſt inſtance we meet with in the *Roman* hiſtory of that kind of attack. The king dug a way under-ground from his

Ancus Martius. *Year of the flood* 2366. *Before Chriſt* 633. *Of* Rome 115.

His war with the Latins.

And the Fidenates, Sabines, Veientes, *and* Volſci.

Lucii puer, *Publii puer*, &c. or the *ſlave* of *Lucius*, of *Publius*, &c. When this cuſtom grew out of faſhion, the ſlaves were uſually called by ſome name of their own, which was often taken from their country, as *Syrus*, *Geta*, &c. Upon their manumiſſion they took the *prænomen* and *nomen* of their maſters; but inſtead of the *cognomen* made uſe of their former name, as *Marcus Tullius Tiro*, the *freedman* of *Cicero*. After the ſame manner it was cuſtomary for any foreigner, who had been made free of *Rome*, to bear the *prænomen* and *nomen* of the perſon by whoſe means he had obtained that privilege.

(A) The ceremonies were as follow: A fecialis was ſent to the *Latins*, to demand ſatisfaction; he no ſooner arrived on their borders, but he cried out, *Great* Jupiter, *and ye confines of the* Latin *nation, hearken to juſtice. I come hither with a deputation from the* Roman *people in all the legal forms; and I demand that credit be given to what I ſay.* After this formal declaration, he laid open his demands; and then, calling *Jupiter* to witneſs the truth of what he ſaid, he purſued thus: *If I have unjuſtly and impiouſly made theſe demands, may'ſt thou, great god, never ſuffer me to return to my own country.* He repeated theſe words at his entering the *Latin* territory; then to the firſt perſon he met; afterwards at the gate of the city; and laſtly, in the market-place. If in about thirty days his demands were not ſatisfied, he added to what he had ſaid before; O Jupiter, Juno, *thou* Romulus, *and all ye gods of heaven, of earth, and of hell, hearken; I call you all to witneſs, that the* Latins *are unjuſt. We will therefore enter into deliberations at* Rome *on the proper means of obliging them to give us juſt ſatisfaction.* No ſooner was the fecialis returned, but the king referred the affair to the ſenate, addreſſing himſelf, according to the form preſcribed by *Numa*, to each particular ſenator in theſe words: *Say, what think you of the refuſal, which the* pater patratus *and the whole nation of the* Latins *have given the* pater patratus *of the* Romans, *of reſtoring and granting us what we demanded of them?* To which each ſenator gave this anſwer: *Let us again demand our rights by a juſt and lawful war. This is the opinion, for which I declare.* When the greater part of the ſenators had thus declared their opinion, the war was conſidered as unanimouſly agreed on. Then the fecialis went to the confines of the enemy's country, carrying in his hand a javelin, which was dipped in blood, and either headed with iron, or burnt at the end. When he arrived on the territories of the *Latins*, he pronounced the following form of words in the preſence of at leaſt three perſons, not under fourteen years of age: *On account of the damages which the* Latin *nation has done the* Roman *people, and in obedience to a decree made by the ſenate and people of* Rome, *importing that war be declared againſt the* Latins; *I and the* Roman *people declare it, and begin it.* At theſe words he threw a dart upon the enemy's lands (66). 'Tis to be obſerved here, that at this time no uſe was made of the king's name or authority; he never being mentioned, but only the ſenate and people.

(B) It is not eaſy to aſcertain the true ſituation of *Politorium*, *Tillena*, and *Ficana*. All we know of them is, that they were all three *Latin* cities, at a ſmall diſtance from each other, not far from the mouth of the *Tiber*.

(66) *Liv. l.* i. *c.* 32.

his camp quite under the walls of *Fidenæ*; and his men, having by that means got into the city without being obſerved, opened the gates to their companions, and put *Ancus* in poſſeſſion of the place, in which he left a ſtrong gariſon, after having cauſed thoſe to be put to death, who had been moſt active in the revolt. He next marched againſt the *Sabines*, who had renewed their hoſtilities, defeated their united forces, and granted them a peace upon honourable terms. Over the *Veientes* he obtained two complete victories, for which a triumph was decreed him by the ſenate [e].

The Janiculum *taken in.*

Rome was greatly inlarged in this king's reign; for he not only carried the walls round the *Aventine* hill, but alſo incloſed the hill *Janiculum*, which ſtood on the other ſide of the *Tiber*, and made it a ſort of citadel for *Rome*. In order to open a communication between the city and the new citadel, he built the bridge *Sublicius* (C) over the *Tiber*, where it waſhes the foot of the *Aventine* hill. He likewiſe made a large ditch, called *Foſſa Quiritium*, which was no ſmall defence againſt thoſe who came from the plains. And now, the city having received a vaſt increaſe, *Ancus*, to ſuppreſs the licentiouſneſs of ſuch multitudes of people, built a large priſon in the *Roman* forum. But he did not content himſelf with inlarging the city; he likewiſe extended its dominions; for having taken from the *Veientes* the *Meſian* foreſt, the territories of *Rome* reached quite to the ſea, where he built the port and city of *Oſtia* to ſecure the advantages of trade to his ſubjects. About this town he cauſed many ſalt-pits to be dug; and the diſtribution of ſalt, which he made among his ſubjects at this time, gave riſe to thoſe public liberalities, called *congiaria*, from the word *congius*, a meaſure uſed among the ancient *Romans*. He rebuilt the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius* after a more ſtately and magnificent manner, and ſpent the latter years of his reign in improving the city and inriching the citizens. He died after a reign of twenty-four years; during which he ſhewed himſelf no-ways inferior to any of his predeceſſors in the arts either of peace or war. *Plutarch* ſays, he died a violent death, but is therein contradicted by moſt of the ancients. *Ancus* left two ſons behind him, one an infant, the other near fifteen years of age, both under the tuition of *Tarquin*, not ſuſpecting that a ſtranger, who had lately ſettled at *Rome*, could gain the ſuffrages of the people in competition with his ſon, and place the crown on his own head.

Oſtia *built.*

Ancus *dies.*

An account of Tarquin's *family.*

Tarquinius was the ſon of a rich merchant of *Corinth*, who, to ſecure his great wealth from the rapines of *Cypſelus*, the tyrant of that place, had left his native country, and ſettled in *Tarquinii*, one of the moſt famous cities of *Hetruria*. There he married a woman of diſtinction, and had by her two ſons, to whom he gave *Hetrurian* names, calling the one *Arunx*, and the other *Leucumo*. *Arunx*, who was the eldeſt, died before his father; and though he left his wife with child, yet his father, not knowing it and dying ſoon after, left his whole eſtate to *Leucumo*, his ſecond ſon. So that the poſthumous ſon of *Arunx* was diſinherited before he was born; and therefore took the name of *Egerius* from *egere*, *to want*. *Leucumo*, being now in poſſeſſion of his father's immenſe riches, aſpired to the higheſt dignities in *Tarquinii*, his wife *Tanaquil*, who was of a noble extraction, ſtirring up his ambition. But, being looked upon in *Hetruria* as a ſtranger, he was debarred from riſing to any conſiderable poſt in the country where he dwelt. Rouzed therefore by the reproaches of the aſpiring *Tanaquil*, he reſolved to remove to *Rome*, where two *Sabines* had been raiſed to the throne, and where perſonal merit was the ſureſt and only means of arriving at the firſt dignities of the ſtate (D). He was no ſooner admitted citizen of *Rome*, but he endeavoured to appear intirely *Roman*, changing the prænomen of *Leucumo* into *Lucius*, and the Nomen,

[e] Dio. Hal. l. iii. p. 172. Liv. ibid.

(C) Some writers derive the name *Sublicius* from *the piles* on which it ſtood, that being the import of the *Latin* word *Sublica*; others from the ancient word *licio*, which ſignifies *to join*. Neither iron nor copper were made uſe of in building this bridge; both being equally prohibited, if we believe *Plutarch*, by an ancient oracle. The care of keeping it in good repair belonged firſt to the pontifices, and afterwards to the quæſtors. It was the firſt bridge that was built over the *Tiber*, and perhaps in *Italy*.

(D) The ſucceſs which attended the new-comers, gave riſe to the following fable; *viz.* that as *Tarquin* was on the road with his wife in an open chariot, an eagle, appearing over his head at the foot of the *janiculum*, ſnatched off his hat, and, ſoaring up again, was loſt for ſome time among the clouds; but at length came down again with great rapidity, and left the hat on *Leucumo*'s head. Hereupon *Tanaquil*, who is ſaid to have been ſkilled in the art of augury, embracing her huſband with tenderneſs, in a tranſport of joy, explained to him the happy preſage of his future grandeur (67).

(67) *Liv. ubi ſupra.*

a Nomen, or name, *Damaratus*, which ſavoured too much of the *Greek*, into *Tarquinius*, borrowed from *Tarquinii*, where he had been brought up. As for the cognomen of *Priſcus*, or *Old*, it was not probably given him till after his death, when it was uſed to diſtinguiſh him from the other *Tarquin*. The polite and engaging behaviour of the *Greek*, now become a *Roman*, ſoon gained him the favour of the people, and made him known in the court of *Ancus*, into whoſe favour he artfully inſinuated himſelf; and leſt his immenſe riches ſhould create ſuſpicions, in a city which was yet poor, he offered to depoſit them in the public treaſury to ſupply the wants of the public. As he was well appriſed that military exploits were a ſure ſtep to great honours, he not only contributed to the expences of the war out of his eſtate, but in all expedi-
b tions diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner. In the war with the *Latins* he fought on foot, and againſt the *Veientes* ſignalized himſelf at the head of the *Roman* cavalry; ſo that the king, in conſideration of his gallant behaviour, raiſed him to the rank of a patrician and ſenator. As he was no leſs prudent in council, than formidable in arms, he ſhone in the ſenate from his firſt admiſſion into it; and his advice was always followed by the king in military expeditions [f].

Tarquin, looking upon the death of *Ancus* as a critical time to attempt mounting the throne, brought on the election with the utmoſt expedition, and cauſed the curiæ to be ſummoned before young *Marcius* was quite fifteen. For the greater precaution, he took care to keep his pupil out of the ſight of the people during the comitia; and for
t that purpoſe ſent him into the country on a hunting match. In the mean time, he carried on his intrigues, and gained ſome by money, others by promiſes. He was the firſt who introduced into *Rome* the cuſtom of ſoliciting for offices, and making intereſt to obtain them, the *Romans* having till his time concealed from the world the deſire they had of obtaining the higheſt poſts. But the *Greek*, who was above theſe timorous ſcruples, plainly begged the kingdom in an harangue, which he made to the people, urging the example of *Tatius* and *Numa*, the firſt an enemy as well as a ſtranger, and the ſecond wholly unacquainted with the city; whereas he was not only a friend to the *Romans*, but had ſpent all his riches among them, and was ſo well acquainted with the laws and cuſtoms of *Rome*, that the late king had employed him in affairs both
d civil and military of the greateſt conſequence. Then he cunningly inſinuated his paſt ſervices, and as the people had a high opinion of his merit, they commanded him, for that was the term then uſed, to take upon him the management of public affairs. In the beginning of his reign, to ſtrengthen his party in the ſenate, and reward thoſe who had ſhewn moſt zeal in his election, he created an hundred new ſenators, who were called *Senatores Minorum gentium*, becauſe choſen out of the plebeian families. However, they had the ſame authority in the ſenate as the other ſenators, and their children were deemed patricians.

Tarquin elected king. *Year after the flood* 2390. *Before Chriſt* 609. *Of* Rome 139.

His firſt war was with the *Latins*, from whom he took the cities of *Apiolæ*, *Cruſtuminum*, *Nomentum*, and *Collatia*. The inhabitants of *Apiolæ* were ſold for ſlaves;
e but thoſe of *Cruſtuminum* and *Nomentum*, having ſubmitted after their revolt, were treated with great clemency. *Collatia*, which was more obſtinate, met with a more ſevere treatment: the inhabitants were diſarmed, and obliged to pay a large ſum of money. As for the city, he thought he might diſpoſe of it as he pleaſed, and therefore gave the ſovereignty of it to *Egerius*, his brother *Arunx*'s ſon, who from thence took the name of *Collatinus*, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity. *Corniculum* was likewiſe beſieged, taken by ſtorm, and reduced to aſhes. *Tarquin*'s progreſs alarmed the other cities of *Latium*; ſeveral of them united their forces againſt the common enemy, but they were defeated in a bloody battle near *Fidenæ*, and obliged to enter into an alliance with the conqueror. Hereupon a national aſſembly of all the *Latins* being held at *Ferentinum*, it was reſolved, that they ſhould employ all their ſtrength to oppoſe the torrent that threatened them. Purſuant to this reſolution, they drew together what forces they could, and, having engaged all *Sabinia* and great part of *Hetruria*, to join them, took the field with a very numerous army. But *Tarquin*, having defeated the confederate armies in two actions, forced thoſe *Latin* cities which had refuſed his alliance, to ſue for it, and ſubmit to a ſort of dependence upon *Rome* [g]. *Tarquin*, on his return to *Rome*, was honoured with a triumph. The ſpoils he had taken in the conquered cities of *Latium*, eſpecially in *Apiolæ*, he employed in building

His war with the Latins.

[f] Dio. Hal. l. iii. p. 184, 185.

[g] Dio. Hal. l. iii. p. 188, 189, 190.

The Circus Maximus *built.*

in a circus for the *Roman games*, otherwiſe called *the great games* (E). The place choſe for the circus was the *Myrtian* or *Murtian* valley, which reached from the *Aventine* to the *Palatine* hill (F).

Tarquin *ſubdues the twelve leucumonies of* Hetruria.

The war with the *Latins* was ſcarce ended, when all *Hetruria* combined againſt *Tarquin*, on account of his detaining the embaſſadors, whom they had ſent to demand back ſome priſoners of theirs. It was even decreed in a general aſſembly of the twelve leucumonies, that if any city of *Hetruria* ſtood neuter, it ſhould be for ever cut off from the general alliance. Having by this means raiſed a conſiderable army, they took the field, ravaged the *Roman* territory, and made themſelves maſters of *Fidenæ* by the treachery of ſome of the inhabitants. The king did not appear the firſt year in the field, but quietly ſuffered them to go on without oppoſition, chuſing rather to let them triumph for a time, than to encounter them without the neceſſary preparations. The next year he armed all his legions, and, having applied to his allies for ſuccours, took the field early in the ſpring, and divided his army into two bodies. The *Romans* he commanded himſelf, and placed his couſin *Collatinus* at the head of the allies. *Collatinus* was defeated, while, preſuming too much on his ſtrength, he divided his army to plunder the enemy's country. But the king with his *Romans* made a more fortunate campaign, having routed the *Hetrurians* firſt near *Veii*, and afterwards under the walls of *Cære*. As *Fidenæ* was a key to the *Roman* dominions, *Tarquin* marched againſt it with all his forces, put the *Hetrurian* army, that covered it, to the rout, and made himſelf maſter of that important place. Such of the *Fidenates*, as were ſuſpected to have been concerned in betraying it to the enemy, were whipped to death, and the reſt ſent into baniſhment, and their lands divided by lot among the *Roman* ſoldiers. Then *Tarquin* haſtened to fall upon the *Hetrurians* once more, before the whole ſtrength of the new army they were raiſing could be got together. He came up with them near *Eretum*, ten miles from *Rome*, and overthrew them with great ſlaughter;

(E) As *Tarquin* was of a *Greek* family, he was the firſt who thought of building a circus at *Rome* in imitation of the chief cities of *Greece*. For the firſt circus we read of was built at *Elis*, where the *olympic* games were celebrated, and ſerved as a pattern for all the reſt. *Livy* aſſures us, that the *Roman* games were alſo called *the great games*, but we muſt not infer from thence, that all the ſports, which were celebrated in the circus, and called *Circenſes*, were *the great games*. Some were celebrated in the circus in honour of *Ceres*, *Apollo*, &c. which were different from the *Roman* or *great games*; as were alſo the *Megarenſes*. For the former were celebrated before the nones of *April*, and the latter on the eve of the nones of *September*. Beſides, *the great games* were celebrated in honour of *the great gods*; whence they were called *the great games*; and the latter in honour of *Cybele*. Laſtly, *the great games* were inſtituted by *Tarquinius Priſcus*, and the *Megalenſes* not till the time of *Junius Brutus*, who appointed them in honour of *Cybele*, then called μεγαλησια, or *the great goddeſs*. As to the name of circus, which was given to the magnificent ſtructure raiſed by *Tarquin*, ſome derive it from the word *circulus*, *a circle*, part of it being built in that ſhape. Others will have it to have been ſo named, becauſe the chariots, that diſputed the prize, were obliged to run ſeven times *round* the poſts, which were at each end of it. The poets mention only ſeven rounds, without expreſsly ſaying, whether they were about ſeveral poſts, or one only. But *Caſſiodorus* tells us in expreſs words, that it was neceſſary to turn round ſeven different poſts. However, it is generally thought, that there was but one poſt, round which the charioteers were obliged to drive ſeven times. From this *turning round* ſome derive the word *circus*. But *Tertullian* (68) pretends, that the *Roman* circus took its name from *Circe*, the fabulous daughter of the ſun, and imagines, that ſhe was the firſt who invented the *Circenſian* ſports, intending by them to repreſent the courſe of the ſun her father, running round the globe of the earth in a chariot drawn by four horſes.

The circus had four fronts; one at the bottom, where the poſts ſtood; one at the oppoſite end, where the chariots ſtarted, and one at each ſide, whence the ſpectators beheld the ſhews. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* tells us, that this circus was three ſtades and a half long, and four *jugera* broad, and that one hundred and fifty thouſand men could ſit in it at their eaſe. *Pliny* (69) tells us, that the *Roman* ſtadium contained ſix hundred twenty-five *Roman* feet, each of which contained twelve inches, or ſixteen fingers breadths; ſo that the circus, as it was, according to the above-mentioned writer, three ſtadia and a half long, muſt have been two thouſand one hundred and eighty-ſeven *Roman* feet in length. As it was four *jugera* broad, each of which contained, according to *Pliny*, two hundred and forty *Roman* feet, it is from thence manifeſt, that the circus was nine hundred ſixty *Roman* feet broad, and conſequently above twice as long as it was wide. So that the length of the circus was ſomewhat more than three *Engliſh* furlongs. It was called *the great circus*, either on account of its vaſt circumference, or becauſe *the great games* were celebrated in it, or, perhaps, becauſe it was conſecrated to *the great gods*, viz. to *Vertumnus*, *Neptune*, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Minerva*, and eſpecially to the *Dii Penates* of *Rome*, which were in a ſpecial manner called *the great gods*. This circus was extremely beautified and adorned by the *Roman* emperors, in whoſe times it was inlarged to ſuch a prodigious extent, that it contained in their days ſeats two hundred and fifty thouſand ſpectators (70).

(F) This valley was ſo called, according to ſome, from a temple erected to a goddeſs of that name at the foot of the *Aventine* hill. Others ſtyle it *Myrtea* from a temple built in that place to *Venus*, ſurnamed *Myrtea*, becauſe *the myrtle* was conſecrated to her.

(68) *Tertull. de ſpectac.* (69) *Plin. l.* i. *c.* 5. (70) *Plin. l.* xxxiv.

a laughter; for which victory the ſenate decreed him a triumph [h]. And now the Ieucumonies, deſpairing of any future ſucceſs againſt the *Romans*, ſent deputies to the king, with an unlimited commiſſion to conclude a peace upon any terms whatſoever. As *Tarquin* was naturally inclined to clemency, and followed that inclination when he found it no-ways prejudicial to his ambition, he granted them a peace without inſiſting upon any other condition than their owning his ſovereignty over them. The *Hetrurians* readily agreed to this, and, in proof of their accepting the king of *Rome* for their ſovereign, ſent him all the enſigns of royalty, which were in uſe among them, *viz.* a crown of gold, a throne of ivory, a ſceptre with an eagle on the top of it, a tunic embroidered with gold and adorned with figures of palm-branches (G), and b a purple robe inriched with flowers of ſeveral colours. However, *Tarquin* deferred wearing theſe ſtately ornaments, till ſuch time as the people and ſenate had conſented to it by an expreſs law. He then applied theſe regalia to the decoration of his triumph, and never after laid them aſide. In his triumph he appeared in a gilt chariot drawn by four horſes, cloathed in a purple robe and a tunic embroidered with gold, attended by twelve lictors, with their axes and faſces, with a crown on his head, and a ſceptre in his hand. Thus ended the war with the *Hetrurians*, after it had laſted nine years. *His triumph.*

Tarquin having now an interval of reſt from his wars, applied all his thoughts to the beautifying, cleanſing, and fortifying of the city. He built the walls of *Rome* c with hewn ſtone, and thoſe famous common-ſewers, which have been ſince looked upon as one of the wonders of the world (H). He likewiſe adorned the *forum*, ſurrounding *Applies himſelf to the beautifying of* Rome

[h] Idem, p. 192.

(G) This the *Latins* called *Tunica Palmata*, which we ought to diſtinguiſh from the *Tunica Picta*. The former was not, properly ſpeaking, a long hanging robe, but rather a veſt, which was partly hid under the robe. It had at firſt no ſleeves, and afterwards but very ſhort ones. As all the *Romans* wore tunics, they ſhewed the difference of their rank by that of their tunics. Some ſewed upon theirs purple flowers, which were ſtuck on like the heads of nails; and hence came the word *Laticlavium*. Only the chief magiſtrates, ſenators, and generals of the army, were allowed to wear theſe. The inferior magiſtrates, the *Roman* knights, and ſome other officers in the army, wore indeed tunics with purple flowers; but theſe flowers were ſmaller than the others; and from hence comes the name of *Anguſticlavium*. Thoſe who triumphed, inſtead of embroidered flowers, were purple palm-branches upon their tunics or *tunicæ palmatæ*. As to the *Toga picta*, ſome think it was a robe common among the *Romans*, only of a purple colour: and as to the robe in general, it was nothing but a very long mantle hanging in great folds quite down to the ground, which they put upon their right ſhoulders, throwing one lappet of it over the left. The robes of the ſenators were adorned with great purple flowers, as well as their tunics; and thoſe of the knights with ſmaller. The robes of thoſe who triumphed were probably adorned with palm-branches, as well as their tunics. At leaſt, it is certain, they were made of rich ſtuffs, and were called *togæ pictæ*. Two perſons only had ever the privilege of wearing them out of a triumph, viz. *Paulus Æmilius* and *Pompey*.

We have followed here the moſt common opinion with relation to the *Laticlavium* and *Anguſticlavium*, about which critics are ſtrangely divided. Some are of opinion, that the *clavi* were a kind of *flowers* interwoven in the cloth; others will have them to be *the buttons* or *claſps* by which the tunic was held together. A third ſort pretend, that the *Laticlavium* was nothing but a tunic *bordered* with purple. Scaliger thinks the *clavi* did not belong to the veſt, but hung down from the neck, like *chains* or ornaments of that nature. *Rubenius* endeavours to reconcile all theſe conjectures, and to prove that the *clavi* were no more than purple *lines* or *ſtreaks* in the middle of the garment. According to that author they did not receive the name of *clavi*, as an immediate alluſion to *the heads of nails*, to which, he ſays, they bore no reſemblance, but were ſo called from their being of a different *colour* from the reſt of the garment. For the *Romans*, ſays that writer, uſed to inlay their cups, and other precious utenſils, with *ſtuds* of gold, or other ornamental materials. Theſe, from their likeneſs to nail-heads, they called in general *clavi*. So that it was very natural to bring the ſame word to ſignify theſe *lines* of purple, or other colours, which were different from all the reſt of the garment, as thoſe *clavi* were of a different colour and figure from the veſſels, which they adorned. A modern critic, of no mean character (71), tells us, that the *clavi* were nothing elſe but purple *galoons*, with which they bordered the fore-part of the tunic on both ſides in the place where it came together. *The broad galoons*, ſays he, made the *Laticlavium*, and *the narrow* the *Anguſticlavium*. As to the name of *clavi*, he thinks the ancients gave that name to any thing that was made with a deſign to be put upon another.

(H) *Pliny*, who did not examine them till near eight hundred years after they were built, could not ſpeak of them without admiration (72). *Rome* contained at that time four hills within its compaſs, *viz.* the *Palatinus*, *Tarpeius*, *Quirinalis*, and *Cælius*. In the vallies between theſe hills the rain-water and ſprings uniting, formed great pools, which laid under water the ſtreets and public places. The mud likewiſe made the way impaſſable, infected the air, and rendered the city unhealthy. This prompted *Tarquin* to undertake the cleanſing the city from its filth, by conveying off the waters through ſubterraneous canals into the *Tiber*. He made all the arches of theſe common-ſewers of hard ſtone, and ſpared neither expence nor labour to make the work durable. Their height and breadth were ſo conſiderable, that a cart loaded with hay could eaſily paſs through them under-ground. But what moſt increaſed the difficulty of the work, was the conveying of the waters, which through theſe ſewers were to carry off the filth, into the *Tiber*. It was neceſ-

ſary

(71) *Dacier. in Horat. l.* ii. *ſat.* 5.

(72) *Plin l.* xxxiii. *c.* 15.

rounding it with galleries, in which were shops for tradesmen, and building tem[illegible] in it with schools for the youth of both sexes, and halls for the administration [illegible] public justice.

His war with the Sabines.

The king had scarce ended these works, when he engaged in a war with the Sa[illegible]*bines*, under pretence that they had assisted the *Hetrurians*. Both armies took the field, and came to an engagement on the confines of *Sabinia*, which lasted the whole day without any considerable advantage on either side; insomuch, that the generals, standing in awe of each other, re ired to their respective camps, and soon after returned home, without attempting any thing else that campaign. *Tarquin* employed the winter in making the necessary preparations against the next year. He considered, that he had been often prevented from pursuing the advantages of a victory for want of horse. For though the infantry was very numerous, the cavalry continued on the same foot, on which *Romulus* had left it. He therefore resolved to add some new bodies of knights to those of the first institution. In any state less superstitious than that of the *Romans*, this design would have been put in execution without any dispute. But in *Rome* the innovation, which *Tarquin* had a mind to introduce, met with great opposition. As the first division of the horse into three bodies had been determined by auguries, *Attius*

The adventure of Nævius *the augur.*

Nævius, the most famous augur of that time, obstinately withstood the king's will, and took upon him the defence of *Romulus*'s institution. *Tarquin* could not persuade himself, that the augur was serious in his opposition; and therefore commanded him to be brought into his presence, fully resolved to confound and discredit the diviner in the art, which superstition maintained to the diminution of the royal authority. As soon as *Nævius* appeared before *Tarquin*, in the midst of the forum, and in the sight of all the people; *Canst thou discover by thy art, diviner*, said the king, *whether what I am thinking of can be done, or not? Go and consult thy birds.* The augur did as he was ordered, and returning quickly, answered with great composure; *Yes*, Tarquin, *my art tells me, that what you are thinking of may be done.* Upon this the king, pulling out a razor from under his robe, and taking a flint in his hand, replied with a contemptuous smile; *I was thinking whether it was possible to cut this flint with this razor. I have taken thee in thy own craft; the introducing of the gods into thy decisions is all cheat and imposture. If thou canst perform what is impossible, do.* At these words the people burst out a laughing. But *Nævius*, without discovering the least surprise, addressed the king with an air of assurance, and said, *Put the razor to the flint, and try; I readily submit to any punishment, if you don't do what you thought on.* The king did as he was directed, and saw, to his great surprize, the flint give way to the edge of the razor, which cut through it with so much ease, that it reached the king's hand, and drew blood from it [i]. *Livy* says, that *Nævius* took the flint into his own hand, and cut it in *Tarquin*'s presence [k]. Be that as it will, the people testified their surprise by loud acclamations; and *Tarquin*, turning his contempt for augury into admiration, laid aside his project of increasing the number of the corps of horse, and contented himself with augmenting the number of the knights of each corps, making the *Roman* cavalry amount in all to eighteen hundred men. From this time no determination was made, either in the camp or city, without the approbation of the augurs. As for *Nævius*, *Tarquin* erected a statue of brass to his memory in the comitium, which continued there till *Augustus*'s time. The razor and flint, which were kept as monuments of the miracle, were buried near it, under an altar, at which witnesses were afterwards sworn in civil causes. This event, though related with so many circumstances, attested by all the writers of the *Roman* history, and adopted by some of the fathers of the church, who impute it to magic, is without all doubt a mere fabulous invention, and was looked upon as such by *Tully*, who, though himself an augur, writes of it thus: *Look with contempt* (he speaks to his brother *Quintus*) *on the rod and flint of the famous* Attius; *when we reason as philosophers, we ought to lay no stress upon fables* [l].

Tarquin *renews the war with the* Sabines.

Tarquin early in the spring took the field against the *Sabines*, who, having received considerable reinforcements from *Hetruria*, were beforehand with him, and had [illegible] camp

[i] Dio. Hal. p. 203. [k] Liv. l. i. c. 36. [l] Cic. l. i. de divin.

sary to cut through hills and under the city through rocks, which were large enough for a navigable stream and covered with arches strong enough to bear the weight of houses, which were often built upon them, and stood as firm as on the most solid foundations. The expence of this great work was so well understood, as when it came to be [illegible] For the censors gave no less than a thousand [illegible] to the person who undertook the cleansing of

camped near the conflux of the *Anio* and the *Tiber*. The *Hetrurians* were posted on the bank of the *Tiber*, and the *Sabines* over-against them on the other. The confederate armies had a communication by a bridge of boats; and this *Tarquin*, who had encamped on a hill near the banks of the *Anio*, found means to set on fire, by sending down the river flat-bottom'd boats, loaded with dry wood, sulphur, and rosin. The enemy hastened to extinguish the flame, leaving, as is very frequent on such unforeseen and sudden accidents, their camp unguarded. Then *Tarquin*, laying hold of this opportunity, attacked, and made himself master of it; while a detachment, which he had sent out, having passed the *Tiber* in the night, came and fell suddenly on the camp of the *Hetrurians*. The enemy being thus attacked on both sides, betook themselves to flight, and in that confusion perished, some by the flames, some by the sword, and others by leaping into the river. By this means the arms of the enemy, which came floating down the stream, brought the news of the victory to *Rome* before the arrival of the couriers dispatched by the king. After this victory, *Tarquin*, without allowing the enemy any respite, entered the territory of the *Sabines*; who, having with incredible expedition drawn together another army, faced him a second time; but, being once more routed with great slaughter, they had at last recourse to the clemency of the conqueror, and sued for peace; but *Tarquin* did not think fit to grant them more than a truce, which was no sooner expired, than they passed the *Anio*, and made incursions on the *Roman* lands. Hereupon *Tarquin*, leaving the city, fell upon the free-booters, and having taken their booty from them, encamped with the few forces he had then with him over-against the enemy, while the rest of the army hastened after him. The *Sabines*, whose courage was not in the least abated by their former misfortunes, did not fail to offer him battle; and the king, as soon as he was joined by the forces he expected, accepted the challenge. As the *Sabines* were no-ways inferior to the *Romans*, either in numbers or bravery, the victory continued doubtful, till a body of horse, which *Tarquin* had detached before the battle, having taken a great compass, fell unexpectedly on the enemy's rear in the heat of the action. Then the *Sabines*, seized with a sudden panic, betook themselves to a disorderly flight. Few of them reached the neighbouring cities, their retreat being cut off on one side by the main body of the *Roman* army, and on the other by the detachment of horse. Those who escaped the swords of the conquerors, fled to their camp, which, though well fortified, was attacked and taken, almost without resistance, by the *Romans*. Thus ended this campaign. The next year, the *Sabines*, having chosen a more experienced commander, appeared early in the field, but declined a battle. *Tarquin*, not thinking it safe to attack the enemy's camp, surrounded it on all sides; and, by cutting off their communication with the neighbouring country, reduced the *Sabines* to the utmost extremity. The *Romans* looked upon them as a sure prey; but the *Sabine* general, taking advantage of a dark and stormy night, marched his army out of his intrenchments, and, without being observed, got out of the enemy's reach, leaving only in the camp some wounded men and a few cattle [m]; and thus the campaign ended.

THE next year, the *Romans* and *Sabines* appeared anew in the field, as soon as the season was fit for acting, and having incamped over-against each other, the two generals agreed to put the whole to the issue of a battle. As *Tarquin* had divided his army, which was very numerous, into three bodies, he commanded the *Romans* himself, put his nephew *Brutus* at the head of the *Hetrurians*, and gave the command of the *Latins* and other allies to *Servius Tullius*, a foreigner, who from a slave was become a *Roman* citizen. The two armies engaged with the utmost fury, and fought the whole day with equal intrepidity and resolution; but in the end the *Romans* gained the victory, after *Tarquin* had inspired his men with fresh courage, by making a vow to build a magnificent temple in honour of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*. The *Sabines* being routed and dispersed, *Tarquin* entered their country, which now lay open to him; and having plundered their lands and open places, returned to *Rome*, loaded with booty and crowned with fresh glory. During the winter he made the necessary preparations for the besieging of their fortified places, which was to be the work of the next campaign. But, in the mean time, the *Sabines*, despairing of success, humbled themselves so far as to send deputies to *Tarquin*, offering to put him in possession of all their strong-holds upon honourable conditions. The king treated them as *The* Sabines *subdued.*

[m] Idem, p. 197.

as favourably as he had done the *Hetrurians*, delivered up to them their prisoners without ranſom, and, having taken poſſeſſion of their country, returned to *Rome*, and entered the city in triumph [n].

Tarquin, being now advanced in years, thought only of enjoying the ſweets of repoſe after his great labours and continual victories. However, mindful of the vow he had made to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, he levelled the top of the hill *Tarpeius*, marked out the plan of the temple, and laid the foundations of that glorious ſtructure, which afterwards became the principal place of the *Roman* worſhip. And now the celebrated *Nævius* appeared again upon the ſtage. This augur, being conſulted about what part of *Rome Jupiter* would like beſt, declared for the hill *Tarpeius*, formerly *Saturnius*. But when they came to conſecrate the area, a difficulty aroſe about removing the gods, who had already altars on the hill, without giving them offence. By the help of augury all theſe gods were conſulted, and found willing to be removed, except the god *Terminus* and the goddeſs *Youth*, who inſiſted upon not being diſplaced, and were conſequently incloſed within the walls of the temple, which was afterwards conſecrated to *Jupiter*, his wife *Juno*, and his daughter *Minerva*. Not long after *Nævius* diſappeared; and as the manner as well as the author of his death were utterly unknown, the ſons of *Ancus Martius* endeavoured to fix the calumny on the king, and by that means ſtir up the people againſt him. But their accuſation being found groundleſs, the ſons of *Ancus* were deteſted for having calumniated their king, and delivered up to him by the incenſed multitude. *Tarquin*, who was naturally inclined to mercy, pardoned them, in conſideration of the favours he had received from their father. Motives of religion prompted him to be more ſevere on a proſtitute veſtal, by name *Pinaria*, whom he condemned to be buried alive. As this is the firſt inſtance we meet with of this kind of puniſhment, *Tarquin* is thought to have been the author of it. It was ever after inflicted on ſuch of thoſe prieſteſſes as diſhonoured their conſecration. However, the king did not ſhew leſs eſteem to the college of the veſtals, but on the contrary added two to their number, and increaſed it to ſix [o].

The temple of Jupiter, *&c. on the capitol.*

The ſons of Ancus *conſpire the death of* Tarquin.

As *Tarquin* was now about eighty years of age and drew near his end, the ambition of the ſons of *Ancus* grew daily more active. They had not forgot the art, by which *Tarquin* had ſecured to himſelf their father's kingdom, and had long watched an opportunity of ſeizing it for themſelves. But finding it impoſſible to put their deſign in execution, they lived quietly under the government of *Tarquin*, till ſuch time as he began to take proper meaſures for the continuing of the crown in his family, by marrying one of his daughters to *Servius Tullius*. Then they ſet no bounds to their reſentment, but reſolved to put the king to death, before the intereſt of his ſon-in-law was well eſtabliſhed among the people. The method they took for the execution of their deſign was this: They hired two young men, who, dreſſing themſelves like peaſants, with hatchets on their ſhoulders, as if they were wood-cleavers, began a feigned quarrel near the king's palace. Many of the conſpirators crouded about them under pretence of putting an end to the diſpute, which ſtill continued, till they got to the gate of the palace. Then they called out on the king for juſtice, and were brought before him by the officers of the court. At firſt they began to bawl and rail at each other, till they were reſtrained by a lictor, and ordered to ſpeak by turns. Then one of them began to tell his ſtory, and while the king was wholly intent on what he ſaid, the other gave him a great blow on the head with his hatchet, and, leaving his weapon in the wound, fled with his companion out of the palace. But while ſome of the king's attendants haſtened to his aſſiſtance, others, purſuing the aſſaſſins, ſeized them. When they were put to the torture, they confeſſed that they had been employed by the ſons of *Ancus*. Queen *Tanaquil*, who had courage and wiſdom above her ſex, did not loſe her preſence of mind even at the ſight of her dying huſband. She immediately commanded the palace to be cleared of the croud, and gave ſtrict orders, that no perſon whatſoever ſhould be admitted within the gates. Then ſhutting herſelf up in the apartment of the expiring king, with her ſon-in-law *Servius Tullius*, his wife, and *Ocriſia* his mother, ſhe encouraged *Servius* to aſcend the throne. She then opened the window which looked into the ſtreet, where this ſudden accident had brought the people together; and, with an air of aſſurance, told them, that the wound was not deep; that the king was ſtunned with the ſudden blow, but was come to himſelf again, and hoped to have the pleaſure of ſeeing his people again very ſoon; but

He is aſſaſſinated in his own palace.

[n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem, p. 204.

a but, in the mean time, ordered them to obey *Servius Tullius*, who would administer affairs to them, till the king was perfectly recovered. This wise dissimulation of *Tanaquil* had all the success she could expect from it. The sons of *Tarquin*, believing that the king was still alive, went of their own accord into banishment; so that the conspiracy, which perhaps would have succeeded, had the people seen *Tarquin* dead, was quite defeated, upon their believing that he was still alive. The second day after the murder of *Tarquin*, *Servius Tullius* heard causes from the throne in the royal robes, and attended by the lictors. But as he pretended only to supply the king's place, when any difficult case occurred, he promised to report it to the king. As he thought it incumbent upon him to inquire into the wicked attempt upon the king, and revenge b it, he cited the sons of *Ancus* to appear before his tribunal; and upon their non-appearance caused them to be declared infamous, and their estates to be confiscated. After he had thus managed affairs for some time, and by his prudent administration gained the hearts of the people, the death of *Tarquin* was published, as a thing recent, with great lamentations in the palace; and *Servius*, after having performed his obsequies with great pomp, appeared in publick with a strong guard and all the marks of royalty, without waiting for the election either of the senate or people [p]. *Livy* indeed tells us, that he took possession of the kingdom with the consent of the senators. But as he was not duly elected, the people looked upon him rather as governor, than king, of *Rome* [q].

Queen Tanaquil's stratagem to secure the kingdom to her son-in-law.

c THE most probable account authors give of the birth and education of *Servius Tullius* is, as follows: He was the son of *Ocrisia*, a native of *Corniculum*, who was made captive by the *Romans* at the taking of that place. But who his father was, is uncertain. *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* tells us, that one *Tullius* an officer of royal extraction, who was killed in the defence of his country, was the husband of *Ocrisia*, whom he left with child at his death. *Tarquin* made a present of this beautiful captive to his queen *Tanaquil*, who, being apprised of her extraction and taken with her polite behaviour, restored her to her antient freedom. But as her son was born while she was still in a state of slavery, the name of *Servius* was added to that of *Tullius*, which he received from his father. This is *Dionysius*'s account [r]. But *Plutarch* pre-d tends, that *Ocrisia* was very young when she was carried into captivity, and that she was afterwards married to one of *Tarquin*'s clients, by whom she had *Servius* [s]. Some have given this prince a divine origin, and made him the son of *Vulcan*, or at least of the *Lar*, or houshold god, of *Tarquin*'s palace. Perhaps by the god of the royal palace they meant *Tarquin* himself. But however that be, it is certain, that *Tarquin* shewed all the tenderness of a father for *Servius*, and took particular care of his education. *Tanaquil*, who was no less fond of him than her husband, in order to gain him the greater veneration and esteem among the people, with what political e view is not known, spread the following report, which the credulous people believed; viz. that a sudden flame, in form of a crown, surrounded the head of *Servius*, while he was a child and asleep in her apartment [t]. However, notwithstanding the great favour shewn him by the king and queen, it was chiefly by an uniform and wise conduct, that he raised himself to the throne. He distinguished himself in the army by his gallant behaviour; and his extraordinary abilities in council so gained him the esteem and affection of the people, that he was unanimously raised to the rank of a patrician and a place in the senate. The king then married him to an illustrious *Roman* lady, by name *Gegania*; and upon her death, as his merit and fame daily increased, *Tarquin* thought it no dishonour to his family to give him his daughter *Tarquinia* in marriage. From this time the court set no bounds to the favours they bestowed upon him. The king reposed an intire confidence in him, trusting him with the management both of his domestic concerns and the affairs of the public; in which latter he acquitted himself so well, that the people were no less satisfied with his conduct, than with the king's; and this, upon the death of his father-in-law, paved him the way to the throne.

Servius Tullius. *Year after the flood* 2427. *Before Christ* 552. *Of Rome* 176. *His birth and education.*

As *Servius*, notwithstanding his superior merit, looked upon himself as chiefly indebted to *Fortune* for his grandeur, he erected an incredible number of temples and altars to her under the names of *Fortuna Primigenia*, *Fortuna Obsequens*, *Fortuna Privata*, *Fortuna Virgo*, *Fortuna Virilis*, &c. As he proposed *Numa* for his pattern, and designed to establish as much order in the civil, as that wise prince had done

The honours he pays to the goddess Fortune.

[p] Idem ibid. [q] LIV. l. i. [r] DIO. HAL. l. iv. p. 206. [s] PLUT. de fort. Rom. [t] LIV. l. i. c. 39.

done in the religious, polity of *Rome*, to gain himself respect from the people, he pretended to have a private correspondence with the goddess *Fortuna*, as *Numa* had had with *Egeria* [u]. However, the beginning of his reign was not without disturbances and dissensions. The sons of *Ancus Marcius* had a strong party among the patricians, who thought it beneath them to be governed by a man born in slavery. Besides, it had been hitherto customary in *Rome* not to proceed to the election of a king, till after an inter-regnum; and this order, established ever since *Romulus*'s time, *Servius* had broken through, taking the power into his own hands, without the order or consent of the people. Complaints of this nature were at first dropped, as it were accidentally, in private assemblies; but at last brought on an almost general conspiracy. The senators agreed among themselves to force the new king, the first time they assembled, to lay down his authority, to establish an inter-regnum, and then to proceed to the free election of another king. *Servius*, in this emergency, made it his study to gain the people, and make use of them against the senate. As he was therefore a man of great eloquence, instead of calling the senate together, he assembled the people, and placing one of the two grandsons of the late king on each side of him, made an artful and moving speech to the multitude, intreating them to be joint guardians with him of the off-spring of a prince, whose memory ought to be dear to them, and promising to protect the people against the patricians, to pay all their debts, and to divide the lands taken from the enemy among them. Nor were his promises empty words; a few days after he commanded all those who were in debt, to send him an account of their debts and the names of their creditors; and opening compting-houses in the forum, paid there all the debtors bills with his own money. Nor was this all; he published an edict, commanding all those who had usurped lands belonging to the public, to quit them at an appointed time, and ordered the *Roman* citizens, who had no lands of their own, to petition for them. In short, he revived many of the laws of *Romulus* and *Numa*, which disuse had abolished, and made several new ones in favour of the common people, who were in many things put upon an equality with the senators and patricians [w].

He defeats the Hetrurians.

Though *Servius* was naturally more inclined to works of peace than to military exploits, yet he found himself obliged to imbarque in a long war with the *Veientes* and the rest of the *Hetrurians*, who had shaken off the yoke, pretending, *that their obligations to be subject to* Rome, *were dead with* Tarquin, *who had subjected them.* But *Servius*, taking the field, soon subdued them anew, and depriving them of their lands, transferred the property of them to such of the new citizens of *Rome* as had yet no lands of their own. For this victory he obtained by the favour of the people, in spite of the senate, the honours of a triumph, and entered *Rome* with all the pomp, which *Tarquin* had introduced in such public shews [x].

Servius, now finding the people intirely attached to his interest, resolved to take advantage of their present favour, to render his title to the throne less disputable. Accordingly, he assembled the citizens, and in a moving speech, which drew tears from their eyes, complained of a design formed by the patricians to take away his life, and to bring back the sons of *Ancus*; and this for no other reason, but because he was too kind to the common people. In the close of his speech, he left the kingdom to their disposal, begging them to determine between him and his pupils on one side, and their competitors on the other. He had no sooner ended his speech, than he came down hastily from the tribunal, in order to leave the assembly; but they even used violence to stop him, intreating him to be their king, and incouraging him not to fear the plots of his enemies. Then some whom the king had dispersed among the multitude for that purpose, cried with a loud voice, *Let the curiæ be assembled without delay, that we may elect* Servius *to be our king*. In the mean time, the prince, though at the bottom of the whole intrigue, affected to act only in compliance with the inclination of the people. *I am glad*, said he, *to find you have gratitude for the good offices I have done you. You may*, continued he, with an air of indifference, *do just as you please.* Accordingly, a day was appointed, and *Servius* elected by the curiæ by a greater unanimity than any of his predecessors [y]. However, as the senate, whose faction was formidable, could never be brought to confirm the election, *Servius* deliberated with himself, whether he should not renounce the dignity conferred on him by the people. But having imparted his uneasiness and perplexity to *Tanaquil*, she removed

He is legally elected by the curiæ.

[u] Plut. de fort. Rom. [w] Idem, p. 213. [x] Fast. Capit. & Dio. Hal. p. 216. [y] Liv. l. i. c. 46. Dio. Hal. l. iv. p. 218.

removed his apprehenſions, and even prevailed upon him to take an oath, whereby he engaged never to reſign the crown. This great queen died ſoon after, and *Servius* omitted nothing that could contribute towards tranſmitting the remembrance of her noble actions to poſterity. To immortalize her domeſtic virtues, the true glory of a woman, he hung up her diſtaff in the temple of *Hercules* [z].

Servius ſoon after his election marched againſt the rebellious *Hetrurians*, reduced them, and was on that account honoured with a ſecond triumph. After this victory he applied all his thoughts to the adorning and inlarging of the city. To the hills *Palatinus*, *Tarpeius*, *Quirinalis*, *Cælius*, *Aventinus*, he added the *Eſquilinus* and *Viminalis*, incloſing them within the limits of the city, and fixing his own palace on the *Eſquilinus*, in order to draw inhabitants thither. He likewiſe added a fourth tribe to the three originally eſtabliſhed by *Romulus*, calling it *Tribus Eſquilina*. The public impoſts and taxes were raiſed by laying a certain ſum on every *tribe*, and hence the public ſubſidies were called *tributes*; and thoſe who commanded the tribes in war, were from them named *tribunes*, though that name was afterwards given to ſeveral ſorts of magiſtrates. The law which obliged each inhabitant to continue in the tribe in which he was born, eſtabliſhed great regularity in levying both the militia and the taxes. *Servius* made likewiſe a law, that a piece of money ſhould be paid upon every death, into the temple of the goddeſs *Libitina*, who preſided over funerals; another into the temple of *Juno Lucina*, upon every birth; and another into the temple of *Youth*, as ſoon as any perſon was paſt the ſtate of childhood. By this means the number of *Roman* citizens were known, eſpecially of ſuch as were able to bear arms. No regard had hitherto been had at *Rome* to ſlaves; but *Servius*, perhaps to do honour to his firſt condition, extended his care even to them, ordering little wooden oratories to be erected in all the croſs-ways of the ſeveral quarters of the city; theſe he conſecrated to the *Dii Compitales*, or *gods of the croſs-ways*, and appointed ſlaves only to be prieſts of theſe gods, who had their particular feſtival, on which maſters gave their ſlaves reſt from all labour, and by this act of humanity gained their good-will.

He inlarges Rome.

Adds a fourth tribe to the three old ones.

Inſtitutes the Compitalia.

THAT an equal order might be eſtabliſhed in the country, as well as in the city, the king divided the whole *Roman* territory into diſtinct tribes, commanding, that there ſhould be at leaſt one place of refuge in each tribe, ſituated on a riſing ground, and ſtrong enough to ſecure the effects of the peaſants, in caſe of a ſudden alarm. Theſe ſtrong-holds he called *Pagi*, that is, *villages*, and commanded that each of them ſhould have their peculiar temple, tutelary god, and magiſtrates. Each of them had likewiſe their particular feſtival, called *paganalia*, when every perſon was to pay, into the hands of thoſe who preſided at the ſacrifices, a piece of money, the men of one kind, the women of another, and the children of a third. By this means an exact computation was made of the men, women, and children in each tribe [d].

Divides the Romans *into tribes.*

IN the mean time his two wards, *Lucius Tarquinius* and *Aruns*, the grandchildren of *Tarquin* being grown up, in order to ſecure their fidelity, he married them to his two daughters. And though the elder of theſe daughters, who was of a mild and tractable diſpoſition, reſembled in character the younger of his pupils, as the elder of his pupils did the younger of his daughters, who was of a violent and vicious temper, yet he thought it adviſeable to give his elder daughter to *Tarquin*, and the younger to *Aruns*; for by that means he matched them according to their ages, and at the ſame time hoped, that the elder *Tullia*'s ſweet diſpoſition would temper *Tarquin*'s impetuoſity, and the younger *Tullia*'s vivacity rouſe the indolence of *Aruns* [e].

Marries his two daughters to the grandſons of the late king.

DURING the public rejoicing for this double marriage, the twelve leucumonies of *Hetruria*, uniting their forces, attempted to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke; but were in ſeveral battles defeated by *Servius*, and obliged to ſubmit to him on the ſame conditions, on which they had ſubmitted to his predeceſſor. For this ſucceſs *Servius* was honoured with a third triumph [f].

THE king, being thus diſengaged from a troubleſome war, returned to the purſuit of his political ſchemes, and put in execution that maſter-piece of policy, which *Rome* made uſe of ever after, and which eſtabliſhed a perpetual order and regularity in all the members of the ſtate, with reſpect to wars, to the public revenues, and the ſuffrages of the comitia. The public ſupplies had hitherto been raiſed upon the people at ſo much a head, without any diſtinction of rich and poor. Whence it likewiſe followed,

[z] PLIN. l. iii. c. 7. [a] DIO. HAL. p. 220. [b] Idem ibid. LIV. ubi ſupra. [c] FAST. CAPIT.

lowed, that when levies were made for the war, the rich and poor were equally obliged to take the field, according to the order of their tribe; and as they all ſerved at their own expence, the poorer ſort could, with much ado, bear the charges of a campaign. Beſides, as the moſt indigent of the people ſaw themſelves burned with the ſame taxes as the rich, they pretended to an equal authority in the comitia: ſo that the election of kings and magiſtrates, the making of peace or war, the judging of criminals, were given up into the hands of a populace, who were eaſily corrupted, and had nothing to loſe. *Servius* formed a project to remedy theſe evils, and put it in execution, by enacting a law, injoining all the *Roman* citizens to bring in an account in writing of their own names and ages, and of thoſe of their fathers, wives, and children. By the ſame law all heads of families were commanded to deliver in upon oath a juſt eſtimate of their effects, and to add to it the places of their abode, whether in town or country. Whoever did not bring in an account of his effects, was to be deprived of his eſtate, to be beat with rods, and publickly ſold for a ſlave. *Servius* from theſe particular accounts, which might be pretty well relied on, undertook to eaſe the poor by burdening the rich, and at the ſame time to pleaſe the latter by encreaſing their power.

Devides the Roman *citizens into ſix claſſes, and theſe into centuries.*

To this end he divided the *Roman* people into ſix claſſes: the firſt claſs conſiſted of thoſe, whoſe eſtates and effects amounted to the value of ten thouſand drachmæ, or an hundred thouſand aſſes of braſs; the firſt way of computing being uſed by the *Greeks*, and the latter by the *Latins*. This claſs was ſubdivided into fourſcore centuries, or companies of foot. To theſe *Servius* joined eighteen centuries of *Roman* knights, who fought on horſeback, and appointed, that this conſiderable body of horſemen ſhould be at the head of the firſt claſs; becauſe the eſtates of theſe knights, without all doubt, exceeded the ſum neceſſary to be admitted into it. However, the public ſupplied them with horſes, for which a tax was laid upon widows, who were exempt from all other tributes. This firſt claſs including infantry and cavalry, conſiſted of ninety-eight centuries. The ſecond claſs comprehended thoſe, whoſe eſtates were valued at ſeven thouſand five hundred drachmæ, or ſeventy-five thouſand aſſes of braſs. It was ſubdivided into twenty centuries, all foot. To theſe were added two centuries of carpenters, ſmiths, and other artificers. In the third claſs were thoſe, who were eſteemed worth five thouſand drachmæ, or fifty thouſand aſſes. This claſs was ſubdivided into twenty centuries. The fourth claſs was of thoſe whoſe effects were rated at the value of five hundred drachmæ, or twenty-five thouſand aſſes, and was divided into twenty centuries; to which were added two other centuries of trumpeters and blowers of the horn, who ſupplied the whole army with this martial muſic. The fifth claſs included thoſe only, whoſe whole ſubſtance did not amount to more than twelve hundred and fifty drachmæ, or twelve thouſand five hundred aſſes; and this claſs was divided into thirty centuries. The ſixth claſs comprehended all thoſe, who were not worth ſo much as thoſe of the fifth claſs. They exceeded in number any other claſs, but nevertheleſs were reckoned but as one century [d].

The wiſe king drew from theſe regulations all the advantages he had expected. Levies for the army were no longer raiſed by tribes, nor were taxes laid at ſo much a head, as formerly; but all was levied by centuries. When, for inſtance, an army of twenty thouſand men, or a large ſupply of money, was wanted for the war, each century furniſhed its quota both of men and money; ſo that the firſt claſs, which contained more centuries, though fewer men, than all the other together, furniſhed more men and more money for the public ſervice, than the whole *Roman* ſtate beſides. And by this means the *Roman* armies conſiſted, for the moſt part, of the rich citizens of *Rome*, who, as they had lands and effects to defend, fought with more reſolution, while their riches enabled them to bear the expence of a campaign. As it was but juſt the king ſhould make the firſt claſs amends for the weight laid on it, he gave it almoſt the whole authority in public affairs, changing the comitia by curiæ, in which every man gave his vote, into comitia by centuries, in which the majority was not reckoned by ſingle perſons, but by centuries, how few ſoever there might be in a century. Hence the firſt claſs, which contained more centuries than the other five taken together, had every thing at its diſpoſal. The votes of this claſs were firſt taken; and if the ninety-eight centuries happened to agree, or only ninety-ſeven of them, the affair was

[d] Dio. Hal. l. iv. p. 223. Liv. l. i. c. 43. Aul. Gell. l. xvi.

a was determined, becauſe theſe made the majority of the hundred and ninety-three centuries, which compoſed the ſix claſſes. If they diſagreed, then the ſecond, the third, and the other claſſes in their order, were called to vote; though there was very ſeldom any occaſion to go ſo low as the fourth claſs for a majority of votes. So that, by this good order, *Servius* brought the affairs of the public to be determined by the judgment of the moſt conſiderable citizens, who underſtood the public intereſt, much better than the blind multitude, liable to be impoſed upon, and eaſily corrupted.

The cenſus and luſtrum.

And now the ſtate being thus divided into different orders, according to the cenſus or valuation of their eſtates, *Servius* reſolved to ſolemnize this prudent regulation by b ſome public act of religion, that it might be the more reſpected and the more laſting. Accordingly, all the citizens were commanded to appear, on a day appointed, in the *campus Martius*, which was a large plain, lying between the city and the *Tiber*, formerly conſecrated by *Romulus* to the god *Mars*. Here the centuries being drawn up in battalia, a ſolemn luſtration, or expiatory ſacrifice, was performed in the name of all the people. The ſacrifice conſiſted of *a ſow*, *a ſheep*, and *a bull*, whence it took the name of *Suovetaurilia*. The whole ceremony was called *luſtrum*, *à luendo*, that is, from *paying*, *expiating*, *clearing*, or perhaps from the goddeſs *Lua* (I), who preſided over expiations, and to whom *Servius* had dedicated a temple. This wiſe king, conſidering that in the ſpace of five years there might be ſuch alterations in the fortunes of private perſons, as to intitle ſome to be raiſed to a higher claſs, and reduce c others to a lower, enjoined, that the cenſus ſhould be renewed every five years. As the cenſus was uſually cloſed by the luſtrum, the *Romans* henceforth began to compute time by luſtrums, each luſtrum containing the ſpace of five years. However, the luſtrums were not always regularly obſerved, but often put off, though the cenſus had been made in the fifth year. Some writers are of opinion, that *Servius* at this time coined the firſt money which had ever appeared at *Rome*, and add, that the circumſtances of the luſtrum probably led him to ſtamp the figures of the animals there d ſlain on pieces of braſs of a certain weight. It is paſt all doubt, that money was called *pecunia*, from the word *pecus*, which ſignifies *cattle*, a name which continued to be given to all coins, when the impreſſions on them were changed into more noble figures [e].

He gives the freedmen the privilege of Roman *citizens.*

The government of the city being thus eſtabliſhed in ſo regular a manner, *Servius*, remembering his former ſervile condition, and touched with compaſſion on thoſe, whom the misfortunes of an unſucceſsful war had reduced to ſlavery, thought, that ſuch of them as had by long and faithful ſervices deſerved and obtained their freedom, were much more worthy of being made *Roman* citizens, than untractable vagabonds from foreign countries, who were admitted without diſtinction. He therefore gave the freedmen their choice, either to return to their own country, or continue at *Rome*. Thoſe who choſe to continue there, he divided into four tribes, and ſettled them e within the city; and though they were diſtinguiſhed from the *Plebeians* by their old name of *liberti*, or *freed-men*, yet they enjoyed all the privileges of free citizens. The ſenate took offence at the regard which the king ſhewed to ſuch mean people, who had but lately ſhaken off their fetters; but *Servius*, by a moſt humane and judicious diſcourſe, intirely appeaſed the fathers, who paſſed his inſtitution into a law, which ſubſiſted ever after.

Reforms the royal power.

The wiſe king, having thus eſtabliſhed order among the people, undertook at laſt to reform the royal power itſelf, his equity, which was the main ſpring of all his reſolutions, leading him to act contrary to his own intereſt, and to ſacrifice one half of the royal authority to the public good. His predeceſſors had reſerved to themſelves f the cognizance of all cauſes both public and private; but *Servius*, finding the duties of his office too much for one man to diſcharge well, committed the cognizance

[e] Dio. Hal. & Liv. ibid.

(I) The name of this goddeſs was loſt through the ignorance of editors; but brought to light again by *Juſtus Lipſius* in his commentaries on *Tacitus*. For that ancient writer tells us, that *Servius Tullius* conſecrated an altar to the goddeſs *Lua*. But the editors, not knowing who this goddeſs was, changed the word *Lua* into *Luna*, as if *Servius* had dedicated an altar to *the moon*. *Lipſius* corrects this miſtake, and ſhews that *Lua* was the goddeſs, to whom the ſacrifice of the luſtrum was offered. As ſhe was the goddeſs of expiations, the luſtrum probably took its name from her, as ſhe did hers from the word *luo*, which ſignifies *to pay*, becauſe on that day every one paid his quota of the tax laid on his century.

zance of ordinary ſuits to the ſenate, and reſerved that only of ſtate-crimes to himſelf. a

Secures the fidelity and friendſhip of the Latins *and* Sabines.

All things being now regulated at home, both in the city and country, *Servius* turned his thoughts abroad, and formed a ſcheme for attaching the *Sabines* and *Latins* to the *Romans* by ſuch ſocial ties, as ſhould be ſtrengthened by religion. He ſummoned the *Latin* and *Sabine* cities to ſend their deputies to *Rome*, to conſult about an affair of great importance. When they were come, he propoſed to them the building of a temple in honour of *Diana*, where the *Latins* and *Sabines* ſhould meet once a year, and join with the *Romans* in offering ſacrifices to that goddeſs; that this feſtival ſhould be followed by a council, in which all diſputes between the cities ſhould be amicably determined; that there proper meaſures ſhould be taken to purſue their b common intereſt; and laſtly, that, in order to draw the common people thither, a fair ſhould be kept, at which every one might furniſh himſelf with what he wanted. The king's deſign met with no oppoſition. The deputies only added to it, that the temple ſhould be an inviolable aſylum for the united nations, and that all the cities ſhould contribute towards the expence of building it. It being left to the king to chuſe a proper place for it, he pitched upon the *Aventine* hill, where the temple was built, and aſſemblies annually held in it. The laws which were to be obſerved in theſe general meetings were engraved on a pillar of braſs, and ſtill to be ſeen in *Auguſtus*'s time, in the *Latin* tongue, but in *Greek* characters[f].

The wicked intrigues of Tarquin *and the younger* Tullia.

But now *Servius* was grown old, and the ambition of *Tarquin*, his ſon-in-law, c revived in proportion, as the king advanced in years. His wife uſed her utmoſt endeavours to check the raſhneſs and fury of her huſband, and to divert him from all criminal enterprizes; while her younger ſiſter, a domeſtic fury, was ever inſtigating *Aruns*, who placed all his happineſs in a private life, to the moſt villainous attempts. She was continually lamenting her fate in being tied to ſuch an indolent huſband, and wiſhing ſhe had either continued unmarried, or were become a widow. Similitude of temper and manners formed by degrees a great intimacy between her and *Tarquin*. At length ſhe propoſed to him nothing leſs than the murdering of her father, ſiſter, and huſband, that they two might meet and aſcend the throne together. Soon after they paved their way to an inceſtuous marriage, he by poiſoning his wife, and ſhe her huſband, and d then had the aſſurance to aſk the king's and queen's conſent to their marriage. *Servius* and *Tarquinia*, though they did not give it, were ſilent, through too much indulgence for a daughter, in whom now was their only hope of poſterity. But theſe criminal nuptials were only the firſt ſtep towards a yet greater iniquity. The wicked ambition of the new-married couple firſt ſhewed itſelf againſt the king; for they publicly declared, that the crown belonged to them; that *Servius* was an uſurper, who, being appointed tutor to *Tarquin*'s grand-children, had deprived his pupils of their inheritance; that it was high time for an old man, who was but little able to ſupport the weight of public affairs, to give place to a prince, who was of a mature age, *&c.* The patricians, whom *Servius* had taken great pleaſure in humbling during the whole e time of his reign, were eaſily gained over to *Tarquin's* party; and by the help of money many of the poorer citizens were alſo brought over to his intereſt. The king, being informed of their treaſonable practices, endeavoured to diſſuade his daughter and ſon-in-law from ſuch proceedings, which might end in their ruin, and exhorted them to wait for the kingdom till his death. But they, deſpiſing his counſels and paternal admonitions, reſolved to lay their claim before the ſenate, which *Servius* was obliged to ſummon; ſo that the affair came to a formal proceſs. *Tarquin* reproached his father-in-law with having aſcended the throne without a previous inter-regnum, and with having bought the votes of the people, and deſpiſed the ſuffrages of the ſenate. He then urged his own right of inheritance to the crown and injuſtice of *Servius*, who, being only his guardian, had kept poſſeſſion of it, when he himſelf was of an age to govern. *Servius* anſwered, that he had been lawfully elected by the people, and that, if there could be an hereditary right to the kingdom, the ſons of *Ancus* had a much better one than the grandſons of the late king, who muſt himſelf have been an uſurper. He then referred the whole to an aſſembly of the people, which being immediately proclaimed all over the city, the forum was ſoon filled, and *Servius* harangued the multitude in ſuch a manner, as gained all their affections. They all cried out with one voice; *Let* Servius *reign; let him continue to make the* Romans *happy*. Amidſt their

[f] Dio. Hal. l. iv. p. 239.

their confuſed clamours, theſe words were likewiſe heard; *Let* Tarquin *periſh*; *let him die*; *let us kill him.* The language frightened him ſo, that he retired to his houſe in great haſte, while the king was conducted back to his palace with the acclamations of the people [g].

THE ill ſucceſs of this attempt cooled *Tarquin*'s ardent deſire of reigning; and his ambition made him act a new part. He undertook to regain the favour of his father-in-law, by careſſes, ſubmiſſions, and proteſtations of a ſincere regard and affection for him; inſomuch, that the king, who judged of the probity of others from his own, was ſincerely reconciled to him, and tranquillity re-eſtabliſhed in the royal family. But it was not long, ere *Tarquin*, rouſed by the continual reproaches of his wife, began to renew his intrigues among the ſenators; among whom he had no ſooner gained a conſiderable party, than he put in execution a ſtratagem, which ſurprized the people by its novelty, and ſucceeded by the boldneſs of its execution. He cloathed himſelf in the royal robes, and cauſing the faſces to be carried before him by ſome of his domeſtics, croſſed the *Roman* forum, entered the temple, where the ſenate uſed to meet, and ſeated himſelf on the throne. Such of the ſenators as were of his faction he found already in their places, for he had given them private notice to be there early; and the reſt, being ſummoned to aſſemble in king *Tarquin*'s name, made what haſte they could to the appointed place, thinking that *Servius* was dead, ſince *Tarquin* aſſumed the title and functions of king. When they were all aſſembled, *Tarquin* made a long ſpeech, reviling his father-in-law, and repeating the invectives againſt him, which he had ſo often uttered, calling him a ſlave, an uſurper, a favourer of the populace, and an enemy to the ſenate and patricians. While he was yet ſpeaking, *Servius* arrived; and raſhly giving way to the motions of his courage, without conſidering his ſtrength, drew near the throne to pull *Tarquin* down from it. This raiſed a great noiſe in the aſſembly, which drew the people into the temple; but no-body ventured to part the two rivals. *Tarquin* therefore, being more ſtrong and vigorous, ſeized the old man by the waſte, and hurrying him through the temple, threw him down from the top of the ſteps into the forum. The king, who was grievouſly wounded, raiſed himſelf up with ſome difficulty; but all his friends had abandoned him; only two or three of the people, touched with compaſſion, lent him their arms to lead him home to his palace. As they were dragging him on ſlowly, the cruel *Tullia* appeared in the forum, whither ſhe had haſtened in her chariot on the firſt report of what had paſſed in the ſenate. She found her huſband on the top of the ſteps of the temple, and, tranſported with joy, was the firſt who ſaluted him king; and her example was immediately followed by the ſenators of *Tarquin*'s party. Nor was this enough for the unnatural daughter. She took aſide her huſband, and ſuggeſted to him, that he would never be ſafe ſo long as the uſurper of his crown was alive. Hereupon *Tarquin* inſtantly diſpatched ſome of his domeſtics to take away the remains of the unfortunate king's life. The orders for the wicked parricide were no ſooner given, than *Tullia* mounted her chariot again with an air of triumph to return home. The way to her houſe was through a narrow ſtreet called *Vicus Cyprus* (K), or, *the good ſtreet*. There the aſſaſſins had left the king's body, which was ſtill panting. At this ſight the charioteer, ſtruck with horror, checked his horſes, and made a ſtop: *Why don't you go on?* cried *Tullia* to him. *What ſtops you?* The charioteer turning about to her, *Alas!* ſaid he, *it is the body of the king your father.* At theſe words *Tullia*, catching up a ſtool that was in the chariot, and throwing it at his head, *Go on*, ſhe cried, *and don't be afraid of driving over a dead body.* The charioteer obeyed, and the blood of the father is ſaid to have dyed the wheels of the chariot, and even the cloaths of the inhuman daughter. And hence the ſtreet was called ever after *Vicus Sceleratus*. Such was the end of *Servius Tullius*, after he had lived ſeventy-four, and reigned forty-four, years. He was a prince of eminent juſtice and moderation, and made *Rome* more formidable by a peace of twenty years, than his predeceſſors had done by many victories. He was beloved by the people, eſteemed by the patricians, and perhaps would have had no enemies, if he could have preſerved the affections of his own family. *Tarquin* not ſuffering his obſequies to be performed with the uſual pomp, leſt the people might on that occaſion riſe up in arms and revenge his death, *Tarquinia* conveyed the body of her

Tarquin *regains the king's favour.*

Servius *is murdered by* Tarquin, *who uſurps the throne.*

[g] DIO. HAL. LIV. ibid.

(K) The word *Cyprus*, according to *Varro*, is an old *Sabine* word, ſignifying *good* or *happy*; for this ſtreet, as the ſame author informs us, was firſt inhabited by the *Sabines*.

her husband privately by night to his tomb, and the night following died herself a
but whether of grief, or by her own hands, or by the wickedness of *Tullia*, is uncertain. The veneration which the people had for this king's memory, seems to have placed him among the gods; for the slaves annually celebrated his festival in the temple of *Diana Aventina* on the day he lost his life.

Tarquin II. *Year of the flood* 2471. *Before Christ* 528. *Of* Rome 220.

Tarquin, having thus possessed himself of the throne by a most wicked parricide, behaved himself during the whole time of his reign like a most cruel and despotical tyrant. In the very beginning of it the surname of *proud* was given him, on account of his capricious humour and haughty behaviour. As he had ascended the throne without a previous inter-regnum, and despised the suffrages of the people and approbation of the senate, he communicated no affairs of state either to the senate or b
people. All controversies whatsoever he decided himself, assisted by his intimate friends, and banished, fined, and even executed whom he pleased. To prevent the natural consequences of his tyranny, he kept constantly a strong guard about his person, mostly consisting of strangers, who were ready on all occasions to execute his pleasure. Wealth and merit became unpardonable crimes, as plainly appeared in the murder of *M. Junius*, a venerable old man, the father of the famous *Brutus*, who afterwards destroyed the regal power. This *Junius* was descended of a noble family, and had an ample patrimony, on which considerations *Tarquin the elder* had given him his daughter in marriage. The new king, to get possession of his estate, caused both him and his other son to be assassinated, *Brutus* escaping by counterfeiting madness. c
The flower of the senate retired from the city into voluntary banishment, to avoid the effects of the king's cruelty and avarice. The people, who had rejoiced at first to see the senate humbled, were in their turn as ill treated as the senators, and all the laws made in their favour annulled. Informers were dispersed all over the city to watch the words and behaviour of every citizen, and the worst construction was put upon every thing. All assemblies of the people, even for diversion and recreation, were prohibited both in the city and country. But, as he was well apprised that the people would sooner or later attempt to shake off the yoke, and recover their ancient privileges and freedom, he turned his thoughts to gain a strong party among foreigners; and with this view married his daughter to *Octavius Mamilius*, a man of great interest d
among the *Latins*. *Mamilius* indeed did his utmost to bring over a great many leading men of his country to the interest of his father-in-law, and his solicitations succeeded. But the king had like to have lost them again by his haughty behaviour. He had invited the *Latins* to meet in a national assembly at *Ferentinum*, on a day appointed by himself. The deputies came and took their places in the sacred grove. But, as *Tarquin* did not appear after they had waited some hours, the assembly grew impatient, and *Herdonius*, an enterprizing man, who hated *Tarquin*, took this occasion of inveighing against him. His speech made no small impression upon the assembly; but *Mamilius* prevailed upon them to adjourn the council to the next day. Then *Tarquin* appeared, and, having first made a frivolous excuse for his absence, ac- e
quainted the assembly, that his business with them was to demand his right of commanding the *Latin* armies, a right which he derived by inheritance from his grandfather. Upon this a profound silence ensued, till *Herdonius*, stepping forth into the midst of the assembly, made a bitter invective against *Tarquin*, and represented the fatal consequences of admitting his proposal. *Tarquin*, disconcerted by the boldness of the orator, desired, that the assembly might sit again the following day, when he promised to answer the invectives of *Herdonius*. In the mean time, having corrupted some of his domestics, he engaged them to hide a great quantity of arms in their master's baggage. The next morning he entered the assembly with an air of confidence, and after having told them that the malice of *Herdonius* against him was wholly owing to his having refused him his daughter in marriage, he accused his adversary of having laid a plot to cut off all the deputies there present, and to usurp a tyranny over the *Latin* cities. In proof of this, he informed them of the arms concealed in *Herdonius*'s baggage. The accused, knowing nothing of those arms, consented to be adjudged guilty, if upon examination the fact alledged should be found true. Accordingly, his baggage was searched, and the arms being found and brought into the assembly, the innocent *Herdonius* was immediately sentenced to be thrown into a bason at the head of the spring of *Ferentinum*; where, a hurdle being laid upon him, and stones heaped upon it, he was pressed down into the water and drowned [h].

His tyranny.

His treacherous contrivance to destroy Turnus Herdonius.

The

[h] Dio. Hal. l. iv. p. 247. Liv. l. i. c. 50.

a THE *Latins*, not doubting but *Herdonius* was guilty of the crime laid to his charge, looked upon *Tarquin* as their deliverer, renewed the treaty made with his grandfather, and declared him general of the *Latin* armies. Not long after the *Hernici* and two cantons of the *Volſci* entered into an alliance with him upon the ſame terms. *Tarquin*, to ſecure the fidelity of his new allies, erected, with their approbation, a new temple in the midſt of them, on a hill near the ruins of *Alba*, which he conſecrated to *Jupiter Latialis*. There the diets of the confederate cantons were to aſſemble; and theſe aſſemblies were called *Latia*. The twenty-ſeventh of *April* was the day appointed for their annual meeting, and had the name of *Feriæ Latinæ*. The *Romans*, as the chief members of the alliance, always preſided at the ſacrifices and deliberations. The diet conſiſted of forty-ſeven deputies from ſo many cities, who formed the *Latin* aſſociation, which was afterwards the beſt part of the *Roman* ſtrength, and contributed more than all the reſt of *Italy* to the conqueſt of the world.

The Feriæ Latinæ.

b WITH the aſſiſtance of the *Latins*, *Tarquin* thought himſelf in a condition to make war upon thoſe *Volſci*, who had refuſed to enter into an alliance with him. But as he could not depend upon the fidelity of the *Romans*, he blended them in the ſame legions with the *Latins*, who till his time had been a ſeparate corps. The inhabitants of *Sueſſa Pometia* (L), one of the moſt flouriſhing cities of the *Volſci*, were the firſt who felt the effects of this new alliance. They had plundered the territories of their neighbours, and *Tarquin*, laying hold of this pretence to begin the war, marched againſt them, defeated their army, laid ſiege to their city, and, having taken it by ſtorm, gave the plunder of it to his troops, reſerving only the tenth part of the ſpoil towards the expence of finiſhing the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. He then turned his arms againſt the *Sabines*, who had committed ſome depredations in the *Roman* territories, gained two complete victories over them, and made the whole *Sabine* nation tributary. Upon his return to *Rome*, where we are told he triumphed twice [i], he undertook the finiſhing of the common ſewers and the great circus, and, having obliged the idle populace to work without any other reward, but that of a poor maintenance, ſoon brought to perfection thoſe two ſtructures, which his grand-father had begun [k].

Aſſiſted by the Latins, *he defeats the* Volſci, *and ſubdues the* Sabines.

d IN the mean time, many of the diſcontented patricians, abandoning their native country, took refuge at *Gabii*, a city of *Latium*, about a hundred furlongs from *Rome*, and prevailed upon the inhabitants to eſpouſe their cauſe and make war upon *Tarquin*. This war laſted ſeven years with various ſucceſs, during which time the *Romans*, who could neither ſow nor reap, being afflicted with a great famine, began to murmur, and at length to demand of *Tarquin*, in a tumultuous manner, either a peace or proviſions. Their complaints and murmurs being fomented by emiſſaries ſent privately from the exiles at *Gabii*, the whole city was in the utmoſt confuſion, and ſeemed only to wait for a favourable opportunity to take up arms, and drive out *Tarquin*, the cauſe of all their misfortunes. The king, being on one ſide unwilling to make a ſhameful peace,

His war with the people of Gabii.

e and apprehending on the other a general revolt of his ſubjects, was at a loſs what reſolution to take, and under the greateſt uneaſineſs. But his ſon *Sextus Tarquinius* found out an expedient, no leſs diſhonourable than artful, for extricating him out of this difficulty. He pretended to be upon very ill terms with his father, and openly inveighed againſt him as a tyrant. Hereupon the king, as it had been agreed on before-hand, commanded him to be publicly beaten with rods as a rebel. This was no ſooner known at *Gabii*, but the inhabitants, deſirous to have *Sextus* among them, made him privately great offers; which he readily accepted, after they had ſolemnly promiſed never to deliver him up to his father upon any pretence whatſoever. It is not to be imagined, how agreeable *Sextus*'s arrival was to the *Gabini*, or what hopes they founded on their

The ſtratagem by which he became maſter of that city.

f gaining over a prince, who was ſo much valued by the *Romans*. From that time they looked upon *Rome* as already reduced. And indeed the artful *Sextus* played his game with all imaginable dexterity. His public and private diſcourſe turned upon nothing but the tyranny of the king of *Rome*. From words he proceeded to actions. No enemy *Rome* ever had was more active. He often ravaged the *Roman* lands, and returned to *Gabii* loaded with booty. His father took care to facilitate his military exploits, and ſacrificed ſuch ſoldiers and officers as he ſuſpected, to the glory of his ſon.

[i] Faſti CAPITOL. [k] DIO. HAL. p. 251. LIV. l. i. c. 52.

(L) *Dionyſius Hallicarnaſſeus* reckons *Sueſſa Pometia* among the moſt wealthy cities of the *Volſci*. It was called *Pometia*, to diſtinguiſh it from another *Sueſſa* in the country of the *Aurunci* beyond the *Liris*. It ſtood between *Cora* and *Velitræ*, at a ſmall diſtance from theſe two cities.

ſon. His reputation being thus increaſed by the craft of his father, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of any intelligence between them, the *Gabini* placed ſo much confidence in his fidelity and valour, that they appointed him commander in chief of their army. His authority being now ſufficiently eſtabliſhed in *Gabii*, he diſpatched a ſlave, in whom he could confide, privately to *Rome*, to inquire of his father what he ſhould do. The king, not thinking fit to anſwer, either in writing or by word of mouth, took the ſlave into a garden, and there ſtruck off the heads of all the talleſt poppies. This done, he ſent back the meſſenger. *Sextus* underſtood the hint, and, having aſſembled the *Gabini*, pretended to have diſcovered a plot to deliver him up to his father. The people preſſed him to declare the conſpirators, and extorted from him, as it were, by force, the name of *Antiſtius Petro*, a man whoſe merit had made him the moſt conſiderable perſon in his country. *Sextus* had bribed his ſervants to convey among his papers ſome letters from the king of *Rome*, which being produced and read, the incenſed multitude, without further examination, immediately ſtoned him, and committed to *Sextus* the care of diſcovering his accomplices, and inflicting on them ſuch puniſhments as he ſhould judge proper. Upon this he ordered the gates of the city to be ſhut, and having ſent officers into the ſeveral quarters of it, cauſed all the eminent men in *Gabii*, who gave him umbrage, to be inhumanly maſſacred. In the midſt of this deſolation and confuſion, he opened the gates to his father, whom he had acquainted with his deſign, and put him in poſſeſſion of the city. The *Gabini* ſunk into the utmoſt deſpair at the ſight of the tyrant, who now had their lives, their eſtates, and their liberty, at his diſpoſal. But *Tarquin*, on this occaſion conſulting good policy more than revenge, treated them with great humanity, and even entered into an alliance with them, the articles of which were written on a ſhield made of the hide of an ox ſacrificed on that occaſion. This treaty was ſtill to be ſeen at *Rome* in *Auguſtus*'s time, in the temple of *Jupiter Piſtius*, or *Sancus*, that is, *the god of fidelity* [1].

As *Tarquin* was jealous even of his own children, he took care to keep them at a diſtance from *Rome*. With this view he left *Sextus* at *Gabii*, declaring him king of that city, and ſent *Titus* and *Arunx* to found two new colonies, the one at *Signia*, the other at *Circæum*, a promontory on the coaſt of the *Tyrrhenian* ſea. As for his fourth ſon *Lucius Tarquinius*, he kept him in *Rome*, he not being yet of an age to give him umbrage.

The books of the Sibyl.

The *Romans*, being now accuſtomed to the yoke of an imperious maſter, bore it with great patience, and allowed *Tarquin* to enjoy a profound peace. It was at this time, that an unknown woman appeared at court, loaded with nine volumes, which ſhe offered to ſell, but demanded a very conſiderable price. *Tarquin* refuſing to purchaſe them at her rate, ſhe withdrew and burnt three of them. Some time after ſhe returned, and demanded the ſame price for the remaining ſix. She was therefore looked upon as a mad woman, and driven away with ſcorn. However, having burnt the half of them, ſhe ventured to return a third time, aſking as much for the remaining three as ſhe had done for the whole nine. *Tarquin*, ſurpriſed at the novelty of this proceeding, cauſed the books to be put into the hands of the augurs, who, finding them to be the oracles of the *Sibyl* of *Cuma*, declared them to be an invaluable treaſure, and adviſed the king to buy the three at the ſame price, which the woman had aſked for the nine. *Tarquin* followed their directions, and the woman, having received the ſum ſhe demanded, ſoon after diſappeared, having firſt exhorted the *Romans* to preſerve her books with great care. *Tarquin* appointed two perſons of diſtinction, ſtyled *Duumviri*, to be guardians of them (M); and ordered them to be

[1] Dio. Hal. p. 255. Liv. l. i. c. 54.

(M) Theſe officers were afterwards increaſed to ten, and then to fifteen; and, as their numbers increaſed, were called *Decemviri*, *Quindecemviri*, *ſacris faciundis*. It was their buſineſs to conſult the *Sybilline* books, when the ſenate thought proper. But recourſe was never had to them, unleſs the republic was under, or threatened with, ſome great calamity; as when a dangerous ſedition was like to break out, when the *Roman* armies had been defeated, or when any of thoſe prodigies appeared, which were thought fatal to *Rome*. Then the *Duumviri* had the care of putting in execution whatever they thought commanded by the books of the *Sibyls*. They alſo preſided over the ſacrifices and public ſports, which they appointed to appeaſe the wrath of heaven. And laſtly, they ordered every thing that related to the *Ludi Seculares*. Their office was for life, and they were exempted from taxes, and from all civil and military employments. This magiſtracy continued at *Rome* from the time of *Tarquin the Proud* to the reign of the emperor *Theodoſius*, when this and many other ancient ſuperſtitions were intirely aboliſhed.

a be locked up in a vault under the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, as ſoon as that building was finiſhed; and there they were kept, till they were burnt with the temple itſelf [m].

Rome ſtill continuing to enjoy peace, though the people were as much diſcontented as ever, *Tarquin*, in order to keep them employed, undertook the finiſhing of the temple of the capitol, which his grandfather had begun. He hired for this purpoſe architects and ſkilful workmen out of *Hetruria*, and obliged his own ſubjects to perform the laborious part, making them the drudges, as he had done in ſo many other undertakings. This temple, which was dedicated to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, ſtood on the top of the hill *Tarpeius*, made ſometime ſince a part of *Rome*. The original of the *The temple of* Jupiter Capitolinus.

b new name of *Capitol* is by hiſtorians ſaid to be this: As the workmen were digging the foundations of the temple of *Jupiter*, they are ſaid to have found very deep in the earth *the head* of a man, whoſe features were preſerved intire, and the blood as red and freſh as if it had been but newly ſhed. The *Romans*, looking upon this as a prodigy, conſulted the augurs, who declared it to preſage, that *Rome* would ſome time or other become the miſtreſs and *head* of *Italy* (N). This anſwer encouraged *Tarquin* to ſpare nor pains nor expence in raiſing a ſtructure to the honour of thoſe gods, who were the authors of ſo glorious a deſtiny. Accordingly the foundations were laid, and the temple built in a moſt ſtately manner. It ſtood upon eight acres of ground, and was two hundred foot broad, and about two hundred and fifteen long. The front of this magnificent ſtructure was to the ſouth, facing the hill *Palatinus* and the *Forum*

c *Romanum*. An hundred ſteps led up to it from the forum, which were divided at certain diſtances by large landing-places. This front conſiſted of three rows of pillars, and the two ſides of the temple were adorned with a periſtyle, conſiſting of a double row of pillars. It was in after-ages burnt down more than once (O); but the *Romans* always rebuilt it, ſtill preſerving the ſame proportions. The whole arch of this prodigious building was gilt both within and without (P). It contained three chapels, or rather three temples, under the ſame roof, one dedicated to *Jupiter*, another to *Juno*, and the third to *Minerva* (Q). As this was a religious undertaking, the *Romans* aſſiſted *Tarquin* in carrying it on with more chearfulneſs than uſual; but the honour of putting

d the laſt hand to this ſtately work, and conſecrating it, was reſerved for a *Roman* conſul in the time of the republic.

While *Tarquin* and the *Romans* were thus employed, a cruel plague breaking out at *Rome*, the king ſent his two ſons, *Titus* and *Arunx*, to conſult the oracle of *Delphos* about the cauſe and cure of the contagion. The princes prepared magnificent preſents for *Apollo*, and *Junius Brutus*, who was to attend them for their amuſement, reſolved to carry his offering too. He was the ſon of that venerable patrician, whom *Tarquin* had cauſed to be murdered in the very beginning of his reign, and had long acted the part of an idiot at court, which procured him the name of *Brutus*. His affected follies had ſomething inexpreſſibly amuſing in them, and he knew how to make uſe of them at proper times, and ſuppreſs them when unſeaſonable. He had been brought up, ever ſince his father's death, in the king's palace, with the princes his couſins, who were greatly diverted with his follies. He was therefore appointed to attend them to *Delphos*. The preſent he choſe for the god was an elder-ſtick; which was matter of diverſion for the whole court. However, as he was well appriſed, that the gods of thoſe times, or their miniſters, were affected with the value of the preſents, he had the

Tarquin *ſends his two ſons with* Brutus *to conſult the oracle of* Delphos.

[m] Dio. Hal. p. 259. Varro apud Lactant.

(N) *Macrobius* tells us (73), that the name of the man, to whom this head belonged, was *Tolus*; ſo that the word *Capitol* is, according to him, compounded of *caput* and *Tolus*. Other writers ſay, that the hill *Tarpeius* was called *Capitol*, becauſe it was the *capital* or *chief fortreſs* in *Rome*.

(O) It was burnt in *Sylla*'s time by the negligence of thoſe who kept it; but *Sylla* rebuilt it in a more magnificent manner. It was burnt a ſecond time in the reign of *Vitellius*, and repaired by *Veſpaſian*. It underwent the ſame misfortune under *Titus*, and was rebuilt by *Domitian*; but always on the old foundations of *Tarquin*.

(P) The gilding of the whole arch of the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was a work undertaken by the *Romans*, as *Pliny* informs us (74), after the deſtruction of *Carthage*. This undertaking, if *Plutarch* is to be credited (75), coſt twelve thouſand talents, a ſum, which ſeems to exceed all belief. The gates of the temple were of braſs, covered with large plates of gold. The inſide of the temple, and the columns which ſupported it, were all of marble.

(Q) The inſide of the temple was divided into three parts by two rows of columns, which made the nave and the two iſles. The nave formed the chapel of *Jupiter*, and the two iſles the chapels of *Juno* and *Minerva*.

(73) *Arnob. contra gentes, l.* vi. (74) *Plin. l.* xxxiii. (75) *Plut. in Octav.*

the precaution to incloſe a rod of gold in his ſtick without any body's knowledge. This was a true ſymbol of his own mind and conduct; for he concealed the moſt valuable gifts of nature under a contemptible outſide. All things being got ready, they ſet out for *Delphos*, and the young princes, having executed their father's commands, inquired of the oracle, which of them ſhould be prince of *Rome?* The god anſwered, that the government of *Rome* was reſerved for him who ſhould firſt kiſs his mother; which the princes miſunderſtanding, agreed to do it both together, and reign jointly. But *Brutus*, knowing the meaning of the oracle, as ſoon as they arrived in *Italy*, pretended to fall down by chance, and kiſſed the earth, the common mother of all men [n].

The two princes on their return to *Rome* found the city in a great commotion, on account of the war, which the king had declared with the *Rutuli*, under pretence that they had entertained ſome *Roman* exiles. He had already inveſted *Ardea* their metropolis, which lay ſixteen miles ſouth-eaſt of *Rome*. While they lay before this place, the officers, having a good deal of leiſure, uſed to make mutual entertainments for one another in their quarters. One day, when *Sextus Tarquinius* was entertaining his brothers and his kinſman *Collatinus*, the converſation happened to turn upon the merit of their wives, every one extolling the good qualities of his own. This occaſioned a kind of quarrel, and, in order to end it, they agreed to mount their horſes, as they were heated with wine, and go and ſurprize their wives. She, whom they ſhould find imployed in the manner moſt agreeable to her ſex, was, by common conſent, to have the preference. Away therefore they poſted firſt to *Rome*, where they found the king's daughters-in-law ſpending their time in feaſting and diverſion. From *Rome* they haſtened to *Collatia*, where they found *Lucretia*, the wife of *Collatinus*, in the midſt of her maids ſpinning and working in wool, though the night was far advanced before their arrival. Hereupon they unanimouſly gave her the preference, and, after a noble entertainment, returned the next day to the camp before *Ardea*. *Sextus*, captivated with her beauty, found a pretence to return very ſoon to *Collatia*, where he was entertained by *Lucretia*, in her huſband's abſence, with great civility and reſpect. At midnight he found means to convey himſelf into her bed-chamber, approached her bed with his drawn ſword, and laying his hand on her breaſt, threatened her with preſent death, if ſhe offered to ſtir or ſpeak. *Lucretia*, awaking and ſeeing death ſo near, was in the greateſt confuſion imaginable, while *Sextus*, declaring his paſſion, endeavoured by intreaties, mixed with menaces, to make her yield to his deſires. But when he found that all was in vain, and that even the fear of death could not prevail upon her to conſent, he threatened her with ignominy, telling her, that if ſhe would not yield, he would firſt kill her, then lay one of her ſlaves dead by her ſide, and declare to all the world, that he had only revenged the injured honour of *Collatinus*. The dread of infamy got the better of *Lucretia*'s conſtancy: and *Sextus*, having obtained his wiſhes, returned early the next morning to the camp. *Lucretia*, not being able to endure the thoughts of life after the violence ſhe had ſuffered, wrote to her huſband to meet her at her father's houſe; and then came to *Rome* in her chariot. *Livy* tells us, that ſhe deſired her father and huſband to meet her at her own houſe. With her father *Lucretius* came *Publius Valerius*, afterwards *Poplicola*, and with her huſband *Lucius Junius Brutus*, and many other *Romans* of diſtinction; for *Lucretia* had acquainted them, that ſhe had an affair of the utmoſt conſequence to impart to them. When the aſſembly was pretty numerous, ſhe diſcloſed in few words the whole matter, declared her firm reſolution not to outlive the loſs of her reputation, and conjured them not to let the crime of *Sextus Tarquinius* go unpuniſhed. They all endeavoured to comfort her, telling her, that there could be no guilt where the heart was innocent. But the *Roman* heroine, embracing her father and huſband with a flood of tears, plunged a dagger, which ſhe had concealed under her garment, into her breaſt, and fell dead at their feet. While ſo tragical a ſight filled the ſpectators with grief and conſternation, *Brutus*, throwing off his long diſguiſe, drew near the body of *Lucretia*, and, ſnatching the poniard out of her boſom, told her relations there preſent, that tears and lamentations could never be heard whilſt vengeance cried ſo loud. Then ſhewing the bloody poniard to the aſſembly, *I ſwear*, ſaid he, *by this blood, which was once ſo pure, and which nothing, but the deteſtable villainy of* Tarquin, *could have polluted, that I will purſue* Lucius Tarquinius *the proud*,

The rape of Lucretia.

[n] Idem ibid.

proud, his wicked wife, and their children, with fire and ſword; nor will ever ſuffer any of that family, or any other whatſoever, to reign at Rome. *Ye gods, I call you to witneſs this my oath.* At theſe words he preſented the dagger to *Collatinus*, *Lucretius*, *Valerius*, and the reſt of the company, and engaged them to take the ſame oath. Theſe noble *Romans*, ſurpriſed at the ſudden and unexpected appearance of ſo much wiſdom in an idiot, thought him inſpired, and gave themſelves intirely up to his counſels. He then let them know, that his folly had been feigned, exhorted them to revenge the death of *Lucretia*, and encouraged them to ſhake off the ſhameful yoke, under which they had ſo long groaned. Finding them all reſolved to ſubmit to his conduct, and take what meaſures he ſhould judge moſt proper for the execution of the deſign, he commanded the gates to be ſhut, that all might be kept ſecret from *Tarquin*, till ſuch time as the people might be aſſembled, the dead body expoſed, and a public decree paſſed for the baniſhing of the king. The ſenate being aſſembled, no one oppoſed the baniſhment of *Tarquin*; but as they were divided in their opinions with reſpect to the new form of government, *Brutus* repreſented to them the abſolute neceſſity of coming to a ſpeedy reſolution, ſhewing them, that the regal power was not conſiſtent with the ſecurity of the ſtate and ſafety of the people, and therefore was not to be truſted with one man; but two were to be choſen, who ſhould govern with equal authority and power. Then, becauſe names alone gave ſome people offence, he adviſed them to change the name of kingdom for that of commonwealth, and, inſtead of the title of king and monarch, to give thoſe, who ſhould govern, ſome more modeſt and popular name. He added, that the main thing to keep theſe magiſtrates in awe was to prevent their perpetual power, and that, if they were annual, after the manner of *Athens*, they might learn both how to obey, and how to command. Laſtly, that the name of king might not be wholly laſt, he was for giving it to one, who ſhould be charged with the care of religious matters, and be called *Rex Sacrorum* (R). This employment was to be for life, and attended with immunity from warfare; but the *rex ſacrorum* ſhould only concern himſelf with thoſe religious rights, which the king had charge of before. The particulars of his ſpeech were all approved of by the ſenate; and a decree was immediately iſſued out, baniſhing the king and all his poſterity °.

Brutus *procures the baniſhment of the* Tarquins.

Brutus, having thus gained the ſenate, cauſed the yet bleeding *Lucretia* to be carried to the place where the comitia were uſually held; and placing the dead body where it might be ſeen by all, he ordered the people to be called together. When the multitude were aſſembled, he began his ſpeech to them by explaining the myſtery of his paſt conduct, and the neceſſity he had been under, for more than twenty years together, of counterfeiting folly, as the only means of preſerving his life, after the murder of his father and elder brother. Then he proceeded to acquaint them with the reſolution the patricians had taken to depoſe the tyrant, and preſſed them in the ſtrongeſt terms to concur in that deſign. He enumerated the many crimes which had rendered *Tarquin* odious to his ſubjects; that he had poiſoned his own brother and wife, murdered his lawful ſovereign, and filled the common-ſewers with the bodies of the nobility; that he came to the throne as an uſurper, and continued on it as a tyrant; being treacherous to his beſt friends, and inhuman to all his ſubjects; that his three ſons were of a temper as tyrannical as himſelf, eſpecially the elder, of which they had a diſmal inſtance before their eyes; that ſince the king was abſent, and the patricians

° Liv. l. i. 58, 59.

(R *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* gives us the following account of this inſtitution: Becauſe the kings, ſays he, had in a great many reſpects been ſerviceable to the ſtate, the founders of the commonwealth thought it very proper to keep always up the name of king in the city. Upon this account they ordered the augurs and pontifices to chuſe a fit perſon, who ſhould engage never to meddle with civil affairs, but devote himſelf wholly to the care of the public worſhip and to the ceremonies of religion, with the title of *Rex Sacrorum* (75). *Livy* informs us, that this dignity was inferior to that of *Pontifex Maximus*, the eſtabliſhers of the commonwealth having made the *Rex Sacrorum* but a ſubordinate officer even in affairs of religion, leſt the name of *king*, which had been formerly ſo odious to the people, ſhould ſtill in ſome meaſure prove prejudicial to their liberty (76). His wife was called *queen*, and was one of the chief prieſteſſes. None but patricians were admitted to this dignity. The *Rex Sacrorum* was always choſen in the comitia of the people, aſſembled in the *campus Martius* by centuries. As he was not allowed to have any hand in civil affairs, when the uſual ſacrifices before the electing of magiſtrates or generals were over, he was obliged to withdraw. So jealous were the *Romans* even of the ſhadow, we may ſay, of a king.

(75) *Dio. Hal. l.* v. *antiq.*

(76) *Liv. l.* vi.

patricians resolved to shake off the yoke, neither men, money, nor foreign aid, should be wanting, had they but courage for the enterprize. He urged in the end of his speech, that it was shameful in them to think of commanding the *Volsci*, the *Sabines*, and other nations abroad, while they were slaves at home; and to maintain so many wars, in order to gratify the ambition of a tyrant, while they had not courage enough to undertake one for their own liberty. As for the army before *Ardea*, he told them, that he did not doubt, but they would readily join in whatever should be agreed on in the city [p].

A commonwealth established at Rome. *Year after the flood* 2494. *Before Christ* 505. *Of* Rome 243.

The multitude, transported with joy at the thoughts of liberty, gave their consent with loud acclamations, and called out for arms. But *Brutus* did not think fit to arm the people, till they had confirmed by their suffrages the decree of the senate banishing *Tarquin*. This decree deprived him of all the prerogatives belonging to the regal authority, condemned him and all his posterity to perpetual banishment, and devoted to the infernal gods every *Roman*, who should by word or deed attempt his restoration. The curiæ being assembled and the decree proposed, they were all unanimous in confirming it. And now the administration being reduced to an interregnum *Lucretius* was by the suffrages of the people declared inter-rex; so that it was his business to prepare every thing for the election of the new magistrates. He therefore called the people together once more, not by curiæ, but by centuries, and directed them to come armed into the *campus Martius*, in order to elect their new governors, who, according to the plan of government, proposed by *Brutus* and approved by the people, were to be called *consuls* (S). The inter-rex proposed to the people *Junius Brutus*, the head of the conspiracy, and *Tarquinius Collatinus*, the husband of *Lucretia*; and they were unaniously elected to the new dignity and proclaimed consuls. In the mean time, *Tarquin*, being informed by some who had got out of the city before the gates were shut, that *Brutus* was raising commotions to his prejudice, hastened to *Rome*, attended only by his sons and a small number of his most trusty friends; for he was little apprehensive of a conspiracy carried on by one whom he despised as an idiot. But finding, to his great surprize, the gates shut, and the people in arms upon the walls, he returned with all possible expedition to the camp. There the army, during his short absence, had been gained over by the conspirators to their party. *Livy* tells us, that *Brutus* went in person to the camp, and that he arrived before *Ardea* at the same time that *Tarquin* appeared at the gates of *Rome*. Others say, that the new consuls sent letters to the camp, giving an account of the resolutions taken at *Rome*, and exhorting the troops to shake off the tyrannical yoke. However that be, it is certain, that, before *Tarquin* returned, the soldiers, being convened by centuries, had unanimously agreed to receive the decree passed in the city; so that when *Traquin* returned, hey refused to admit him. The tyrant, being thus driven from his capitol and abandoned by his troops, was forced, at the age of seventy-six, to fly with his wife and children to *Gabii*, or, as *Livy* will have it, to *Cære* in *Hetruria*. *Titus Herminius* and *Marcus Horatius*, who commanded the army under *Tarquin*, made a truce with the *Rutuli* for fifteen years, and, having raised the siege of *Ardea*, returned

[p] Liv. ibid. Dio. Hal. p. 276.

(S) *Pomponius* the civilian is of opinion, that the name of *consul* was taken from the word *consulere*, as signifying *to watch for the public good*. *Varro* derives it from the same word, but in a different signification, *viz.* as importing *to consult* or *ask counsel*; because the intent of those who first instituted the consuls was, that they should do nothing without the advice of the people and senate. The law, which placed them at the head of the republic, calls them *prætors* and *judges*. We have this law still remaining, as quoted by *Tully* in the third book of laws. When it was made in the comitia, which changed the monarchy into a republic, it was couched in the following words: *Reges imperio duo sunto, iique præeundo, judicando, & consulendo, prætores, judices, consules, appellentur. Militiæ summum jus habento. Nemini parento. Ollis salus populi summa lex esto.* They were indeed allowed the common use of the sceptre, crown, and an habit of distinction. But *Livy* assures us, that on the days of their triumphs, in the public sports, and at solemn sacrifices, they wore a crown of gold, an ivory staff or scepter, and an habit striped with purple, as the kings did (77). *Valerius Maximus* (78) tells us, that they retained first as many lictors as the kings, *viz.* twenty-four; he adds, that the consul *Poplicola* reduced them to twelve. But each consul was not attended by twelve lictors, neither did they divide them so as to have six apiece. They were only guarded by twelve lictors alternatively, each in his mouth. This ceremonial began with the two first consuls; the consul who was the oldest, or had most children, or most suffrages for the consulship, had the lictors the first month. *Brutus* was attended with the fasces before his collegue *Collatinus*, as appears from the following verse of *Virgil*:

Consulis imperium hic primus sævasque secures
Accipiet ——— (79).

(77) *Liv. l.* xxx. (78) *Val. Max. l.* xii. (79) *Virgil Æneid. l.* vi.

A Plan of Rome containing its Several Additions from the time of Servius Tullius to that of its being taken by the Gauls.

1. The Forum Romanum
2. The Via Sacra
3. The Carinæ
4. The Great Circus
5. The Ox Market
6. The Tabernæ Tuscan Street
7. The New Street
8. The Temple of Vesta
9. The Curia Hostilia
10. The Temple of Jupit. Stator
11. The Temple of Quirinus
12. A Temple dedic.d to Fortune
13. The Temple of Fortuna virilis
14. The Temp.le of Jupit. Capitolinus
15. The Temple of Fidius
16. The Temple of Quirinus
17. The Temple of Health
18. The Temple of Saturn
19. Hostilius's Palace
20. The Temple of Juno Lucina
21. Servius Tullius's Palace
22. The Temple of Peace
23. The Temp.le of Jupit. Feretrius
24. The Temple of Diana
25. The Temple of Victory
26. The Temple of Queen Juno
27. The Campus Sceleratus
28. The Temp.le of Venus Erycina
29. The Temple of Apollo
30. The Temple of Ceres. Bacchus & Proserpine
31. The Temp.le of Castor & Pollux
32. The Temple of Faith
33. The Temple of Good Fortune
34. The Temp.le of y. Elder Fortune
35. The Temp.le of Vbrede Fortune
36. The Temple of Hercules
37. The Temple of Janus
38. The Temple of Jupit. Sponsor
39. The Temple of Libritina
40. The Temple of Mars
41. The Temple of Mercury
42. The Temple of Murcia
43. The Temp.le of Neptunus Equestris
44. The Comitium
45. The Temp.le of Venus Cloacina
46. The Temple of Vulcan
47. The Temple of Carmenta
48. The Temple of Carna
49. The Temple of Concord
50. The Fountain of Mercury
51. The Palatine Tribe
52. The Tarpeian Rock

G. Viminalis · G. Collatina · G. Querquetulana · G. Esquilina · G. Nevia

G. Collina · Tarpeius Bullwark

G. Pincia · The Pomerium · The Hill Equilinus · The Esquiline Tribe · Th. Tribe of Collina · The Hill Viminalis · Suburra · The Wicked Street

The Hill of Gardens or of Pincius

The Hill Cœlius

G. Cœlimontana · G. Latina · G. Capena · Cœlius

The Suburran Trib.

G. Flumentalis · The Capitol · The Hill Palatinus · G. Trigemina · Fort Remuria

The Campus Martius · The Tyber · G. Camentalis · The Bridge Sublicius

The Hill Aventinus

The Hill Tarpeius

Gate of St. Sebastian

John Barlow Sculp.t

returned to *Rome* with all their forces [q]. Thus ended the regal ſtate of *Rome*, two hundred and forty-three, or two hundred and forty-five, years, according to the common computation, after the building of the city (T); and a new form of government was introduced, which, without any conſiderable alteration, ſubſiſted till the times of the emperors.

[q] Dio. Hal. ibid. Liv. l. i. c. 60.

(T) We have followed the common computation with regard both to the ſeven kings of *Rome* and to the fourteen kings of *Alba*. But we cannot help thinking Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s computations to be better grounded, and nearer the truth. We ſhall deliver his opinion in his own words: When the *Grecks* and *Latins*, ſays that writer, were forming their technical chronology, there were great diſputes about the antiquity of *Rome*. The *Greeks* made it much older than the olympiads; ſome of them ſaid it was built by *Æneas*; others by *Romus* the ſon or grandſon of *Latinus*, king of the *Aborigines*; others by *Romus* the ſon of *Ulyſſes*, or of *Aſcanius*, or of *Italus*; and ſome of the *Latins* fell in at firſt with the opinion of the *Greeks*, ſaying, that it was built by *Romulus*, the ſon or grandſon of *Æneas*. *Timæus Siculus* repreſented it built by *Romulus*, the grandſon of *Æneas*, above an hundred years before the olympiads; and ſo did *Nævius* the poet, who was twenty years older than *Ennius*, and ſerved in the firſt *Punic* war, and wrote the hiſtory of that war. Hitherto nothing certain was agreed on; but about a hundred and forty or a hundred and fifty years after the death of *Alexander the Great*, they began to ſay, that *Rome* was built a ſecond time by *Romulus* in the fifteenth age after the deſtruction of *Troy*; by ages they meant the reigns of the *Latins* at *Alba*, and reckoned the firſt fourteen reigns at about four hundred and thirty-two years, and the following reigns of the ſeven kings of *Rome* at two hundred and forty-four years; both which numbers made up the time of about ſix hundred and ſeventy-ſix years from the taking of *Troy*, according to thoſe chronologers; but are much too long for the courſe of nature: and by this reckoning they placed the building of *Rome* upon the ſixth or the ſeventh olympiad. *Varro* placed it on the firſt year of the ſeventh olympiad, and was therein generally followed by the *Romans*. But this can ſcarce be reconciled to the courſe of nature; for I do not meet with any inſtance in all hiſtory, ſince chronology was certain, wherein ſeven kings, moſt of whom were ſlain, reigned two hundred and forty-four years in continual ſucceſſion. The fourteen reigns of the kings of the *Latins* at twenty years apiece, one with another, amount to two hundred and eighty years; and theſe, counted from the taking of *Troy*, and in the thirty-eight olympiad: and the ſeven reigns of the kings of *Rome*, four or five of them being ſlain, and one depoſed, may, at a moderate reckoning, amount to fifteen or ſixteen years apiece, one with another. Let them be reckoned at ſeventeen years apiece, and they will amount to a hundred and nineteen years; which being counted backwards from the regifuge, end alſo in the thirty-eighth olympiad: and by theſe two reckonings *Rome* was built in the thirty-eigth olympiad, or thereabout. The two hundred and eighty years and the hundred and nineteen years together make up three hundred and ninety-nine years; and the ſame number of years ariſes by counting the twenty and one reigns at nineteen years apiece: and this being the whole time between the taking of *Troy* and the regifuge, let theſe years be counted backward from the regifuge, *An.* 1. olymp. 68, and they will place the taking of *Troy* about ſeventy-four years after the death of *Solomon* (80). The death of *Solomon* Sir *Iſaac* places nine hundred and ſeventy-nine years before Chriſt; ſo that the taking of *Troy* by the *Grecks*, after which *Æneas* began his voyages, will be about nine hundred and five years before Chriſt: and as he makes the building of *Carthage* by *Dido* to be eight hundred and eighty-three before the chriſtian æra, there are according to him, little more than twenty years between theſe two laſt-mentioned events. This computation clears *Virgil* from that monſtrous anachroniſm of near three hundred years, with which he has been ſo often reproached.

(80) *Sir* Iſaac Newton's *chron. p.* 128.

CHAP. III.

The conſular ſtate of Rome, *from the beginning of the government to the burning of the city by the* Gauls.

ROME enjoyed a profound peace in the beginning of the new government. The army, which had ſerved under *Tarquin* before *Ardea*, being returned to the city, the conſuls, ſuſpecting they might preſerve ſome inclination for their general, called them together in the *campus Martius*, and, after having exhorted them to concord, they ratified the decree, which was paſſed againſt the *Tarquins*, to be renewed in their preſence.

The conſuls and people ſwear, that they will never ſuffer the Tarquins, or any other to reign at Rome

ſence. After this, the conſuls, ſtanding before the altars, on which the intrails of the victims had been offered, took an oath in the name of their children and all their poſterity, that they would never replace either *Tarquin* or his ſons, or any of his family, on the throne, nor create any other king of *Rome*, nor ſuffer any to be elected. Then the conſuls made the people take the ſame oath, and proceeded, after that ſolemn ceremony was over, to the election of a *Rex Sacrorum*, when *Manius Papirius*, a man of patrician extraction, was by the ſuffrages of the people raiſed the firſt to that dignity. The conſuls having now nothing to fear from the people, who were reſtored to all their antients rights, employed their thoughts about ſecuring the ſenators, among whom *Valerius* had great intereſt. He had expected to be named conſul at the firſt election; and the preference, which the people gave to *Collatinus*, had diſpleaſed him to ſuch a degree, that he had abſented himſelf from the ſenate and public affairs; inſomuch, that he began to be ſuſpected of favouring the baniſhed king. But the public apprehenſion ceaſed, when he appeared in the ſenate on the day appointed for the ſenators to take the ſame oath which the people had taken. He then ſignalized anew his love for liberty, and ſwore the firſt, that he would never favour the pretenſions of the *Tarquins*, nor ſuffer them, or any other, ever to reign at *Rome*[a].

The inhabitants of Tarquinii *ſend an embaſſy to* Rome *in favour of the* Tarquins.

Thus *Rome* was in tranquillity at home, but *Tarquin* was raiſing her many enemies abroad. He had made *Tarquinii* in *Hetruria* his place of reſidence, and prevailed upon the inhabitants to ſend an embaſſy to *Rome* with a letter from him to the *Roman* people. The embaſſadors delivered the letter to the ſenate, demanding that it might be read to the people aſſembled in the comitia. But *Valerius* ſtrenuouſly oppoſed ſo dangerous a proceeding, and, by his intereſt in the ſenate, defeated the firſt attempt of the artful *Tarquin*. As this body of the new commonwealth was above all others concerned to exclude kings, by whom they had been kept in a ſtate of dependence, the conſuls thought it neceſſary to reſtore the ſenate to its antient majeſty and to gain the reſpect of the people, as well by the number of the ſenators, as by their dignity. With this view the antient number of three hundred was once more completed, the vacant places being filled up by men of prudence and intereſt, choſen from among the *Roman* knights. Theſe new ſenators were called *Conſcripti*, that is, *perſons written* or *inrolled on the ſame liſt*, for they were added to the old ſenators.

But though *Tarquin* himſelf was hated both by the people and patricians, yet his ſons had a great number of young debauchees in their intereſt. The *Tarquins* building their hopes on theſe young noblemen, who regretted the loſs of their companions and the ſupporters of their extravagance, prevailed with the *Tarquinienſes* to ſend a ſecond embaſſy to *Rome*, under pretence of demanding the eſtates of the exiles; but in reality to ſtir up a faction againſt the conſuls. The embaſſadors being admitted into the ſenate, ſpoke with great modeſty and reſerve; they only deſired, that the king might have his paternal eſtate reſtored to him, that at leaſt, which had been tranſmitted to him by his grandfather *Tarquinius Priſcus*, who had deſerved no ill treatment at their hands. *Collatinus* was for complying with the demand, ſince the king promiſed, in caſe it was complied with, never to attempt the recovery of the kingdom by force of arms. But *Brutus* oppoſed the demand, thinking it no good policy to furniſh an enemy with money, which, without all doubt, would be employed againſt themſelves. The affair being at laſt referred to the people, it was carried by one vote in the comitia, that the *Tarquins* ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of their paternal eſtates[b].

The embaſſadors engage ſome of the young patricians in a plot.

While the people were employed in loading carriages with the effects of the exiles, and ſelling what could not be carried off, the embaſſadors laid hold of that opportunity, to engage ſome young noblemen in a plot againſt the conſuls. Among theſe were three of the *Aquilian* family, the ſons of *Collatinus*'s ſiſter, and two *Vitellii*, whoſe ſiſter *Brutus* had married. The latter engaged in the ſame conſpiracy *Titus* and *Tiberius*, the two ſons of *Brutus*. The conſpirators met at the houſe of the *Aquilii*, and there the reſolution of putting the conſuls to death, and letting the *Tarquins* into the city by night, was taken in the preſence of the embaſſadors. They all bound themſelves by ſolemn oaths, with the deteſtable ceremony of drinking the blood of a murdered man, and ſwearing over his trembling bowels, that they would do all that lay in their power to deſtroy the conſuls and reſtore the king. After the ceremony was over, each of them wrote a letter to the king, as an authentic proof of their zeal for his

[a] Dio. Hal. l. v. p. 279. [b] Dio. Hal. ibid. p. 281, 282. Liv. l. ii. c. 3. Plut. in Poplic.

his intereſt, and put them into the hands of the embaſſadors. But, in ſpite of all the
a precaution uſed by the conſpirators to keep the ſecret from their ſervants, *Vindicius*, or, as *Plutarch* calls him, *Vindex*, a ſlave of the *Aquilii*, ſuſpecting his maſter's deſign, ſtaid at the door of the apartment, and through a crevice ſaw all the myſteries of the conſpiracy. However, he was afraid to diſcloſe the ſecret to either of the conſuls, apprehending that *Brutus*, to ſave his ſons, and *Collatinus*, to ſecure the lives of his nephews, might think fit to deſtroy the ſingle evidence of their crime. He went therefore ſtrait to *P. Valerius*, whoſe houſe was always open to the meaneſt of the people, and unburdened his mind to him. *Valerius* took the ſlave under his protection, and having ſhut him up in a room under the care of his wife, he went out
b attended by his friends, clients, and domeſtics, whom he divided into two bands; one he poſted, under the conduct of his brother *M. Valerius*, at the entrance of the houſe of the *Aquilii*, while he himſelf with a ſtrong guard entered the apartment of the embaſſadors, who lodged in the ſame houſe, and there found and ſeized the letters, which the conſpirators had writ the night before. As he was coming out, he met the *Aquilii*, who, being ſurprized to ſee him and ſuſpecting that their letters were ſeized, endeavoured to force them from him. But all their endeavours were in vain; for *Valerius* not only kept them, but with the aſſiſtance of his attendants took all the heads of the conſpiracy priſoners. *M. Valerius*, his brother, had alſo the good luck to intercept other letters, concealed among ſome cloaths, which the do-
c meſtics of the *Aquilii* were carrying away [t].

The plot is diſcovered.

EARLY the next morning, the people were ſummoned to the *Comitia*, where *Brutus* and his collegue ſat on the tribunal of juſtice. The priſoners, being brought before their judges, were, one after another, tied to ſtakes with their hands bound behind them. This was ſo melancholy a ſight, that the people could ſcarce refrain from tears, when they beheld in that condition the ſons of *Brutus*, whom they looked upon as their deliverer. The minds of the multitude were in ſuſpence about the ſentence, which the conſuls were to pronounce, the one againſt his ſons, the other againſt his nephews. But *Brutus*, without betraying the leaſt concern, began the trial with the examination of his ſons. *Vindicius* appeared againſt them; and his teſtimony was found unanſwer-
d able. Then *Brutus* ordered the letters to be read, which his ſons had wrote to the *Tarquins*. The proof being clear, the priſoners made no defence but with their tears. Titus, ſaid he, ſpeaking coldly to the two priſoners without calling them ſons, *And you*, Tiberius, *what have you to offer in your defence?* They were thrice called upon to make their defence; but tears were ſtill their only anſwer. Upon which the greater part of the ſenators were moved with compaſſion, and a confuſed murmur was heard among them, *baniſh them*; *baniſh them*. *Collatinus* wept, and *Valerius*, ſevere as he was, did not utter a ſingle word. This favourable diſpoſition gave the two guilty youths ſome hopes. But the whole aſſembly trembled, and expected the deciſion with horror. As the two criminals offered nothing in their defence, *Brutus* at length
e roſe up to give ſentence. Upon which enſued a profound ſilence, every one preſent being concerned for the young men as for their own children. But *Brutus* with a ſteady voice, not interrupted by a ſingle ſigh, turning to the lictors, who were the executioners, *To you, lictors*, ſaid he, *I deliver them, execute the law upon them*. At theſe words a loud ſhriek was heard in the aſſembly, diſtreſs ſhewed itſelf in every face, and the mournful looks of the people pleaded for pity. But the conſul ſhewing no regard to their tears, the whole aſſembly cried out, with one voice, *We give them back to their country and to their family*. But neither theſe interceſſions, nor the bitter lamentations of the young men, who called upon their father with the moſt indearing names, could ſoften the inflexible judge. He would not even abate of the puniſhment which was in ſuch caſes inflicted on the greateſt criminals. The lictors ſeized them, and having ſtripped them naked, and tied their hands behind them, they firſt beat them with rods, and then ſtruck off their heads, *Brutus* all the time gazing on the cruel ſpectacle, with a ſteady look and an unaltered countenance. When this execution was over, *Brutus* came down from the tribunal, quitted the comitia, and left the reſt of the criminals to the diſcretion of his collegue [u]. *Collatinus*, in-
clined to ſpare his nephews, allowed them one day to clear themſelves, and even ordered, that *Vindicius* ſhould be taken out of the hands of the accuſers, and delivered up to his maſters. This rouſed the zeal of *Valerius*, who had promiſed to protect the evidence.

Brutus *condemns his own ſons to death.*

Collatinus *is inclined to ſpare his nephews.*

[t] DIO. HAL. p. 283. PLUT. in Poplic. [u] DIO. HAL. & PLUT. ibid.

evidence. The lictors attempted in vain to force the important witneſs from him, and a the people called for *Brutus*, inſiſting upon his coming back to the comitia. The unfortunate father had had but a few minutes to recollect him elf, and ſecretly bewail the misfortunes of his family. However, he appeared again with the ſame firmneſs of mind he had ſhewn before, and, aſcending the tribunal, told the multitude, that what he had done was by virtue of his paternal authority over his children; but that for the reſt of the delinquents, it belonged to them to determine their fate, and either condemn his ſeverity by inſtances of lenity, or approve his firmneſs by examples of juſtice.

But they are executed.

Thus three articles of great importance to the riſing commonwealth were left to b the deciſion of the curiæ, *viz.* 1. What puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on the reſt of the conſpirators; 2. What puniſhment the embaſſadors of the *Tarquinienſes* had deſerved; 3. What reward ſhould be given to the diſcoverer of the conſpiracy. As to the firſt, they determined, that the conſpirators ſhould, without exception, ſuffer as rebels; which decree was accordingly executed. As to the ſecond, the embaſſadors were ſpared out of reſpect to the law of nations. In the third place, it was decreed, that *Vindicius* ſhould enjoy that liberty which he had ſecured to the *Romans* (U), and beſides, that he ſhould be rewarded with all the privileges of a *Roman* citizen, and with twenty-five thouſand aſſes of braſs, to be paid him out of the public treaſury. And now, though the people had formerly decreed, that the eſtates of the *Tarquins* ſhould be reſtored to them, the ſenate refuſed to the declared enemies of *Rome* thoſe means c which they deſigned to make uſe of for its deſtruction; ſo that their palace, with its beautiful portico, was deſtroyed, and their lands diſtributed among thoſe indigent citizens who had none of their own. The public kept only a piece of ground, lying between the city and the *Tiber*, and bordering on the *campus Martius*, which the king had, by an incroachment on the city, added to his demeſnes, and cultivated for his own profit. This piece of ground was conſecrated to *Mars*, and became afterwards a common field, where the *Roman* youth exerci'ed themſelves in running and wreſtling. After the field was conſecrated, the *Romans* ſcrupled making any advantage of the corn, which they found ready reaped to their hands, and therefore threw it, together with the trees which encompaſſed the field, into the *Tiber*. The water being at that time very low, the trees and ſheaves of corn, ſtopping in a muddy place, began to form that iſland, which, from the many temples built on it, was afterwards called the *holy iſland* [w] (W).

In the mean time, the weakneſs which *Collatinus* had betrayed at the trial of the conſpirators, had turned the ſuſpicions, which the people entertained of him, into hatred.

[w] Dio. Hal. & Plut. ibid.

(U) It is commonly believed, that the *Latin* phraſe, *vindicare in libertatem*, that is, *to ſet free*, had its riſe from the name of *Vindicius*. Some indeed derive it from the word *vindicta*, which ſignifies *a wand*, with which the prætor uſed to ſtrike the ſlave, whoſe maſter had a mind to ſet him at liberty. But in all likelihood the *vindicta*, or *wand itſelf*, took its name from *Vindicius*. The ceremony of granting freedoms publicly was thus performed: the ſlave was brought before the conſul, and in after-ages before the prætor, by his maſter, who, laying his hand upon his ſlave's head, ſaid to the prætor, *hunc hominem liberum eſſe volo*, and with that took him by *the hand*, and immediately let go his hold; whence came the *Latin* word *manumiſſio*, and the phraſe *è manu emittere*. Then he gave him a blow on the cheek, and preſented him to the conſul or prætor, who, ſtriking him gently with his *vindicta* or *wand*, pronounced theſe words, *aio te liberum eſſe more Quiritium*. Hence *Perſius*,

Vindicta poſtquam meus a prætore receſſit.

This ceremony being ended, the ſlave was regiſtered upon the roll of freed-men. Then he was ſhaved, and received a cap in token of his liberty. But this ceremony of taking the cap was performed in the temple of *Feronia*, the goddeſs of freed-men. In this temple there was a ſeat of ſtone with this inſcription, *Bene meriti ſervi ſedeant, ſurgant liberi.* The *pileus*, or *cap* was among the *Romans*, as is well known, a ſymbol of liberty. Another way of conferring freedom was by teſtament. A ſlave was ſaid to be free by teſtament, when his maſter, in conſideration of his faithful ſervice, had left him free by his laſt will. This kind of *liberti* or *freed-men* were ſtiled *Orcini*, becauſe their maſters were gone to *Orcus*, or *the infernal regions*. In alluſion to this cuſtom, thoſe ſenators were merrily diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Senatores Orcini*, who, upon the death of *Julius Cæſar*, thruſt themſelves into the ſenate without any juſt claim to the ſenatorial dignity (81). From theſe two manners of conferring freedom came the *Latin* expreſſions, *liber manumiſſione*, *liber teſtamento*.

(W) The *Romans* built ſeveral temples on the iſland, particularly three frequently ſpoke of by the ancients, *viz.* one dedicated to *Faunus*, another to *Jupiter*, and the third to *Æſculapius*, which was a very magnificent ſtructure. From theſe temples it was called *the ſacred iſland*. It was joined to the city, and to the *Janiculum* by two bridges, whence it took the name of *the iſland of the two bridges*.

(81) *Suet. in Octav. c.* 35.

a hatred. *Brutus*, obſerving this, took advantage of the diſpoſition of the multitude to get him depoſed. In a numerous aſſembly of the people he made a ſpeech, in which he bitterly inveighed againſt him, as if he had attempted the deſtruction of that liberty, which his honour obliged him to defend. He ended his harangue with theſe words; 'His ſoliciting you to reſtore to the enemies of *Rome* their eſtates, and to grant 'impunity to cruel conſpirators, have unmaſked a partiſan of the *Tarquins*, concealed 'under the appearance of a conſul. Let us prevent, O *Romans*, the evils, which a 'domeſtic enemy is preparing for us. Let us deprive him of that authority which he 'abuſes, and wreſt that ſword out of his hand with which he threatens us. In my judg-'ment he ought to be depoſed. I therefore order you to aſſemble by curiæ, to deter-b 'mine by your ſuffrages, whether *Collatinus* or *Brutus* is to be your conſul, you cannot 'have both; for I from this moment renounce the conſulſhip, if *Collatinus* is to ſhare 'the government with me.' Theſe words made ſo deep an impreſſion on the minds of the multitude, that they would not hear *Collatinus*, when he began to ſpeak in his own defence. His only reſource was to forbid the people, by virtue of his authority as conſul, to hold the aſſembly, which his collegue had appointed; but this prohibition was a new provocation, which raiſed the indignation of the people to ſuch a height, that they cried out to have their votes inſtantly taken, and were going to depoſe *Collatinus* with ignominy, and baniſh him by a public decree. But *Spurius Lucretius*, his father-in-law, having obtained leave of the conſuls to ſpeak to the aſſembly, adviſed c *Collatinus* voluntarily to reſign into the hands of the people that authority which he had received from them. Then he exhorted *Brutus* not to inſiſt on the diſgraceful baniſhment of a collegue, who, jointly with him, had been one of the principal authors of the common liberty, adding, that if *Collatinus* ſhould, of his own accord, diveſt himſelf of the conſulſhip, it would be but reaſonable, that the *Romans* ſhould mitigate the uneaſineſs of his voluntary retirement by their liberality, ſo as to enable him to ſupport the dignity of a *Roman* conſul in his retirement. This advice was received with univerſal applauſe. *Collatinus* reſigned the conſulſhip; and *Brutus*, after having commended his wiſdom, to ſhew that he had no perſonal enmity to him, procured him a preſent of twenty talents out of the public treaſury, to which he added d five talents of his own. *Collatinus* retired to *Lavinium*, where he led a quiet life, and died in a very advanced age [x] (X).

Collatinus *is forced to abdicate the conſulſhip.*

Brutus, that the people might have no room to ſuſpect that he intended to govern ſingly, immediately aſſembled the people by centuries in the *campus martius*, for the election of a new conſul, when *Publius Valerius* was choſen, a man remarkable for his eloquence, for the talent of reconciling differences, an exceſſive abſtemiouſneſs, leverity to himſelf, and compaſſion for the miſeries of other men (Y). As the two conſuls

P. Valerius *is choſen to ſucceed him.*

[x] Dio. Hal. p. 287. Plut. ibid.

(X) *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* differs in his account of this whole matter from *Plutarch*, whom we have followed, thinking his relation of theſe tranſactions more agreeable to the temper of *Brutus*. The former writer tells us, that *Brutus*, immediately after the execution of his children, cauſed the *Aquilii* to be brought before him, and gave them leave to make their defence; and that they, after their letters were read aloud, having recourſe to tears and entreaties only, owned the crimes that were laid to their charge. Whereupon the inflexible *Brutus* ordered the lictors to ſeize them, and execute the law upon them. *Collatinus* ſuſpended the execution, and made the warmeſt remonſtrances in favour of the conſpirators; but being piqued at the obſtinacy of *Brutus*, he had recourſe to his authority and pardoned the criminals. This ſo exaſperated *Brutus*, that he committed the *Aquilii* to priſon, in ſpite of the oppoſition of his collegue, and accuſed him before the people of treaſon and perfidiouſneſs. *Collatinus*, finding the people obſtinately bent againſt him and thoſe whoſe defence he had undertaken, thought he could no longer exerciſe the office of conſul with dignity, and therefore abdicated. *Brutus*, upon his abdication, put all thoſe to death, who had been any-ways concerned in the conſpiracy. *Livy* ſays, that *Collatinus* was obliged to lay down the conſulſhip, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had the misfortune to be deſcended from the *Tarquins*. The ſame author places the conſpiracy of the *Vitellii* and *Aquilii* in the conſulſhip of *Brutus* and *Valerius*, after *Collatinus* was depoſed; but therein he is contradicted both by *Plutarch* and *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, who place the circumſtances of the conſpiracy in the order we have related them.

(Y) *Valerius* was originally a *Sabine*, and ſtill preſerved that auſterity of manners, which was profeſſed in the country of his anceſtors. The firſt of his family, who ſettled at *Rome*, was *Valerius Voleſus*, or, as *Feſtus* and the *Faſti Capitolini* call him, *Veluſus*. *Plutarch* gives him the honour of negotiating the peace between *Romulus* and *Tatius*. *Valerius Voleſus*, the father of *P. Valerius*, left him a great eſtate, the beſt part of which he applied to the relief of the indigent in the time of the kings, when his liberality could not proceed from any hopes of preferment. He was a man of great eloquence, conſidering the ruſticity of the *Romans* in thoſe days; but is ſaid never to have made uſe of the art of perſuaſion but to defend the oppreſſed, as he made no other uſe of his great wealth, but to relieve the miſerable. However, he was not free from ambition, and had taken it very much amiſs, that the people, in the former election, had preferred to him one of the blood of the *Tarquins*.

consuls were equally eminent for their love of virtue and of the public good, there was a perfect harmony between them. They began their administration by passing a law, which granted a general amnesty to all those who had followed the fortune of the *Tarquins*, provided they returned to the city within twenty days. This wise precaution deprived the banished king of a great number of friends and soldiers, and brought back to *Rome* many persons of eminent parts [y]. However, *Tarquin* was not so discouraged by the desertion of the *Romans*, as to lose all hopes of recovering the kingdom, and getting by force what he could not carry by stratagem. He had recourse to the *Veientes*, the old enemies of *Rome*, and having engaged them and the *Tarquinienses* to unite their forces in the support of his cause, he advanced towards *Rome*. The consuls, without delay, marched out to meet him. *Brutus* commanded the horse, and *Valerius* the foot, drawn up in a square battalion. When the two armies were in sight of one another, a motion was made on both sides to begin the onset. *Brutus* advanced with his cavalry, and *Aruns*, one of *Tarquin*'s sons, at the same time came forward at the head of the enemy's horse. *Aruns* no sooner discovered *Brutus*, attended with lictors, but, inflamed with rage, he cried out, *There he is, the enemy of my family, the usurper of my father's throne.* This said, he pushed on his horse, and *Brutus* flew to meet him. As the two champions were hurried on more by hatred and rage, than the love of glory, passion left no room on either side for skill or precaution. They rushed on to the encounter with such fury, that they were both run through the body. Their horses, meeting each other with a violent shock, threw their dying riders; and the death of these generals was the prelude to the battle, which continued till night with dubious success, it not being known in either camp which side had gained the victory, or which had lost the greater number of men; but in the night the *Hetrurians*, being terrified by a voice which was heard out of the neighbouring wood of *Arsia*, declaring the *Romans* conquerors, without doubt a stratagem of *Valerius*, abandoned their camp in great confusion, disbanded, and returned into their own country. Hereupon *Valerius*, remaining master of the field, plundered the enemy's camp; and, having caused the slain to be numbered, found, that the *Hetrurians* had lost eleven thousand three hundred men, and the *Romans* but one man short of that number. For this victory *Valerius* triumphed on his return to the city, after a more magnificent manner than any before him. Soon after he buried his collegue *Brutus* with great pomp, and gave *Rome* the first example of those funeral orations, which were ever after made in commendation of great men. The women distinguished themselves on this occasion, for looking upon *Brutus* as the avenger of the honour of their sex, they mourned for him a whole year (Z). As *Valerius* deferred some time convening the centuries for the election of a new consul, the *Romans*, who carried their love of liberty to an excess, began to put a bad construction upon his delays; and their jealousy was in some measure countenanced by his building at that time a fine house, on a steep part of the hill *Palatinus*, which commanded the forum. But *Valerius*, being informed of their uneasiness, caused the house to be levelled with the ground the very next night; and having called the people together as soon as it was day, he expostulated with them about their groundless suspicions, bid them go see the ruins of that building which had given them umbrage, and told them, that he designed to fix his habitation in the valley, that they might, from the top of the hill, crush him with stones, if he was still the object of their jealousy. When he had ended his speech, he ordered the comitia to assemble for the election of a new consul. On this occasion *Rome* gave a fresh proof of her gratitude to the first authors of her liberty; for *Sp. Lucretius*, the father of *Lucretia*, was unanimously chosen to succeed *Brutus*. He was the only person who remained unrewarded of the four patricians, who had bound themselves by oath to deliver their

The Tarquinienses *and* Veientes *declare for* Tarquin.

Brutus *slain in the engagement.*

[y] Dion. Halicar. p. 288.

(Z) *Brutus* is deservedly counted by all the ancients among the most illustrious heroes we find mentioned in history. He restored liberty to his country, secured it with the blood of his own sons, and died in defending it against an usurper. The *Romans* looked upon him as a second founder of their city, and owned, that he had undergone more hardships and dangers in establishing the commonwealth, than *Romulus* had done in founding the kingdom. The *Romans* afterwards erected his statue in the capitol, where he was placed in the midst of the kings of *Rome*, with a naked sword in his hand. It plainly appears, that he left no issue; and yet *Tully* mentions *Marcus Brutus*, one of the chief conspirators against *Cæsar*, as lineally descended from the first consul; but herein he is contradicted by most of the ancients, who tell us, that *Junius Brutus* left no children behind him.

their country from ſlavery. He was therefore pitched upon for the conſular dignity; but the new conſul died a few days after his election; ſo that *Valerius* was once more ſole governor. And now the many proofs which he gave the people of his zeal for their intereſt, gained him the name of *Poplicola*, or *Popular*, which he ever after retained. He began his adminiſtration by ordering the axes, which were ſo apt to ſtrike terror, to be taken out of the faſces, which he obliged the lictors to lower in the aſſemblies of the people. He made ſeveral laws in favour of the people, which greatly retrenched the conſular power. By one he allowed an appeal from the conſuls to the people. By another he exempted artificers, widows, and old men, who had no children to relieve them, from paying tribute. A third law preſcribed an abſolute ſubmiſſion to the orders of the conſuls; but limited the fine laid upon thoſe who diſobeyed them, to the value of five oxen and two rams. He alſo puniſhed a fourth, making it lawful to kill, without waiting for a legal condemnation, any perſon who ſhould aſpire to the ſovereign power. Impunity was promiſed to the murderer, provided he could prove the ill deſigns of the perſon he had killed. The laſt law he enacted was, with relation to the public money, which he ordered to be removed from his own houſe to the temple of *Saturn*, where it was committed to the care of two ſenators of probity, choſen by the people, and afterwards called *quæſtors* (A) [z].

Valerius *gets the name of* Poplicola *or* Popular.

His laws in favour of the people.

Poplicola

[z] Liv. l. ii. c. 7.

(A) According to *Plutarch*, there were no quæſtors in *Rome* till *Poplicola*'s time; and this office was originally annexed to that of the conſuls, or rather a branch of it. But *Ulpian*, on the contrary, pretends, and quotes ſeveral authors to ſupport his opinion, that there were quæſtors even in *Tullus Hoſtilius*'s reign. To reconcile theſe two opinions, it is to be obſerved, that the name of quæſtors among the *Romans* had two different ſignifications; ſometimes it ſignified commiſſioners, by whom capital crimes were cognizable, and ſometimes magiſtrates, who were put in commiſſion for managing the public money. *Ulpian* might ſpeak of the former ſort of quæſtors, as being in the time of the kings; and *Plutarch* of the other, which was introduced by *Poplicola* in the time of the commonwealth. The office of the quæſtors was to take care of the public treaſure, for which they were accountable when their year was out; for their office laſted no longer; to furniſh the neceſſary ſums for the ſervice of the public; and to receive embaſſadors, attend them, and provide them with lodgings and other neceſſaries. When the army returned from any war, the military enſigns were put into their hands, to be depoſited by them in the temple of *Saturn*. A general could not obtain the honours of a triumph, till he had given them a faithful account of the ſpoils taken from the enemy, and ſwore to it. Tho' the quæſtors had no *juriſdiction*, that is, could not cite any perſon to appear before them, or impriſon a man; *Neque vocationem, neque prehenſionem habebant, atque ad prætorem in jus vocari poterant*, ſays *Aulus Gellius* (82); yet the moſt illuſtrious patricians, and even thoſe who had been conſuls, did not think this office beneath them. We find in the ancient annals, that *Titus Quinctius Capitolinus* and *M. Valerius* were quæſtors, after they had enjoyed the honour of the conſulſhip three times. *Cato* the elder accepted the quæſtorſhip after he had triumphed, and diſcharged the firſt and moſt honourable employments of the republic. There were at firſt two quæſtors only, and thoſe of the patrician order; but, as their buſineſs increaſed, it was thought adviſeable to create two more, whoſe province was confined to the paying of the armies abroad, and the ſelling of the plunder and booty. When this regulation came to be paſſed into a law by the people, the tribunes inſiſted, that it ſhould not paſs, but upon condition, that two of the four quæſtors ſhould be plebeians. This the ſenate and conſuls oppoſed at firſt, but were at length obliged to yield to the demands of the tribunes. Theſe new quæſtors were called *quæſtores conſulares*, *militares*, and *peregrini*. They attended the *Roman* armies, paid the troops, and ſold the ſpoils and priſoners taken from the enemy. The other quæſtors were called *quæſtores ærarii* and *urbani*, becauſe they were quæſtors of the treaſury, and reſided at *Rome*. In the laſt conſulſhip of *Fabius Gurges*, that is, about the year of *Rome* 488, the great increaſe of the republic cauſed the number of the quæſtors to be doubled. The four new ones were called *provincial quæſtors*; and each of them had his province, where he reſided, thoſe parts of *Italy*, which were ſubject to *Rome*, being divided into four large provinces or diſtricts. The provincial quæſtors were afterwards multiplied, in proportion as the republic inlarged her conqueſts. The *military quæſtors* and the *urbani*, or thoſe who reſided in *Rome*, had neither curule chairs, nor lictors, nor *apparitores*, nor any other marks of diſtinction annexed to their office; nay, they were obliged to appear before the prætor, when ſummoned by the meaneſt of the citizens; but the provincial quæſtors, to increaſe the ſtate of the *Roman* people, were allowed to appear in their provinces with the *pretexta*, and guarded by lictors with their faſces. This is plain from ſeveral paſſages in *Tully*. In his third oration againſt *Verres*, *The two* Sicilian *quæſtors*, ſays he, *came before me with their faſces*; and in his oration for *Plancius*, he acknowledges it as a favour, that *Plancius*, tho' then quæſtor, came to receive him at *Dyrrachium* without his lictors and the uſual marks of his dignity. The office of the provincial quæſtors was to take the ſame care of the revenues of the provinces, which the *quæſtores ærarii* had of the revenues at *Rome*. They were particularly concerned in all caſes relating to proviſions; and no contract for corn could be made without them. The four provincial quæſtorſhips were ſought for by the moſt ambitious, before *Rome* had extended her conqueſts beyond *Italy*; but when ſhe had brought the eaſt and weſt under ſubjection, and great kingdoms were become ſo many provinces, the four *Italian* ones began to be deſpiſed. The proconſuls and proprætors, that is, the governors of thoſe provinces and kingdoms, had each his quæſtor to take care of the revenues; and then the quæſtorſhips of the large and diſtant provinces were moſt greedily

ſought

(82) *Aul. Gel. l.* xiii. *c.* 13.

Poplicola had no ſooner enacted theſe laws, and made ſeveral other regulations very advantagious for the people, but he aſſembled the comitia for the election of a new conſul, which he had deferred, only becauſe he apprehended, that a collegue might poſſibly oppoſe his deſign of diminiſhing the conſular power. The choice fell upon *Horatius Pulvillus*; and a few months after his election, the firſt year of the conſular power being expired, *Poplicola* was choſen again, and with him was joined *T. Lucretius*, the brother of the famous *Lucretia*. The new conſuls revived the cenſus and the luſtrum, and on that occaſion found one hundred and thirty thouſand men in *Rome*, who were at, or paſt, the age of puberty [a].

In the mean time, *Poplicola*'s ſecond conſulſhip being expired, he was choſen a third time, and with him *Horatius Pulvillus*, who had before been conſul for a few months. During their conſulſhip, *Porſena*, king of the *Cluſini*, one of the twelve nations of *Hetruria*, being gained by the great promiſes of *Tarquin*, eſpouſed his cauſe, and, at the head of a prodigious, but ſomewhat confuſed, multitude of *Hetrurians*, advanced to the banks of the *Tiber*. The firſt poſt he attacked was the fort of the *Janiculum*, which he made himſelf maſter of, obliging the *Romans* to retire over the bridge into the city. This firſt ſhock put them into confuſion; but the conſuls, encouraging their men, made them paſs the river with the utmoſt expedition, and drew them up in order of battle beyond the bridge, to ſecure the paſs. Hereupon *Porſena* advanced to engage them. The victory was long doubtful; but *M. Valerius*, *Poplicola*'s brother, and *T. Lucretius*, who were at the head of the left wing, being both wounded and carried out of the field, a general terror ſeized the *Roman* army. *Horatius Cocles*, a brave *Roman*, having endeavoured in vain to rally the terrified legions, reſolved rather to die than abandon his poſt; and being joined by *Sp. Lartius* and *T. Herminius*, theſe three heroes placed themſelves in the narrow paſs which led to the bridge, and there, calling out to the *Romans* to break it down, valiantly oppoſed the enemy, till the demolition of the bridge was near completed. Then *Horatius*, having prevailed upon his companions to croſs the river on a few planks which remained, ſuſtained for ſome time alone the attack of the enemy. At length, being wounded in the thigh, upon a ſignal given him that the bridge was quite demoliſhed, he leaped into the river, and gained the oppoſite bank, through a ſhower of darts. Thus, by the wonderful bravery of one man, was the city and republic ſaved from impending ruin. The whole city was ſo ſenſible of this, that they all haſtened to pay their acknowledgments to their deliverer. They crowned him at his arrival, carried him on their arms from the place where he landed into the city, and erected a ſtatue of braſs to him in the temple of *Vulcan*. The ſenate gave him as much land as one plough could incloſe within a circular furrow in one day; and tho' there was a great ſcarcity in *Rome*, yet the inhabitants, to the number of three hundred thouſand, aſſeſſed themſelves, to make him a preſent of as much proviſions as each of them conſumed in a day. However, as *Horatius* had but one eye, whence he was ſurnamed *Cocles*, and continued lame the remaining part of his life, theſe defects prevented his ever being elected conſul.

Porſena *king of* Cluſium *eſpouſes the cauſe of the* Tarquins.

The remarkable bravery of Horatius Cocles.

As

[a] Dio. Hal. l. v. p. 293.

ſought for by thoſe who were qualified to ſtand candidates for them. They were there out of the ſight of the ſenate, and ſometimes in rich governments, where they could raiſe more money, and were more honoured and reſpected; for this reaſon, when the quæſtors drew lots in the preſence of the *Roman* tribes for the quæſtorſhips, the perſon, to whom any of the *Italian* ones fell, became the jeſt of the people. *He goes to the waters*, ſaid the people, meaning, that he was going to live quietly near *Rome*, as thoſe *Romans* did, who went to *Baia* or *Puteoli* for the waters. Some think, that this proverb alludes to the office of the *Italian* quæſtors, who were often obliged to go to the ſea-ports to collect the impoſts the republic had laid on exported goods. The quæſtors were firſt choſen by the people, and afterwards by the conſuls, the quæſtorſhip being originally a branch of their office. In *Tully*'s time they were again choſen by the people in the comitia by tribes; of which more hereafter. The office of quæſtor, tho' often diſcharged by perſons who had been conſuls, was the firſt ſtep to great employments. None could ſtand for the quæſtorſhip till they attained to a certain age; but to determine the exact age the laws required, is no eaſy matter. Some pretend, that none could undertake this office till they were twenty-ſeven, and quote *Polybius* in favour of their opinion; for that author writes (83), that the quæſtorſhip was not to be obtained till after ten years ſervice in the army; and the *Romans* uſually entered into the army at the age of ſeventeen. Others think, that the age fixed by the law was twenty-four or twenty-five. In proceſs of time, when honours were obtained by intrigues and favour, theſe laws were neglected; for *Cæſar* and *Pollio* were quæſtors, as *Quintilian* informs us (84), long before they were of the age the law required.

(83) *Polyb. l.* vi.

(84) *Quintil. l.* xii.

As *Porſena* was maſter of the country on both ſides of the river, it was very difficult to find proviſions for ſo great a number of inhabitants. A famine therefore began to be felt, and many of the indigent populace, who, in ſuch caſes, are the firſt ſufferers, went to ſeek bread in the enemy's camp; but the conſuls kept up the courage of the beſt citizens, by aſſuring them, that a convoy of corn would ſoon arrive in the camp from *Pometia*: and their expectations were not diſappointed; many boats loaded with corn ſafely entered the port of *Rome* in the night. But in a ſhort time the city was again reduced to great ſtraits; which *Porſena* having notice of, ſent the *Romans* word, that he would deliver them from the hunger they ſuffered, if they would receive their old maſters; but they, notwithſtanding their preſent diſtreſs, returned this anſwer, That hunger was a leſs evil than ſlavery and oppreſſion.

In the mean time, the conſuls formed a ſcheme for drawing the enemy into an ambuſcade; and for that purpoſe ſpread at *Rome* a report, which was ſoon carried into the *Hetrurian* camp by the ſlaves who deſerted, that the next day all the cattle brought thither from the country, would be ſent to graze in the fields under a guard. This bait drew the enemy into an ambuſh, in which five thouſand of them were cut in pieces; but, notwithſtanding this and ſome other ſmall advantages, *Rome* was almoſt wearied out with ſo long a ſiege, when *Mucius Cordus*, a young *Roman* of an illuſtrious birth, formed a deſign, which raiſed the courage of the people. He prevailed upon the conſuls to conſent to it, and imparted it to the ſenators, leſt his leaving *Rome* ſhould be looked upon as a deſertion; but all he told them was, that he intended to croſs the *Tiber*, enter the enemy's camp, and there execute ſome great exploit. The conſuls and ſenate having encouraged him to undertake any thing in the preſent deplorable ſtate of *Rome*, he went out of the city with a poniard under his garment, and, being dreſſed in the *Hetrurian* habit, entered the enemy's camp undiſcovered, mixed with the *Hetrurian* ſoldiers, whoſe language he had learned from his infancy, and made his way quite to the king's tent. It happened to be the day on which the troops were all reviewed and paid, and *Porſena*'s ſecretary, magnificently dreſſed, was ſitting on the ſame tribunal with the king, giving audience and receiving petitions. *Mucius*, miſtaking him for the king, leaped upon the tribunal, and, with one ſtroke of his poniard, laid him dead at the king's feet. He then attempted to make his eſcape through the multitude that ſtood amazed at ſo bold and unexpected an attempt; but being ſeized and brought back to the tribunal, which he had juſt ſtained with blood, *Thou execrable aſſaſſin*, ſaid the king, *who art thou? whence comeſt thou? who are thy accomplices?* To which words *Mucius*, leſs terrified than his judge, made this reply; *I am a* Roman, *and my name is* Mucius Cordus. *My deſign was to deliver* Rome *from her moſt cruel enemy; diſcharge therefore all thy fury upon me. Thou haſt been an eye-witneſs of my courage, now try my conſtancy with tortures; and then thou wilt be forced to confeſs, that* Roman *bravery has made me capable both of attempting whatever man can do, and ſuffering what human nature can endure.* This diſcourſe filled *Porſena* with amazement; but he was ſtill more ſurprized when he ſaw the *Roman*, with a ſteady countenance, and a look, which teſtified his inward rage at having miſſed his blow, thruſt his right hand into a pan of burning coals, and there held it a great while without ſhewing any ſigns of pain. So ſurpriſing a ſight changed the king's reſentment into admiration. *Porſena* granted him his life and liberty, and reſtored him the dagger, which he had made uſe of with a deſign to ſtab him. *Mucius*, who had now loſt the uſe of his right hand, took it with his left; and thence had the ſurname of *Scævola*, that is, *Left-hand*[b].

The deſperate enterprize, and wonderful reſolution of Mucius Scævola.

Mucius was in his turn charmed with the generoſity of his enemy; but had the preſence of mind to invent a ſtory for the ſervice of his country. He pretended to diſcover to the king a plot, which, he ſaid, was formed at *Rome* againſt his life by three hundred young *Romans*, all as reſolute as himſelf, who were diſperſed in the *Hetrurian* camp, and had bound themſelves, by the moſt ſacred oaths, to attempt his life, one after another, at the ſame hazard as he had done. *Porſena*, ſtruck with terror at this pretended diſcovery, as ſoon as *Mucius* was retired, called a council to deliberate about the means of preſerving himſelf from the dangers which threatened him. His friends and counſellors ſuggeſted various precautions; but none of them ſeeming ſufficient to remove his uneaſineſs, his ſon *Aruns*, a great admirer of the *Roman* virtue, adviſed him to render all precautions needleſs, by abandoning the cauſe

[b] Liv. l. ii. c. 12. Plut. in Poplic.

cauſe of a few exiles, and concluding a peace with the *Romans*. His advice made an impreſſion on *Porſena*; and, as the *Hetrurians* had already begun to complain of the length of the ſiege, he ſent deputies to *Rome*, whoſe demands ſhewed, that their maſter had much abated of his former pretenſions; for they did not inſiſt on the reſtoration of the *Tarquins*, but only on the reſtitution of their eſtates, or an equivalent. And, in regard of their own nation, they required the *Romans* to re-inſtate the *Veientes* in the poſſeſſion of ſeven villages, which they had taken from them in former wars. The embaſſadors were received at *Rome* with joy; and their demands being heard in the ſenate, *Poplicola* prevailed upon the ſenators to comply with them; but the people would not conſent to the firſt article, till *Porſena* had heard the ſtrong reaſons they had to offer againſt it; after which they were willing to leave it to his arbitration. As to the other article, they readily agreed to it, and offered hoſtages to ſecure the performance of it. A truce being agreed on, the *Romans* ſent their deputies to *Porſena*'s camp, to plead their cauſe againſt the *Tarquins*, and with them the hoſtages they had promiſed, ten young men, and as many virgins, of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*. Among theſe were the ſon of *Horatius* the conſul, *Valeria* the daughter of *Poplicola*, and the famous *Clælia*. The reception *Porſena* gave the *Roman* envoys, raiſed the jealouſy of the *Tarquins*, who, ſtill retaining their ancient pride, refuſed to admit *Porſena* for a judge between them and the *Romans*. But the king, without any regard to their oppoſition, reſolved to ſatisfy himſelf, by an exact enquiry, whether the protection he had given the *Tarquins* was juſt? But while the cauſe was ready to be opened before the *Roman* deputies, news was brought, that the young women, whom the *Romans* had ſent as hoſtages, had ventured to ſwim croſs the *Tiber* and were returned to *Rome*. They had gone to bathe in the river, and *Clælia* happening to turn her eyes towards her native city, that ſight raiſed in her a deſire of returning to it. She therefore ventured to ſwim croſs the river; and having encouraged her companions to follow her, they all got ſafe to the oppoſite ſhore, and returned to their fathers houſes (B). The return of the hoſtages gave the conſul *Poplicola* great uneaſineſs; he was afraid leſt this raſh action might be imputed to want of fidelity in the *Romans*. To remove therefore all ſuſpicions, he ſent a deputation to the *Hetrurian* camp, aſſuring the king, that *Rome* had no ſhare in the fooliſh attempt of the young women, and promiſing to ſend them immediately back to the camp from whence they had fled. *Porſena* was eaſily appeaſed; but the news of the ſpeedy return of the hoſtages being known in the camp, the *Tarquins*, without any regard to the truce, or reſpect to the king their protector, lay in ambuſh on the road to ſurprize them. *Poplicola*, having put himſelf at the head of the *Roman* troops who eſcorted them, ſuſtained the attack of the *Tarquins*, tho' ſudden and unexpected, till his daughter *Valeria* rode full ſpeed to the *Hetrurian* camp, and gave notice of the danger her father and companions were in; and then *Aruns*, the king's ſon, flying with a great body of cavalry to their relief, put the aggreſſors to the rout. This notorious piece of treachery in the *Tarquins*, gave *Porſena* ſtrong ſuſpicions of the badneſs of their cauſe. He therefore aſſembled the chief commanders of the *Hetrurians*, and having heard in their preſence the complaints of the *Romans*, and the juſtification of their proceedings againſt the *Tarquins*, he was ſo ſtruck with horror at the recital of the crimes the *Tarquins* were charged with, that he immediately ordered them to leave his camp, declaring, that he renounced his alliance with them, and would no longer continue the hoſpitality he had ſhewn them. He then commanded the ten young virgins to be brought before him, and inquired, who was the firſt author and chief manager of the enterprize? They all kept ſilence, till *Clælia* herſelf, with an air of intrepidity, confeſſed, that ſhe alone was guilty, and that ſhe had encouraged the others by her advice. Upon this, the king, extolling her reſolution above the bravery of *Horatius* and the intrepidity of *Mucius*, made her a preſent of a fine horſe with ſumptuous furniture. After this he concluded a peace with the *Romans*,

Porſena *deſiſts from his demand of having* Tarquin *reſtored.*

***The adventure of* Clælia.**

Porſena *renounces his alliance with the* Tarquins.

(B) Authors vary as to the circumſtances of this fact; for *Livy* ſays, that the young woman croſſed the river in ſight of the *Hetrurians*, who lined the ſhore, and in the midſt of the darts, which were diſcharged at them from all parts. *Aurelius Victor* and *Florus* tell us, that *Clælia*, having accidentally found a horſe, croſſed the river on horſe-back. *Porſena*, as we have ſaid, preſented her with a fine horſe; which might give riſe to this fable. An equeſtrian ſtatue was erected to her memory in the *via ſacra*, which, according to *Plutarch*, was to be ſeen in his time (85). *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* ſays it was conſumed by fire.

(85) *Plut. in Poplicol.*

Romans, and reſtored to them all their hoſtages, declaring, that their bare word was
a to him ſufficient ſecurity for the performance of the articles [c].

His generoſity towards the Romans.

AND now *Porſena*, being to return to *Cluſium*, gave, before his departure, a further teſtimony of his reſpect and friendſhip for the *Romans*. He knew, that *Rome* was greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions; but being afraid to offend the inhabitants by relieving them in a direct manner, he ordered his ſoldiers to leave behind them their tents and proviſions, and to carry nothing with them but their arms. As his camp abounded with all ſorts of proviſions, *Rome* was hereby much relieved in her wants. The moveables and corn of the *Hetrurians* were ſold by auction to private perſons; and on this occaſion the *Romans* took up the cuſtom of making a procla-
b mation by a herald, whenever any effects belonging to the public were to be ſold, in the following words, *Theſe are* Porſena's *goods*. The deſign of this was to preſerve the memory of that prince's kindneſs. The ſenate, not ſatisfied with this, erected a ſtatue of the king near the comitium, and ſent an embaſſy to him with a preſent of a throne adorned with ivory, a ſceptre, a crown of gold, and a triumphal robe [d].

AFTER the departure of *Porſena*, the *Romans* firſt rewarded thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves during the ſiege, eſpecially *Mucius Scævola*, to whom they gave a large piece of ground belonging to the public. Their next care was, to ſhew their gratitude to the gods, by ſome public act of religion; and as the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* had not yet been conſecrated, the ſenate ordered the conſecration
c of it. It naturally belonged to one of the conſuls to perform the ceremony; but it was the right of the ſenate to appoint which of the conſuls they pleaſed. The patricians had been long jealous of the glory, which *Poplicola* had acquired in his three conſulſhips; and therefore, in order to rob him of this mark of diſtinction, ordered him to march out againſt ſome *Latin* troops, that committed ravages in the *Roman* territory, and, in his abſence, appointed his collegue *Horatius Pulvillus* to perform the ceremony. As he was beginning the conſecration, *Poplicola*'s brother, *Marcus*, cried out, *I give you notice, that your ſon has loſt his life in a battle.* This was falſe; but he hoped by theſe words to interrupt the ceremony. But *Horatius*, without ſhewing the leaſt concern, coldly replied, *Then let him be buried*, and finiſhed the
d conſecration. Thus *Poplicola* ended the glorious year of his third conſulſhip, with receiving a mortification, which could not but ſenſibly affect him. *Spurius Lartius* and *T. Herminius*, who had ſo valiantly defended the bridge, were choſen conſuls for the next year; which proved a year of peace.

The Sabines *twice defeated.*

IN the conſulſhip of *M. Valerius*, brother to *Poplicola*, and *P. Poſthumius*, who ſucceeded the above-mentioned conſuls, the *Sabines*, invading the *Roman* territories, committed great devaſtations. Whereupon the two conſuls took the field; and having divided their forces into two bodies, *Poſthumius* with one of them encamped at a ſmall diſtance from *Rome*, to prevent a ſurprize from the *Tarquins*; while *Valerius* poſted himſelf at *Tibur* upon the *Anio*. As the *Sabines* were encamped on the
e oppoſite bank, *Valerius*, by the advice of his brother *Poplicola*, croſſing the river, offered them battle; which they not declining, a bloody engagement enſued, wherein *Valerius* gained ſome advantage with his right; but his left being almoſt puſhed into the river, he was very near loſing the day, when his collegue who had notice of the action, coming ſeaſonably to his relief, attacked the enemy in flank, and put them to flight. The *Sabine* troops would have been intirely cut off, if night coming on had not given them an opportunity to eſcape. For this victory the conſuls were decreed a triumph, and they both entered *Rome* in the ſame chariot. *Valerius* is ſaid to have gained the ſame year a ſecond victory over the *Sabines*, and to have killed thirteen thouſand of them, without the loſs of one *Roman*. The republic therefore,
f to reward him according to his merit, built him a houſe, and, to diſtinguiſh it from all others, ordered the door to be ſo hung, as to open outwards to the ſtreet; whereas the doors of all other houſes opened inwards. As for *Poſthumius*, he was allowed to have a burial-place for himſelf and his family within the walls of *Rome*; a privilege never before granted to any [e].

Appius Claudius *ſettles at* Rome,

THE next year, when *Poplicola* was conſul the fourth time, the *Sabines* renewed the war. *Attius Clauſus*, the moſt eminent man in *Sabinia*, for riches, valour, and eloquence, firſt retarded their preparations, by ſpeaking in all their diets againſt a war with *Rome*, and then came over to the *Romans*, with five thouſand families of his friends

[c] DIO. HAL. p. 302. LIV. l. ii. c. 4. PLUT. ibid.
[d] DIO. HAL. p. 303. LIV. & PLUT. ibid
[e] PLUT. ibid. PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 15.

friends and dependents. On his arrival at *Rome*, he changed his name to *Appius* a *Claudius*, was immediately declared a patrician, and took his place in the ſenate. Twenty-five acres of land were given him in fee, and a quarter in the city aſſigned for his friends and followers, to each of which were granted two acres of ground, wi h all the rights and privileges of *Roman* citizens. Theſe donations were made irrevocable by a decree of the ſenate, confirmed by the ſuffrages of the people. The family of the *Claudii* became afterwards one of the moſt illuſtrious families of *Rome*. The *Sabines*, inraged at the departure of *Clauſus*, took the field with a very conſiderable army; and it was very lucky for *Rome* that they determined to come to a battle before the year of *Poplicola*'s conſulſhip was out. The *Sabine* army was divided into two bodies, one of which incamped in the open field near *Fidena*; the other kept within the walls of that city, to guard it, and ſecure a retreat to the other body, in caſe they were defeated. On the other hand, the conſuls, having likewiſe divided their army into two bodies, marched out againſt the enemy. *Poplicola* took his poſt over-againſt the *Sabines*, while *Lucretius*, the other conſul, encamped on an eminence within reach of his collegue. The *Romans* were eager to engage immediately, and end the diſpute at once by a deciſive battle; but the *Sabines*, not daring to venture an engagement in the day-time, reſolved to make a ſudden attack on the enemy's camp in the dead of the night. With this view they prepared great quantities of faſcines to fill up the ditch, and ſcaling ladders to mount the ramparts. That body of *Sabines*, which guarded *Fidenæ*, was ordered to march out of the town on the firſt ſignal, and fetching a large compaſs, to lie in ambuſh behind *Lucretius*'s camp, in order to ſurprize it, when *Lucretius* ſhould march to the aſſiſtance of his collegue, and then charge him in the rear. But the wiſe *Poplicola*, receiving timely intelligence of the enemy's deſigns, inſtantly diſpatched his brother *Marcus* to the other camp, to acquaint *Lucretius* with the night-expedition reſolved upon by the *Sabines*. Both conſuls, having taken the neceſſary precautions, waited for the enemy, without ſuffering their troops to ſhew any marks of ſuſpecting their intention. The *Sabines* marched ſilently out of their camp before midnight, and drawing near the *Roman* entrenchments, filled up the ditch with faſcines, and paſſed over to ſcale the rampart; but, as faſt as they advanced to it, they were, without any noiſe, ſtabbed by the *Romans*, who were drawn up in the ſpace between the ditch and the rampart. The ſlaughter continued till the moon roſe, when the *Sabines* diſcovering the dead bodies of their companions, and the *Roman* troops, who had ſtrewed the ground with them without being perceived, betook themſelves to a confuſed flight. The *Romans* purſued them with loud ſhouts; which being heard by *Lucretius*, he, in his turn, went to attack the body that lay in ambuſh, and gained a complete victory over them. In this action thirteen thouſand *Sabines* were killed on the ſpot, and four thouſand two hundred taken priſoners [f]. *Poplicola*, taking advantage of the enemy's conſternation, advanced with all his forces to *Fidenæ*; and having taken the place by aſſault, put to death the heads of the revolt; but ſpared the other inhabitants, obliging them only to ſurrender part of their lands, for the ſupport of the gariſon he left in the city. *Poplicola*, on his return to *Rome*, was honoured with a triumph; but ſoon after died, and was buried at the expence of the public, there not being found money enough in his houſe to defray the charges of his funeral. He was the moſt virtuous citizen, the greateſt general, and the beſt affected conſul to the people *Rome* had ever had. He had always led a frugal life, and taken more care to tranſmit his virtues to his children, than to inrich them with the goods of fortune. The *Romans* thought they could not refuſe him a burial-place in the city, and therefore erected a tomb for him near the forum, and gave his family a right of interment in the ſame place. But as the *Valerii* always affected popularity, they never made uſe of this privilege, but contented themſelves with carrying the bodies of thoſe who died in *Rome* to the ſepulchre of the founder of their family, and conveying them from thence out of the city, where the aſhes were depoſited in a tomb near the walls. As *Poplicola* had been one of thoſe who ſtood up in defence of the chaſtity of the *Roman* women, they mourned a whole year for him, as they had done before for *Brutus*. But his greateſt glory was compriſed under the name of *Poplicola* (C), which the *Romans* gave him, and his tender regard for the people had deſerved [g].

The Sabines *defeated again.*

Poplicola *dies.*

The

[f] Dio. Hal. l. v. p. 308. [g] Idem, p. 314. Liv. l. ii. c. 16. Plut. in Poplic.

(C) In ſome editions of the *Latin* hiſtorians we read *Publicola* inſtead of *Poplicola*; but the *Faſti Capitolini*, *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, *Plutarch*, and *Dio*, call him conſtantly *Poplicola*, which is an abreviation of *Populicola*, a word denoting *his regard for the people*.

THE *Sabines* were no ſooner informed of *Poplicola*'s death, but they raiſed a more numerous army than they had done the preceding years; and, having made a ſudden incurſion into the *Roman* territory, advanced to the very gates of *Rome*. *P. Poſthumius*, one of the conſuls, being provoked at the inſolence of the *Sabines*, ſallied out againſt them with a good body of men, drawn together in a tumultuous manner. The *Sabines*, as ſoon as he appeared, fled to a neighbouring foreſt, where the main body of their army lay concealed. *Poſthumius* followed them; but, as he drew near the foreſt, the *Sabines* rallying faced about, and, with loud ſhouts, gave the ſignal to the whole army to fall upon the conſul's troops. *Poſthumius* made what reſiſtance he could with men out of breath and in diſorder; but was obliged to retire with great loſs. To complete his misfortune, he was intercepted in his retreat by a body of *Sabines*, poſted on a hill between him and the city; ſo that he was forced to paſs the night in the open field, ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemy's ſquadrons. As ſoon as the defeat of *Poſthumius* was known at *Rome*, *Menenius Agrippa*, the other conſul, marched, at the head of the braveſt youth in the city, to the relief of his collegue. But the *Sabines*, at his reproach, retired into their own country, whence, elated with their late ſucceſs, they ſent a proud meſſage to the *Romans*, requiring them to receive the king they had baniſhed, to ſubmit to the *Sabines*, by whom they had been conquered, and to receive their laws. To this demand the *Romans* returned a ſuitable anſwer, commanding the *Sabines* to return to their former duty, and to come in a ſuppliant manner to beg pardon for their attempts againſt the authority of their maſters. After theſe mutual bravadoes, the conſuls on one ſide, and the *Sabines* on the other, took the field again, with all the forces of their reſpective ſtates. Both armies encamped near *Eretum*, about ten miles from *Rome*, where they ſoon came to a general engagement, in which *Poſthumius*, deſirous to redeem his credit, behaved with extraordinary valour, and, together with his collegue, obtained a complete victory. No ſooner did the news of this glorious day reach the ſenate, but they decreed a full triumph for *Menenius*, and an inferior one, which they called *ovation* (D), for *Poſthumius*, whoſe gallant behaviour in the late action had not, in the opinion of the fathers, ſufficiently attoned for his miſcarriage in the beginning of the war.

The Sabines *renew the war*

The Romans *gain a complete victory over them.*

THE *Sabine* war continued under the new conſuls, *Sp. Caſſius Uſcellinus* and *Opiter Virginius Tricoſtus*. The former, entering the enemy's country, defeated them in a pitched battle near *Cures*, ten thouſand three hundred of them being killed and four thouſand taken priſoners. This defeat obliged them to ſue for peace, which, after many ſubmiſſions, they purchaſed with corn, money, and ten thouſand acres of arable land. While *Caſſius* was thus employed againſt the *Sabines*, his collegue *Virginius* reduced *Cameria*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Alba*, which had revolted from the *Romans*; and having beheaded the moſt guilty of the inhabitants, ſold the reſt for ſlaves, and razed the city [h].

They ſubmit at laſt.

Tarquin, ſtill reſtleſs, and not deſpairing to recover his kingdom, by means of his ſon-in-law *Mamilius Octavius*, prevailed upon the *Latins*, who had hitherto ſtood neuter, to eſpouſe his cauſe. During the alarm which this reſolution occaſioned at *Rome*, the *Tarquins*, in concert with ſome of the inhabitants of *Fidenæ*, made themſelves maſters of that city. Hereupon the conſul *Manius*, marching againſt the rebels, cloſely inveſted the place, and reduced it to great ſtraits. The beſieged, in that extremity, implored the aſſiſtance of the *Latins*; which occaſioned a general meeting of the deputies from the ſeveral cities of *Latium*. In this aſſembly it was debated,

The Latins *declare for king* Tarquin.

[h] Idem, p. 315.

(D) Authors differ in their opinions as to the derivation of this word; ſome derive it from *ohè*, denoting *the admiration* of the people in theſe ceremonies; others from the words *evan* or *evoe*, with which the *Greek* bacchanals rung. *Plutarch* refers the origin of this word to the kind of victim, which was offered to the gods in the ceremony of the ovation (86); for in the triumph a bull was ſacrificed in the capitol, but in the ovation only a ſheep; ſo that, according to this writer, *ovatio* comes from the word *ovis*, ſignifying *a ſheep*. The perſon, who was honoured with an ovation, entered *Rome* on foot, or, at moſt, on horſe-back, and was attended by the ſenate only: his crown was of myrtle, not of laurel; and his robe only the prætexta, the common habit of magiſtrates. The ovation of *Poſthumius*, the firſt that had ever been ſeen in *Rome*, is marked in the *Faſti Capitolini* on the third of the nones of *April*. Two days after, *Menenius Agrippa* appeared with all the magnificence of a triumph; being mounted on a chariot, ſeated in a curule chair, cloathed with a robe embroidered with palm branches, he was conducted to the capitol with the ſound of trumpets, and the acclamations of the army and people.

(86) *Plut. in Marcel.*

debated, whether the *Latins* ſhould declare in favour of the *Tarquins* and the *Fidenates*, or adhere to the ancient treaties between the two nations. After long debates, it was reſolved, that an embaſſy ſhould be ſent to the *Romans* with propoſals, which were; 'That they ſhould receive the *Tarquins*, after they had engaged by oath to 'grant a general amneſty, and that they ſhould raiſe the ſiege of *Fidenæ*.' The embaſſadors were to allow the *Romans* a whole year to conſider on theſe overtures, and to threaten them with a war, in caſe they refuſed to comply with them. The chief view of *Tarquin* and his partizans in promoting this embaſſy was, to lay hold of that opportunity to raiſe a ſedition in the city. To the embaſſadors therefore of the *Latins* he joined ſome of his own emiſſaries, who, on their arrival in the city, found two ſorts of people diſpoſed to enter into their meaſures, *viz.* the ſlaves and the meaner citizens. The ſlaves had formed a conſpiracy the year before to ſeize the capitol, and ſet fire to the city in ſeveral quarters at the ſame time. But, the plot being diſcovered, thoſe, who were concerned in it, had been all crucified; and this execution had highly provoked the whole body of ſlaves. As to the meaner citizens, who were for the moſt part overwhelmed with debt and cruelly uſed by their creditors, they were well appriſed, that there could happen no change in the government but to their advantage. Theſe were the conſpirators pitched upon; and to them were given the following parts to act: 'the citizens were to make themſelves maſters of the ramparts and gates of the city, at an appointed hour of the night, and then to raiſe a great ſhout as a ſignal to the ſlaves, who had engaged to maſſacre their maſters at the ſame inſtant. The gates of the city were then to be opened to the *Tarquins*, who were to enter *Rome* while it was yet reeking with the blood of the ſenators. The conſpiracy was ripe for execution, when *Tarquin*'s principal agents, *Publicius* and *Marcus*, both of his own name and family, being terrified with frightful dreams, had not courage enough to proceed in their deſign, till they had conſulted a diviner. However, they did not diſcover to him the conſpiracy; but only aſked him in general terms, what ſucceſs they might expect in a project they had formed? The ſoothſayer, without the leaſt heſitation, returned the following anſwer, *Your project will end in your ruin; diſburden yourſelves of ſo heavy a load.* Hereupon the *Tarquins*, fearing leſt ſome of the other conſpirators ſhould be before-hand with them in informing, went immediately to *S. Sulpicius*, the only conſul then at *Rome*, and diſcovered the whole matter to him. The conſul greatly commended them, and detained them in his houſe, till, by private inquiries, he was aſſured of the truth of their depoſitions. Then he aſſembled the ſenate, and gave the *Latin* embaſſadors their audience of leave, with an anſwer to their propoſals; which was, 'that the *Romans* would neither receive 'the *Tarquins* nor the ſiege of *Fidenæ*, being all to a man ready to ſacrifice their 'lives in defence of their liberty, and willing to undergo any dangers, rather than 'ſubmit to the government of a tyrant.' The embaſſadors being diſmiſſed with this anſwer, and conducted out of the city, *Sulpicius* laid open to the fathers the dreadful conſpiracy, which ſtruck them with horror; but they were all at a loſs in what manner they ſhould apprehend and puniſh the guilty, ſince, by the law of *Poplicola*, there was an appeal to the people in all capital caſes, and the two witneſſes, who were ſtrangers, might be excepted againſt by the *Roman* citizens. In this perplexity they left the whole conduct of this critical affair to *Sulpitius*, who took a method, which, he thought, would equally ſerve to prove the guilt and puniſh the guilty. He engaged the two informers to aſſemble the conſpirators; and to appoint a rendezvous at mid-night in the forum, as if they deſigned to take the laſt meaſures for the execution of the enterprize. In the mean time, he took all proper meaſures to ſecure the city, and ordered the *Roman* knights to hold themſelves ready, in the houſes adjoining to the forum, to execute the orders they ſhould receive. The conſpirators met at the time and place appointed by the two *Tarquins*; and the knights, upon a ſignal agreed on before-hand, inveſted the forum, and blocked up all the avenues to it ſo cloſely, that it was impoſſible for any of the conſpirators to make their eſcape. As ſoon as it was light, the two conſuls appeared with a ſtrong guard on the tribunal; for *Sulpicius* had ſent to his collegue *Manius*, who was beſieging *Fidenæ*, deſiring him to haſten to the city with a choſen body of troops. The people were convened by curiæ, and acquainted with the conſpiracy, which had been formed againſt the common liberty. The accuſed were allowed to make their defence, if they had any thing to offer againſt the evidence; but not one of them denying the fact, the conſpirators,

But, before they take the field, they ſend an embaſſy to Rome.

A conſpiracy formed by ſome of Tarquin's *emiſſaries.*

The plot diſcovered.

ſpirators, in caſe the people approved it. This decree of the ſenate being read to, and approved by, the aſſembly, the people were ordered to retire, and the conſpirators were delivered up to the ſoldiers, who put them all to the ſword. The peace of *Rome* was thought ſufficiently ſecured by this ſtroke of ſeverity; and therefore, tho' all the conſpirators were not puniſhed with death, it was judged proper not to make any further inquiries. The two informers were rewarded with all the privileges of *Roman* citizens, a hundred thouſand aſſes, and twenty acres of land. Three feſtival days were appointed for expiations, ſacrifices, and public games, by way of thankſgiving to the gods. But the general joy was diſturbed by a melancholy accident: as the people were conducting *Tullius Manius* the conſul from the circus to his houſe, he fell from his chariot, and died three days after [i].

tors; ... death.

THE city of *Fidenæ* was not yet reduced; it held out during the following conſulſhip of *T. Æbutius* and *P. Veturius*; but was taken the next year by *T. Lartius*, who, together with *Q. Clælius*, was raiſed to the conſular dignity. The *Latins* inraged, at the loſs of this town, began to complain of their leading men; which opportunity *Tarquin* and *Mamilius* improved ſo far, as to make all the *Latin* cities, twenty-four in number, enter into an alliance againſt *Rome*, and to bind themſelves by oath never to violate their engagements. The *Latins* made vaſt preparations, as did likewiſe the *Romans*; but the latter could procure no aſſiſtance from their neighbours. As the *Latin* nation was much ſuperior to them in ſtrength, they ſent deputies to ſolicit ſuccours from the ſeveral ſtates with which they were ſurrounded; but their negotiations proved every-where unſucceſsful: and what was worſe than all, the republic had rebellious ſons in her own boſom, who refuſed to lend their aid in defence of their country. The poorer ſort of people and the debtors refuſed to take the military oaths or to ſerve, alledging their poverty and the fruitleſs hazards they ran in fighting for the defence of a city, where they were oppreſſed and enſlaved by their creditors. The ſpirit of mutiny ſpread among the inferior claſſes, moſt of them refuſing to liſt themſelves, unleſs their debts were all remitted by a decree of the ſenate; nay, they began to talk of leaving the city and ſettling elſewhere. The ſenate, apprehending a general inſurrection, aſſembled to deliberate on the means of quieting theſe domeſtic troubles. Some were for a free remiſſion of all debts, as the ſafeſt expedient at that juncture; others urged the dangerous conſequences of ſuch a condeſcenſion, adviſing them to liſt ſuch only as were willing to ſerve, not doubting, but thoſe who refuſed their aſſiſtance would offer it of their own accord, when it was no longer deſired. Several other expedients were offered; but at length this prevailed, *viz.* that all actions for debts ſhould be ſuſpended till the concluſion of the war with the *Latins*. But this the indigent debtors thought only a ſuſpenſion of their miſery; and therefore it had not the intended effect on the minds of the unruly multitude. The ſenate might indeed have proſecuted the ringleaders of the ſedition; but the law of *Poplicola*, called the *Valerian* law, which allowed appeals to the aſſembly of the people, was a protection for the ſeditious, who were ſure of being acquitted by the accomplices of their rebellion. The ſenate therefore, to elude the effect of a privilege that put ſuch a reſtraint upon their power, reſolved to create one ſupreme magiſtrate, who, with the title of *dictator*, ſhould have an abſolute power for a time; but, as this could not be done without ſtriking at the law of *Poplicola*, and transferring the power of the people in criminal caſes to a magiſtrate ſuperior to all laws, it was neceſſary to uſe artifice, in order to obtain the conſent of the curiæ. They therefore repreſented to them in a public aſſembly, that, in ſo difficult a juncture, when they had their domeſtic quarrels to decide, and at the ſame time a powerful enemy to repulſe, it would be expedient to put the commonwealth under a ſingle governor, who, ſuperior to the conſuls themſelves, ſhould be the arbiter of the laws, and, as it were, the father of his country; that his power ſhould have no limits; but, however, leſt he ſhould abuſe it, they ought not to truſt him with it above ſix months. The people, not foreſeeing the conſequences of this change, agreed to it; but the greateſt difficulty was, to find a man duly qualified in all reſpects for ſo great a truſt. *T. Lartius*, one of the conſuls, ſeemed to be of all men the moſt unexceptionable; but the ſenate, fearing to offend his collegue by an invidious preference, gave the conſuls the power of chuſing a dictator, and obliged them to name one of themſelves, not doubting but *Clælius* would yield to the ſuperior talents of

The Latin cities enter into an alliance againſt Rome.

The poorer citizens in Rome, *and debtors, refuſe to ſerve.*

[i] Idem, p. 320.

of his collegue; nor were they diſappointed in their expectation. But *Lartius*, with a the ſame readineſs, named *Clælius*; and the only conteſt was, which of the two ſhould raiſe the other to the ſupreme authority. Each perſiſted obſtinately in remitting the dignity to his collegue, till *Clælius*, ſtarting up on a ſudden, abdicated the conſulſhip, and, after the manner of an *inter-rex*, proclaimed *Titus Lartius* dictator (E), who thereupon was obliged to take upon him the government of the republic [k],

The firſt dictator.

Year after the flood 2506. *Before Chriſt* 493. *Of* Rome 255.

Lartius indeed took as much ſtate upon him, after he had entered upon his office, as he had ſhewn modeſty in refuſing it. He began by creating, without the participation either of the ſenate or people, a general of the *Roman* horſe (F), an office which laſted only during the dictatorſhip, and which all ſubſequent dictators revived immediately after their election. *Sp. Caſſius*, formerly conſul and honoured with b a triumph, was the perſon he advanced to this ſecond ſtation in the republic. *Lartius*, having by this means ſecured the *Roman* knights, reſolved, in the next place, to make the people reſpect and fear him. With this view he never appeared in public, but attended by twenty-four lictors, to whoſe faſces he added again the axes, which *Poplicola* had cauſed to be taken from them. The novelty of this ſight was alone ſufficient to awe the ſeditious, and, without executions, to ſpread conſternation throughout *Rome*. The murmurs of the inferior claſſes being by this means ſilenced, the dictator commanded a cenſus to be taken, according to the inſtitution of king *Servius*. Every one, without exception, brought in his name, age, the particulars of his eſtate, *&c.* and there appeared to be in *Rome* one hundred and fifty c thouſand ſeven hundred men, who were paſt the age of puberty. Out of theſe the dictator formed four armies; the firſt he commanded himſelf; the ſecond he gave to *Clælius* his late collegue; the third to *Sp. Caſſius* his general of the horſe; and the fourth he left in *Rome*, under the command of his brother *Sp. Lartius*, who was to guard the city. The *Latins* not being ſo forward in their preparations as was expected, all their hoſtilities againſt *Rome* this campaign amounted to no more than the ſending a detachment into the *Roman* territory to lay it waſte. The dictator gained ſome advantage over that party; and the great humanity with which he treated the priſoners and wounded, diſpoſed the *Latins* to liſten the more readily to the overtures, which he at the ſame time made them for a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities. At length d a truce was agreed on for a year; and then *Lartius*, ſeeing the republic reſtored to its former tranquillity, reſigned the dictatorſhip, tho' the time appointed for its duration was not yet expired [l].

A truce is made with the Latins *for a year.*

THE year of the truce with the *Latins* expired, when *Aulus Poſthumius* and *T. Virginius* took poſſeſſion of the conſulſhip. Both *Romans* and *Latins* were buſied in making

[k] Idem, p. 333. [l] Idem, p. 335.

(E) This ſupreme officer was called *dictator*, either becauſe he was *dictus*, that is, *named* by the conſul, or from his *dictating* and *commanding* what ſhould be done. No one could be created dictator till he had been conſul. The time aſſigned for the duration of the office was the ſpace of ſix months. As to the perpetual dictatorſhips of *Sylla* and *Julius Cæſar*, they were notorious uſurpations and violations of the laws of their country. The dictator was not allowed to march out of *Italy*, leſt he ſhould take advantage of the diſtance of the place, to attempt ſomething againſt the common liberty. He was always to march on foot, except in caſe of a tedious or ſudden expedition, and then he formally aſked leave of the people to ride (87). In all other things his power was abſolute and uncontrouled. He might proclaim war, levy forces, lead them out, diſband them, *&c.* without conſulting the ſenate. He could puniſh as he pleaſed; and from his judgment lay no appeal. To make his authority more awful, he had always twenty-four faſces with axes carried before him, if we believe *Plutarch* (88) and *Polybius* (89). *Livy* aſcribes the firſt riſe of this cuſtom to *Sylla* (90). The authority of all other magiſtrates ceaſed, or were ſubordinate to him. He had the naming of the general of the horſe, who was wholly at his command. When his authority was expired, he was not obliged to give an account of any thing he had done during his adminiſtration. In ſhort, the dictatorſhip was a kind of abſolute monarchy, tho' not durable, and was looked upon as the only refuge of the commonwealth in time of danger, till *Sylla* and *Cæſar*, converting it into a tyranny, rendered the name of dictator odious; inſomuch, that, upon the murder of the latter, a decree paſſed in the ſenate, forbidding the uſe of that dignity upon any account whatſoever for the future (91).

(F) As the regal power was revived in the dictator, he was allowed to create a chief officer in the army, under the name of *magiſtrum equitum*, that is, *maſter* or *general of the horſe*; which anſwered to the office of the *Tribunus celerum* in the time of the kings. It was the ſecond dignity in the *Roman* ſtate, but, like the dictatorſhip, temporary. The *magiſter equitum* ſerved as the dictator's lieutenant-general; but could act nothing without his expreſs order.

(87) *Dio, l.* xliv. *Appian. l.* iii. (88) *Plut. in Fab. Max.* (89) *Polyb. l.* iii. (90) *Liv. epit, l.* lxxxix. (91) *Dio. Caſſ. l.* xliv.

making the neceſſary preparations for war. The nobility of *Latium*, who were for
a the moſt part in the intereſt of the *Tarquins*, having found means to exclude the citi-
zens from the *Latin* diets, carried all before them into thoſe aſſemblies; whereupon
many of the citizens removed with their families to *Rome*, where they were well
received. The *Latins* being bent upon war, the ſenate, notwithſtanding the perfect
harmony that reigned between them and the people, thought it expedient to create
a dictator. The two conſuls were therefore impowered to name one of themſelves *A new dictator*
to that dignity; whereupon *Virginius* readily yielded it to his collegue *Poſthumius*, as *created.*
the more able commander. The new dictator, having created *Ælius Elva*, for-
merly conſul, his general of the horſe, and divided his army into four bodies, left
b one of them, under the command of *Sempronius*, to guard the city, and with the
other three, commanded by himſelf, *Virginius*, and *Ælius*, marched out againſt the
Latins, who, with an army of forty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, under
the command of *Sextus Tarquinius*, *Titus Tarquinius*, and *Mamilius*, had already made
themſelves maſters of *Corbio*, a ſtrong-hold belonging to the republic, and put the
gariſon to the ſword. *Poſthumius* encamped in the night on a ſteep hill near the lake
Regillus; and *Virginius* on another hill over-againſt him. *Ælius* was ordered to
march ſilently in the night, with the cavalry and light-armed infantry, to take poſſeſſion
of a third hill upon the road, by which proviſions muſt be brought to the *Latins*.
Before *Ælius* had fortified his new camp, he was vigorouſly attacked by *Lucius*
c *Tarquinius*, whom he repulſed three times with great loſs, the dictator having ſent
him a timely reinforcement. After this, *Ælius* intercepted two couriers ſent by
the *Volſci* to the *Latin* generals, and, by letters found upon them, diſcovered, that a
conſiderable army of the *Volſci* and *Hernici* were to join the *Latin* forces in three days.
Upon this intelligence, *Poſthumius* drew his three bodies of troops together, which
amounted in all to no more than twenty-four thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe,
with a deſign, to engage the enemy before the arrival of the ſuccours they expected.
Accordingly he encouraged his men, and, with his army in battle array, advanced
to the place where the enemy was encamped. The *Latins*, who were much ſuperior
to the *Romans* in number, and beſides began to want proviſions, did not decline the
d engagement. *Titus Tarquinius*, at the head of the *Roman* exiles and deſerters, was *The battle of*
in the centre, *Mamilius* in the right wing, and *Sextus Tarquinius* in the left. In the *Regillus.*
Roman army the dictator commanded in the centre, *Ælius* in the left wing, and
Virginius in the right. The firſt body that advanced was that of the dictator, and,
as ſoon as it began to march, *T. Tarquinius* ſingling out the dictator, ran full ſpeed
againſt him. The dictator did not decline the encounter, but flying at his adver-
ſary, wounded him with a javelin in the right ſide. Upon this, the firſt line of the
Latins advanced to cover their general; but he being carried out of the field, they
made but a faint reſiſtance when charged by the troops of the dictator. They were
deſtitute of a leader, and therefore began to retire, when *Sextus Tarquinius* taking the
e place of his brother, brought them back to the charge, and renewed the fight with
ſuch vigour, that the victory in the centre was ſtill doubtful. On the ſide of *Ma-
milius* and *Ælius*, both parties, encouraged by the example of their leaders, fought
with incredible bravery and reſolution. After a long and bloody conteſt, the two
generals agreed to determine the doubtful victory by a ſingle combat. Accordingly
the two champions puſhed on their horſes againſt each other. *Ælius* with his lance
wounded *Mamilius* in the breaſt; and *Mamilius* with his ſword *Ælius* in the right
arm. Neither of the wounds were mortal; but both generals falling from their
horſes put an end to the combat. *Marcus Valerius*, the brother of *Poplicola*, ſup-
plying the place of *Ælius*, endeavoured, at the head of the *Roman* horſe, to break
f the enemy's battalions; but was repulſed by the cavalry of the *Roman* royaliſts. At
the ſame time *Mamilius* appeared again in the van with a conſiderable body of horſe
and light armed infantry. *Valerius*, with the aſſiſtance of his two nephews, the ſons
of *Poplicola*, and a choſen troop of voluntiers, attempted to break through the *Latin*
battalions, in order to engage *Mamilius*; but, being ſurrounded by the *Roman* exiles,
he received a mortal wound in his ſide, fell from his horſe and died. The dead
body was carried off by the two ſons of *Poplicola*, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the
exiles, and delivered to *Valerius*'s ſervants, who conveyed it to the *Roman* camp;
but the young heroes, being afterwards inveſted on all ſides and overpowered by
numbers, were both killed on the ſpot. Upon their death, the left wing of the
g *Romans* began to give ground; but were ſoon brought back by *Poſthumius*, who,
with

with a body of *Roman* knights, flying to their aſſiſtance, charged the royaliſts with a ſuch fury, that they were, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, obliged to give way and retire in the utmoſt confuſion. In the mean time *Titus Herminius*, one of the dictator's lieutenants, having rallied thoſe who had fled, fell upon ſome cloſe battalions of the enemy's right wing, which ſtill kept their ground under the command of *Mamilius*, killed him with his own hand, and put that body to flight. But while he was buſy in ſtripping the body of his enemy, he received himſelf a wound, of which he died ſoon after. *Sextus Tarquinius* in the mean time maintained the fight with great bravery, at the head of the left wing, againſt the conſul *Virginius*, and had even broke through the right wing of the *Roman* army, when the dictator attacked him unexpectedly with his victorious ſquadrons. Then *Sextus*, having loſt at once all b hopes of victory, threw himſelf, like one in deſpair, into the midſt of the *Roman* knights, and there ſunk under a multitude of wounds, after he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a moſt eminent manner. The death of the three generals was followed by the intire defeat of the *Latin* army. Their camp was taken and plundered, and moſt of their troops cut in pieces; for of the forty-three thouſand men who came into the field, ſcarce ten thouſand returned home. The next morning the *Volſci* and *Hernici* came, according to their agreement, to aſſiſt the *Latins*; but finding, upon their arrival, how matters had gone, ſome of them were for falling upon the *Romans*, before they could recover from the fatigue of the preceding day; but others thought it more ſafe to ſend embaſſadors to the dictator, to congratulate him on his victory, c and aſſure him, that they had left their own country, with no other deſign, than to aſſiſt *Rome* in ſo dangerous a war. *Poſthumius*, by producing their couriers and letters, gave them to underſtand, that he was well appriſed of their deſigns and treacherous proceedings. However, out of a regard to the law of nations, he ſent them back unhurt with a challenge to their generals to fight the next day; but the *Volſci* and their confederates, not caring to engage a victorious army, decamped in the night, and returned to their reſpective countries before break of day [m].

The Latins *defeated.*

THE *Latins*, having now no remedy but an intire ſubmiſſion, ſent embaſſadors to ſolicit a peace at *Rome*, yielding themſelves intirely to the judgment of the ſenate. As *Rome* had long ſince made it a maxim to ſpare the nations which ſubmitted, the d motion of *Titus Lartius*, the late dictator prevailed, and the antient treaties with the *Latins* were renewed, on condition, however, that they reſtored the priſoners they had taken, delivered up the deſerters, and drove the *Roman* exiles out of *Latium*. Thus ended the laſt war, which the *Romans* waged with their neighbours on account of their baniſhed king; who, being now abandoned by the *Latins*, *Hetrurians*, and *Sabines*, retired into *Campania*, to *Ariſtodemus* tyrant of *Cumæ*, and there died in the ninetieth year of his age, and fourteenth of his exile.

The whole Latin *nation ſubmits.*

Tarquin *dies.*

THE freedom, which the *Romans* recovered by the expulſion of *Tarquin*, being now ſecured to them by the death of that prince, who was the laſt of his family, and the *Latin* war ended greatly to the advantage of the republic, *Poſthumius* laid down e his office, the courts of juſtice were again opened, and the creditors began to proſecute their debtors (G) with more vigour than ever, which revived the complaints and

[m] DIO, HAL. l. vi. p. 345—350. PLIN. l. xxxiii. LIV. l. iii. c. 4.

(G) When the debtor was inſolvent, the creditor had a right to put him in irons, or to ſell him as a ſlave. After a certain number of ſummonſes, the law granted to the debtor thirty days of grace, to raiſe the ſum for which he was accountable. The words of the law are; *Æris confeſſi, rebuſque jure judicatis, triginti dies juſti ſunto. Poſt dein manum endo jacito——Vincito aut nervo, aut compedibus.* After the thirty days were expired, if the debtor had not diſcharged the debt he was led to the prætor, who delivered him over to the mercy of his creditors. Theſe bound him and kept him in chains for the ſpace of ſixty days. Afterwards for three market-days ſucceſſively, the debtor was brought to the tribunal of the prætor; then a public crier proclaimed in the forum the debt, for which the priſoner was detained. It often happened, that rich perſons redeemed the priſoner, by paying his debts; but if no-body appeared in behalf of the debtor, after the third market-day, the creditor had a right to inflict the puniſhments appointed by the law; *Tertiis nundinis capite pœnas dato, aut trans Tiberim peregre venumduito*, that is, *Let him on the third market-day be puniſhed with death, or ſold beyond the* Tyber *as a ſlave.* If there were ſeveral creditors, they were allowed, in conſequence of this ſevere law, to divide the body of the priſoner into ſeveral parts, and ſhare it among them, in proportion to the ſum they demanded; but, according to *Servilian* and *Cæcilius*, humanity and cuſtom had given preſcription againſt ſo barbarous a law, which was never put in execution. This puniſhment was changed to *coercion*; that is, the creditors had a right to impriſon their debtors in their own houſes, and make them ſlaves. Theſe were called *nexi*, and not *ſervi*, becauſe their ſlavery laſted no longer than till their debts were paid. This coercion was afterwards changed into public impriſonment, which was a leſs rigorous puniſhment, than the ſlavery the debtors underwent in the creditors houſes, where they were often cruelly treated, and whipped unmercifully.

and murmurs among the inferior claſſes. To prevent the diſturbances, which this affair might occaſion, the ſenate procured the conſulſhip for *Appius Claudius*, who had ever oppoſed, with great warmth, the pretenſions of the people; but leſt he ſhould exert too great ſeverity, they gave him for his collegue *P. Servilius*, a man of a gentle and humane temper, and greatly beloved by the people. The latter exhorted the ſenate, as ſoon as he entered upon his office, to eaſe the people, and reſtrain the ſeverity of the creditors; but *Appius* maintained, with his uſual conſtancy, that it was a manifeſt injuſtice to relieve the debtors at the expence of the creditors. The ſenate aſſembled daily, in order to ſettle the tranquillity of the city upon a laſting foundation; but met with ſo many difficulties, the conſuls being of different opinions, that they could never come to any concluſion. In the mean time, the oppreſſed populace held ſecret aſſemblies in the night, and ſeemed diſpoſed to riſe up in arms; ſo that the ſenate began to apprehend nothing leſs than a civil war. In the midſt of theſe diſturbances, the *Volſci*, who were all acquainted with the preſent ſtate of the city, having drawn together what forces they could, advanced towards *Rome*, promiſing themſelves great advantages from the domeſtic diſorders and univerſal confuſion, which reigned in the city. It was therefore neceſſary for the conſuls to raiſe an army; but the *Roman* youth abſolutely refuſed to ſerve. This diſobedience occaſioned new diſputes between the conſuls, *Claudius* being for ſeverity, and *Servilius* for moderation. As the time drew near to take the field againſt the *Volſci*, the ſenate decreed, that *Servilius* ſhould command the army, and *Claudius* govern the city. But tho' *Servilius* was looked upon as a friend to the people, yet they refuſed to liſt themſelves, unleſs the ſenate came firſt to ſome determination about the important affair of debts. *Servilius* was therefore obliged to march againſt the enemy with ſuch only as offered to ſerve out of a perſonal affection to him. The *Volſci*, depending on the civil broils at *Rome*, had not been ſo expeditious in their preparations for the war, as to be in a condition to face a *Roman* army in the field; and therefore they had recourſe to intreaties, by which they prevailed upon the good-natured conſul to favour them and grant them a peace, upon condition that they ſupplied his troops with cloaths and proviſions, and delivered to him three hundred hoſtages of the beſt families [n].

Domeſtic broils at Rome.

The plebeians refuſe to liſt themſelves.

Nor long after the return of *Servilius*, the ſenate was informed from *Latium*, that the *Volſci* were making new preparations for war; that they had engaged the *Hernici* and *Sabines* to join them againſt *Rome*, and ſent deputies to their nation for the ſame purpoſe. Theſe deputies the *Latin* embaſſadors brought with them, and delivered them up to the ſenate. Such a treacherous proceeding in the *Volſci*, after they had been ſo kindly treated by the conſul *Servilius*, fired the ſenate, and war was immediately declared; but while the ſenators were yet ſitting, a plebeian, loaded with chains, appeared in the forum. He was advanced in years, tall of ſtature, lean, pale, with his eyes ſunk into his head, a long beard, and his hair in diſorder. At his clamours and geſtures the people crouded about him, and all looked on him with great attention, till at length ſeveral knew him, and remembered to have ſerved with him in the wars, and to have ſeen him fight in the firſt ranks of the legions with great valour. The bare ſight of him raiſed the compaſſion of the multitude; but when they had heard him give an account of his misfortunes, they were all filled with rage and indignation. He told them, that he was born free; that he had, in eight-and-twenty battles, expoſed his life for the good of his country; that, in the laſt war with the *Sabines*, he not only had been hindered from cultivating his little inheritance, but that the enemy, in an incurſion, after having plundered his houſe, had ſet it on fire; that the neceſſities of life and the tributes, which, notwithſtanding his misfortunes, he was obliged to pay, had forced him to contract debts; that, the intereſt been grown by degrees to an exceſſive ſum, he was reduced to the melancholy expedient of yielding up his inheritance to diſcharge part of it; but that the mercileſs creditor, not being yet quite paid, had dragged him to priſon, with two of his children; that, to oblige him to haſten the payment of the reſidue, he had delivered him over to his ſlaves, who, by his order, had tore his body with whips. At the ſame time he flung off his garment, and diſcovered his back ſtill bloody; and on his breaſt the ſcars of the honourable wounds, which he had received in fighting for his country. At this ſight, the people, already ripe for ſedition, uttered a thouſand

An inſurrection at Rome.

[n] Idem ibid. p. 361. Liv. l. ii. c. 22.

fand curſes againſt the patricians, and made ſuch outcries, as terrified the ſenate, which was then ſitting. The people flocked from all quarters of the city into the forum; the artificers left their ſhops; and thoſe, who were confined for debt, having found means to eſcape from their creditors, with the frightful figure they made, with their ragged cloathes, and the noiſe of their chains, raiſed both pity and indignation. Theſe unhappy wretches ſpread themſelves all over the city; and if any one offered to ſtop them, he was immediately maſſacred by the inraged multitude. The conſul *Appius*, ſeeing that the fury of the mutineers was like to fall upon him, left the ſenate, and, by favour of the tumult, got ſafe to his own houſe. *Servilius*, having pulled off his robe, that he might be thereby more agreeable to the people, ran into the thickeſt of the croud; and tho' he embraced ſome, threw himſelf at the feet of others, and ſhewed great compaſſion for all; yet he could not prevail upon them to ſuſpend all acts of violence to the next day, till he had promiſed, that the ſenate ſhould have regard to their complaints; nay, he went further, and proclaimed by a herald, that no one ſhould moleſt any *Roman* citizen for debt, till the ſenate had decreed otherwiſe.

The next day the forum was ſoon filled, both with citizens and country-people, brought thither by their common intereſt. The ſenate aſſembled, and *Servilius* laid before them the neceſſity, in ſuch a conjuncture, of abating ſomewhat of the ſeverity of the laws. On the other hand, *Appius* pretended, that this project tended to the ruin of the ſubordination neceſſary in a well-governed ſtate; and that the condeſcenſion, which *Servilius* was for ſhewing to the neceſſities of the people, would be looked upon by the ſeditious, only as a diſguiſed weakneſs, and ſo breed new pretenſions. As *Appius* could not bear contradiction, his ſpeech was tinctured with the harſhneſs of his manners; he even came to perſonal reflections, and repreſented his collegue as a vile flatterer of the plebeians and a favourer of the revolt. *Servilius*, in his turn, reproached him with the obſtinacy of his temper, his pride, and the animoſity he ſhewed againſt the people. The ſenators were divided between theſe two great men; ſo that there was no end of their diſputes. In the mean time, the people expected with impatience a decree in their favour, and there not being a ſufficient number of ſenators aſſembled for that purpoſe, they imputed their abſence to the conſuls management, in order to fruſtrate their hopes. While the people were yet in the forum, they ſaw ſome horſemen come full ſpeed to acquaint the *Romans*, that the *Volſci* were advancing with a deſign to beſiege *Rome*. The plebeians were overjoyed to ſee their own country in danger; and when the debtors were invited to take up arms in defence of the common liberty, they ſhewed the chains, with which their creditors had loaded them. *Is it not the ſame thing to us*, ſaid they, *whether theſe chains are put upon us by the enemy, or by our own countrymen? Let the patricians expoſe their lives, ſince they alone reap advantage from our victories. Shall we make a rampart with our bodies, only to hinder the enemy from pulling down our priſons, and carrying away our chains?* It was neceſſary, in this extremity, that ſomething ſhould be done to quell the tumult, and induce the people to lend their aſſiſtance againſt an inſulting enemy. *Appius* was obſtinate and inflexible; but *Servilius* was prevailed upon by his friends to make the people ſuch promiſes in the name of the ſenate, as the ſenators were firmly reſolved never to perform. He told them, that it was not conſiſtent with the dignity of the ſenate to comply with their demands, as it were out of fear; but that, when the war ſhould be ended, the ſenate would in gratitude remit all their debts. This diſcourſe abated the fury of the populace; and the reading a decree, which paſſed the ſame day, intirely quelled it. All creditors were thereby forbidden to proſecute any *Roman* citizen for debt, who was willing to ſerve, or to ſeize his children or his goods; but the creditors were commanded to proſecute all ſuch debtors with the utmoſt ſeverity, as either ſhould refuſe to ſerve, or deſert after they were inrolled. To this wiſe law *Rome* owed her preſervation; for it was no ſooner publiſhed, than multitudes crouded to the capitol, and even made intereſt to be admitted into the legions. When the levies were completed, *Servilius* marched to meet the enemy, and encamped near the *Pontine* lake (H); where the *Volſci*, attempting

The conſul Servilius, *by fair promiſes, engages the people to liſt themſelves.*

(H) The *Pontine* lake took its name from the city of *Pometia*, formerly one of the moſt conſiderable cities of *Latium*. This part of *Latium*, before it was laid under water by the overflowing of the *Nymphæus*, the *Amaſena*, the *Aſtura*, and the *Uſens*, was thought the garden of *Italy*. There were, according

attempting to ſurprize his camp, were intirely defeated. The conſul, to reward his ſoldiers, gave them all the ſpoil, that they might have wherewithal to pay their debts (I). He then marched to *Sueſſa Pometia*, the capital of the *Volſci*, took it by aſſault, and put all to the ſword who were able to bear arms. He gave likewiſe this wealthy city up to be plundered by the ſoldiers, without reſerving any part of the ſpoil for the public treaſury. In the mean time, *Appius*, who had been left in *Rome*, beheaded the three hundred hoſtages, which the *Volſci* had given to the *Romans* upon *Servilius*'s firſt expedition [n]. *And defeats the* Volſci.

So glorious a campaign had merited the honours of a triumph for the conſul, who returned to the city with hopes of obtaining it; but, on his arrival, he was informed, this his collegue *Appius* had perſuaded the ſenate to refuſe him it, under pretence, that he was a ſeditious man, who aimed at popularity, by an exceſſive indulgence and profuſeneſs to his ſoldiers. *Servilius*, being ſenſibly affected with the unjuſt proceedings of the ſenate, took a bold ſtep, which afterwards proved a fatal precedent to his country. He no ſooner came before *Rome*, which none were allowed to enter who demanded a triumph, but he cauſed the people to be called together in a field without the walls, and there complained to them, both of the jealouſy of his collegue and the injuſtice of the ſenate; upon which the people encouraged him by their acclamations to attempt whatever he pleaſed. Without regard therefore to the deciſion of the ſenate, he decreed himſelf a triumph, and marched, with the uſual pomp, to the capitol, followed by his army, and attended by all the people [o]. *He is refuſed a triumph.* *But triumphs in ſpite of the ſenate.*

While the people were taken up with public games and rejoicings, on account of the victory over the *Volſci*, embaſſadors arrived from the *Aurunci*, demanding, that the *Roman* gariſon in *Ecetra*, a *Volſcian* town which had lately ſubmitted to *Rome*, ſhould be removed from thence, and adding threatnings, in caſe of refuſal. As *Ecetra* ſtood on the confines of the country of the *Aurunci*, they had taken umbrage at the neighbourhood of that gariſon. The ſenate therefore ſent the envoys back with this anſwer, Go, tell your maſters, that it is a dangerous thing to attack thoſe, whoſe very neighbourhood is formidable to them. The *Aurunci*, provoked at this anſwer, entered *Latium*, and advanced as far as *Aricia*, where they were met by the *Roman* army, under the command of *Servilius* and the famous *Poſthumius*, ſurnamed *Regillenſis*, from the victory he had gained over the *Latins* at the lake *Regillus*. The battle which enſued was very bloody; but the *Romans*, tho' at firſt greatly diſheartened at the gigantic ſtature, fierce looks, and martial air of the enemy, gained at length a complete victory, and made themſelves maſters of the camp of the *Aurunci*, who retired into their own country. Of all the plebeians, who ſerved in this and in the late war with the *Volſci*, none behaved with more gallantry than thoſe who were moſt in debt. The people therefore thought, that, after ſo many victories, they might demand of the ſenate the performance of *Servilius*'s promiſe. But the inflexible *Appius* even doubled the ſeverity of the judgments he gave againſt ſuch debtors as were brought before his tribunal; he ordered all thoſe, who had been ſet at liberty during the war, to be brought back to their creditors priſons by force. Thoſe who were arreſted appealed to *Servilius*, urging the promiſes he had made before the campaign, and the ſervices they had done in the war; but *Appius* having got the aſcendant in the ſenate, *Servilius* had not intereſt enough to prevail upon them to make good his word given in their name, or to protect the unhappy wretches; *He defeats the* Aurunci.

[n] Dio. Hal. p. 362, —365. Liv. l. ii. c. 23,—25. [o] Dio. Hal. & Liv. ibid.

ing to *Pliny* (2); twenty-three cities in it, which are ſuppoſed to have been drowned by inundations, or overturned by earthquakes; for there were no remains of them to be ſeen in the time of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*.

(I) It was cuſtomary, in the beginning of the commonwealth, to divide the ſpoils between the victorious army and the public treaſury. The product of theſe ſpoils was generally applied to the building of temples, the celebrating of public games, or the adorning of the city. *Servius* tells us (3), that the generals thought themſelves obliged to appropriate part of the fruit of their victories to the god, whoſe protection they had invoked. Agreeable to this cuſtom, adds the ſame writer, there was a temple in *Rome*, conſecrated to *Jupiter the plunderer*, *Jovi prædatori*. *Servilius* was accuſed by his collegue of having acted contrary to the law, which ordained, that the general, who returned from any military expedition, ſhould not diſpoſe of the ſpoil as he pleaſed. This law made him accountable for it; but nevertheleſs the republic often diſpenſed with it, and left it to the diſcretion of the general to diſtribute ſuch military rewards among his ſoldiers, as he thought fit; provided he gave an account of his adminiſtration to the people, and did not appropriate to his own uſe the fruits of the conqueſts he had made in the name of the republic.

(2) *Plin. l.* iii. *c* 5. (3) *Servius in l.* iii. *Æneid.*

wretches; ſo that he became as much deſpiſed, as *Appius* was hated. This appeared very remarkably, when the time came to conſecrate a temple, which had been erected to *Mercury*. The conſecrator was to enjoy conſiderable powers and privileges; and on this account the ſenate, unwilling to diſguſt either *Appius* or *Servilius*, referred the whole matter to the people. The curiæ were therefore aſſembled, with full power to chuſe whom they pleaſed; and they, to ſhew how much they were diſpleaſed with both the conſuls, beſtowed the honour of conſecrating the temple on one *Lætorius*, who was only a centurion. Hereupon *Appius* and *Servilius*, equally inraged, joined with the ſenate in putting in execution the laws againſt debtors with the utmoſt ſeverity; but the people, paying no regard to their authority, when any plebeian was proſecuted for debt, crouded into the forum, and made ſuch a noiſe, that the ſentence pronounced by the judges could not be heard. They no longer endeavoured to appeaſe their creditors, or mollify the ſenate by entreaties, but inſulted both; ſo that the patricians, and not the plebeians, were now in danger of impriſonment and ſlavery [P].

The Sabines *revolt; but the people refuſe to ſerve.*

IN the mean time, the *Sabines*, encouraged by theſe inteſtine broils, revolted, and engaged the *Roman* colony of *Medulia* to enter into an alliance with them; which was confirmed by mutual oaths. The new conſuls, *A. Virginius* and *T. Veturius*, both men of little note, ſummoned the tribes, in order to raiſe an army for the war, which threatened them; but the people obſtinately refuſed to liſt themſelves, till ſuch time as all debts ſhould be cancelled. Hereupon the conſuls, aſcending their tribunal, called upon one of the moſt factious by name to come and be inrolled. As the man did not anſwer the ſummons, he was inſtantly ſeized; but the populace tore him out of the lictors hands, and inſulted both the conſuls, and patricians who attended them. While the city was thus rent into factions, and all things ſeemed to tend to a civil war, envoys arrived from the *Latins* and *Cruſtumini*, complaining of the hoſtilities of the *Æqui* and *Sabines*, and at the ſame time embaſſadors from the *Volſci*, demanding reſtitution of the lands, which had been taken from them in the late war. Theſe embaſſies filled the *Romans* with conſternation or joy, according to the party each had embraced. As it was neceſſary to give all theſe deputies proper anſwers, the ſenate aſſembled, and, after long debates, returned the following anſwer to the embaſſadors of the *Volſci*, viz. That it was not conſiſtent with the honour of the republic to comply with their demands. As to the *Latins* and *Cruſtumini*, who were in alliance with *Rome*, they were aſſured, that the republic would not leave them expoſed to the inſults of their enemies, without ſending them ſuccours. With theſe anſwers the embaſſadors were diſmiſſed; but, as *Rome* could neither protect her allies, nor repulſe her enemies, unleſs peace were firſt eſtabliſhed at home, the ſenate met again the next day, to deliberate about the methods neceſſary to procure that happineſs. The conſul *Virginius* was for protecting thoſe debtors, who had fought ſo ſucceſsfully the laſt year, and for leaving the others to the ſeverity of the law. *Titus Larcius*, that venerable ſenator who had been formerly dictator, pleaded in behalf of all debtors. *Appius*, when it came to his turn to ſpeak, enumerated all the motives, which had engaged him to ſide with the patricians; declared, that he could not change his opinion; urged the dangerous conſequences of violating contracts between debtors and creditors; and, in the cloſe of his ſpeech, propoſed the naming of a dictator in the preſent extremity. This expedient was thought dangerous by ſome of the oldeſt ſenators; but the motion was carried by a majority, and *Manius Valerius*, a man of ſeventy years of age, brother to the famous *Poplicola*, was nominated by one of the conſuls, contrary to the law, which required, that the dictator ſhould be choſen out of ſuch as had been, or were actually, conſuls; but, as no man was judged more proper for that ſtation at this time, the neceſſity of the caſe made the ſenate overlook rules. *Valerius*, as ſoon as he was proclaimed dictator, named for his general of the horſe *Quintus Servilius*, brother to the laſt year's conſul; and finding the minds of the people well inclined to his government, he aſcended the tribunal, and harangued the multitude, putting them in mind of the great zeal his family had always ſhewed for their intereſt, and deſiring in return their confidence. He promiſed, that, if they would lend their aſſiſtance and ſerve their country at this time, he would procure for them from the ſenate all the reaſonable condeſcenſions they could expect. *And, in the mean time*, ſaid he, *I command, that no mention be made of confiſcations or impri-*

Manius Valerius, *a brother of* Poplicola, *created dictator.*

ſonments

[P] Liv. ibid. c. 25,—27.

ſcuments, during my adminiſtration. The people, depending on the promiſes of the dictator, took arms with pleaſure, and ten legions were ſoon raiſed; three of which were given to each conſul, and four reſerved for the dictator. *Veturius* was ordered to march againſt the *Æqui*, *Virginius* againſt the *Volſci*, and the dictator himſelf led his legions againſt the *Sabines*. The three generals were all attended with good ſucceſs, and it proved a glorious campaign for the republic. *Valerius* on his return was honoured with a triumph, and, as a further mark of diſtinction, both the ſenate and people agreed in allotting him an honourable place in the circus, at the celebration of the public games, and appointed, that a curule chair ſhould be always placed there for him; an honour which they made hereditary in his family [q].

The Æqui, Volſci, and Sabines, defeated.

But now *Valerius*, remembering his promiſes to the people, demanded of the ſenate the performance of them. But the patrician uſurers had made ſuch a party in the ſenate during his abſence, that the ſenators not only refuſed to comply with his demands, but reproached him with the affection of his family for the plebeians, and taxed him with betraying the intereſts of the ſenate. The prudent dictator, to prevent, in ſome degree, the misfortunes which threatned the republic, ſent a colony of poor debtors to *Velitræ*, which had been juſt taken from the *Volſci*. But, as there ſtill remained a great number of theſe unhappy wretches, he ſolicited anew the ſenate in their favour. But his motion being rejected, he told the ſenators in great anger, that perhaps in a ſhort time they would wiſh for ſuch an interceſſor with the people, and, leaving the ſenate abruptly, ſummoned the people. When the aſſembly was formed, he appeared in it with all the enſigns of his dignity; and in the firſt place acknowledged his obligations to them; then he made great complaints of the unſincere conduct of the ſenate, with regard both to them and him; and laſtly declared his reſolution to retire, or to ſurrender himſelf up to their reſentments, if they ſuſpected that he had betrayed their intereſt. Having ended his ſpeech, he laid down his employment, and ſtripped himſelf of the badges of the dictatorſhip. The people, who had heard him with ſentiments of reſpect and veneration, conducted him quite home to his houſe with loud acclamations, as if he had procured the abolition of their debts. The ſenate to prevent the diſorders which they foreſaw muſt attend the abdication of an injured dictator, ordered the two conſuls, who ſtill held the ſoldiers engaged by their oath (K), to lead the army into the field, under pretence, that the *Æqui* and *Sabines* were making freſh preparations for war. The ſoldiery, who were well appriſed of the artifice, went out of *Rome* with the utmoſt rage; and therefore, as ſoon as they were in the field, ſome of the moſt ſeditious propoſed the aſſaſſinating of the conſuls, not out of any perſonal hatred, but merely to free themſelves from the oath which bound them to their command. Others thought, it would be monſtrous to put an end to the religious engagements they had entered into with the conſuls by criminal means, and on that account rejected the motion. After the leaders of the mutiny had conſidered of various projects, they concluded at laſt to carry away the military enſigns and ſtandards, and engage all the troops to follow them without the privity of their officers (L). This deſign

The ſenate refuſes to comply with the demands of the dictator in favour of the people.

He reſigns his dignity.

[q] Dion. Hal. p. 373. Liv. ibid.

(K) The giving the military oath, called *ſacramentum*, was, properly ſpeaking, the legal method of forming the *Roman* armies. After the ſoldiers had been choſen out of each tribe, this oath was adminiſtered to them in the following manner: The tribunes of each legion aſſembled the bodies they commanded. Then one ſoldier in a legion ſwore, in the name of all the reſt, to obey the commander of the *Roman* army. After this, every ſoldier came and ſingly engaged to perform what had been ſworn. In proceſs of time another oath, called by *Livy* (4) *ſacramentum*, was added to this, by virtue of which rebels and deſerters were puniſhed with death, and no appeal admitted. There was likewiſe another way of inliſting men, called *conjuratio*, which took place in unforeſeen commotions and ſudden irruptions of an enemy. Then, that no time might be loſt in raiſing the neceſſary forces, the ſoldiers were excuſed the formalities uſually obſerved in inrolling them. The general only went up to the *capitol*, and there erected two ſtandards, one red for the foot, and the other blue for the horſe. After this, he pronounced theſe words: *Let thoſe who love the ſafety of the republic, make haſte and follow me.* A third way of inrolling men was this: the conſuls committed into the care of perſons appointed for that purpoſe the raiſing of troops in different places, as the republic had occaſion for them; and this was called *evocatio*. The military oath was ſo eſſential in inliſting men, that no *Roman* could ſerve in the army, even as a voluntier, or kill an enemy, till he had bound himſelf by a ſolemn promiſe to obey his general. In conſequence of this cuſtom, which was authorized by law, *Tully* tells us (5), that *Cato* wrote to *Pompilius* to inform him, that his ſon could not continue in the army without taking the military oath again, the time of his former engagement being expired.

(L) *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* gives us the reaſon why the legions ſo readily followed their enſigns. The

(4) *Liv. l.* xxii.

(4) *Cic. de off. l.* i.

The ſoldiers deſert their generals and retire.

deſign was executed uner the conduct of a plebeian, named *Sicinnius Bellutus*. The troops marched away, and encamped beyond the *Anio*, three miles from *Rome*, on a hill called afterwards *the ſacred mount*, as their retreat was ſtyled *the ſucceſſion* [r].

The firſt thing the rebellious army did was, to chuſe themſelves a general, and *Sicinnius* was the man they pitched upon. Then they ſecured themſelves within ſtrong intrenchments, where they lay quiet without committing any hoſtilities. The conſuls and officers, ſeeing themſelves thus deſerted by their troops, diſpatched a meſſenger to *Sicinnius*, exhorting him to return to the camp and bring back the troops to their duty. But he returned ſuch an anſwer, as ſhewed that he was determined to keep no meaſures with the patricians. A deſertion ſo general, and which looked like the beginning of a civil war, gave great uneaſineſs to the ſenate, and occaſioned a general b conſternation in the city. The patricians were forced to guard the gates themſelves, in order to prevent the citizens from going out to join the malecontents. But notwithſtanding this precaution, thoſe who were burdened with debts, and ſuch as loved novelty, eſcaped and flocked to the camp of *Sicinnius*. In this general confuſion the ſenate met daily, and, after warm debates, in which they mutually accuſed each other of indulgence and ſeverity, they at length agreed to ſend a deputation to the malecontents, offering them a general pardon, and exhorting them to return to the city. But this ſtep only ſerved to increaſe the inſolence of the ſoldiers. The deputies were therefore ſent back contemptuouſly, with no other anſwer, but that the patricians ſhould quickly find what enemies they had to deal with. This anſwer occaſioned new alarms in the city. In the mean time, the two conſuls, whoſe magiſtracy was expiring, aſſembled the centuries, which were left in *Rome*, for the election of their ſucceſſors, and as no body at ſo dangerous a conjuncture ſtood candidate for that dignity, they obliged *Poſthumius Cominius* and *Spurius Caſſius Viſcellinus*, both conſular men and equally agreeable to the plebeians and patricians, to accept the conſulſhip. Their firſt care was, to convene the ſenate to deliberate upon the moſt ſpeedy and eaſy methods of reſtoring peace and union. *Menenius Agrippa*, a man of great integrity, and who ſtood neuter in the diviſions of the people and ſenate, being the firſt called upon to give his opinion, declared warmly for a reconciliation with the people, and propoſed the ſending of ſuch deputies, as were agreeable to them, with full power to d make up matters, upon whatever conditions they ſhould think neceſſary for the good of the republic. *M. Valerius*, the late dictator, being deſired next to give his opinion, upbraided the ſenate with neglecting his former counſels; accuſed their indiſcretion in not offering the people an abolition of their debts by the firſt deputation, foretold, that the mutineers would, beſides their firſt demands, inſiſt upon laſting ſecurities for their future preſervation from oppreſſion; laſtly, he declared for the opinion of *Menenius*, adviſing the ſenate not to delay one moment giving the people ſatisfaction, let their demands be what they would. *Appius*, when it was his turn to ſpeak, oppoſed, in a very plauſible harangue, the opinion of *Menenius* and *Valerius*, and declared intirely againſt treating with the rebels, till they had laid down their arms; but on e that condition was for ſhewing them mercy and indulgence. Hereupon the ſenate was divided; the old men were for *Menenius Agrippa* and *Valerius*; the young ſenators, jealous of the prerogatives of their rank, declared all for *Appius*, and the uproar was ſo great, that they almoſt came to blows. The two conſuls, who were diſpoſed to favour the people, having conferred together in private, determined to give time to thoſe hot ſpirits to cool, and with that view put off the deciſion of this great affair to another day. But before the aſſembly broke up, in order to intimidate the

The ſenate diſpatch two deputations to the malecontents.

Warm debates in the ſenate.

[r] Dion. Hal. p. 375. Liv. l. ii. c. 30.

The *Romans*, ſays he, when they are in the field, reſpect nothing more than their enſigns and ſtandards. They ſwear by their military enſigns, and pay them a ſort of religious worſhip. On certain feſtivals they crown them with flowers and perfume them. Animated by this ſuperſtitious prejudice, they expoſed themſelves to the greateſt dangers, and deſpiſed death itſelf to ſecure thoſe precious pledges, and prevent their being taken by the enemy. Thoſe, to whoſe care they were committed, were either put to death, or whipped, if they ſuffered the enemy to take them. The *Romans*, in the times of their firſt ſimplicity, had no other enſigns or colours, but a bundle of hay or graſs faſtened to the top of a long pole, as we have obſerved above. In ſucceeding ages they made uſe of the figures of monſters and animals, *viz.* of eagles, dragons, boars, wolfs, *&c.* Each manipulus had its own enſign. The horſe made uſe of a ſtandard, called *vexillum*, which was made of a piece of rich ſtuff, about a foot ſquare. It was faſtened to a croſs piece of wood, which was fixed to the top of a pike. But the form of the enſigns and ſtandards varied according to the times and the temper of the *Romans*, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

the young ſenators, who had behaved in a very audacious manner, they threatened to exclude them from the ſenate, by fixing the age (M) neceſſary for a ſenator, unleſs they brought a more peaceable diſpoſition of mind along with them. Some days after, the ſenate met anew, when every thing was tranſacted with great tranquillity, *Menenius* being deſired again to declare his ſentiments, ſtill continued to think it neceſſary, that plenipotentiaries ſhould be ſent to the malecontents, with full power to grant them whatever they ſhould think conſiſtent with the good of the republic. All the ſenators, who had been conſuls, agreed with *Menenius*, except *Appius*, who, when it came to his turn to ſpeak, continued to proteſt againſt treating with rebels, till they had laid down their arms, and prayed *Jupiter* and the tutelar gods of *Rome*, that he might be deceived in his apprehenſions of the evil conſequences of ſuch a ſtep.

b However, the ſenate, determined by all means to divert the preſent evil, continued in their former reſolution of ſending commiſſioners to treat with the malecontents, and accordingly ten were named, and among them *T. Lartius*, *Menenius Agrippa*, and *M. Valerius*, all three in great eſteem, and of whom two had governed the republic, and commanded her armies in quality of dictators. Theſe with their collegues ſet out for the camp, where they were receivcd with all the reſpect due to their character. The preſence of the deputies had been ſufficient to bring back the mutineers to their duty, had not ſome turbulent ſpirits taken care to keep up the fire of diſcord. Theſe were *Sicinnius Bellutus* and another plebeian much of the ſame character, named c *Lucius Junius*, like the founder of the republic; nay, he affected the ſurname of *Brutus*, thinking himſelf deſtined to deliver the people from the tyranny of the ſenate, as the famous *Brutus* had freed *Rome* from the oppreſſion of the kings. Theſe two, being appointed by the malecontents to treat with the deputies from the ſenate, effaced with their crafty and artful ſpeeches the impreſſion, which the preſence of the deputies and their harangues had made on the minds of the multitude. But *Menenius Agrippa*, after having aſſured them, that the ſenate had, with unanimous conſent, determined to annul all bonds and obligations at preſent ſubſiſting, ſo ſoftened the populace by this promiſe and the famous apologue of a conſpiracy of all the members of the human body againſt the ſtomach, which he applied to the people and the ſenate, that they d all cried out, that they were ſatisfied, and that he might lead them back to *Rome*. This ſudden motion alarmed the pretended *Brutus*, who repreſented to the people, that they ought, indeed, to be very thankful for the favour ſhewed them at preſent in the abolition of their debts; but that he could not forbear letting them know, that he was very apprehenſive about the future, and therefore was of opinion, that means ſhould be found to ſecure the liberties of the people againſt the attempts of the ambitious patricians. What other ſecurity can you aſk, replied *Menenius*, beſides what our laws and the conſtitution of the republic already afford? Give us leave, anſwered *Brutus*, to chuſe annually out of the body of the plebeians a certain number of magiſtrates, who, without having any other authority in *Rome* but that of protecting them, may oppoſe or e diſannul any edicts or judgments which ſhall be burthenſome to the people. If you come hither with a ſincere intention of peace, you cannot reject ſo equitable a propoſal. The deputies, greatly ſurpriſed at ſuch a demand, told them, that they aſked a very extraordinary thing, which abſolutely exceeded the bounds of their inſtructions and powers; but that *M. Valerius* and ſome others of the deputies would go and make their report of it to the ſenate, and return with an anſwer. Accordingly, they repaired with all ſpeed to *Rome*, where *M. Valerius* gave his opinion in favour of the people, while *Appius*, burning with indignation, exclaimed againſt the dreadful conſequences which would attend *Valerius*'s condeſcenſion. But his remonſtrances were neglected, and the

The artful management of Junius Brutus, one of the heads of the ſedition.

(M) It is manifeſt from hence, that the laws had not yet determined at what age one might be admitted into the ſenate; and yet that there was a fixed age afterwards required is very certain; for *Tully*, in ſpeaking of *Pompey* (6), ſays, that he commanded armies before he had attained to the age that was required in a ſenator; the ſame is affirmed by *Plutarch*; and no expreſſion is more frequently made uſe of by the antient hiſtorians in the lives of great men, than that of *ætas ſenatoria*. But what age the laws fixed is uncertain. *Dio Caſſius* limits to five and twenty, which was the age required for the quæſtorſhip, the firſt office of any conſiderable note. However, we read of many perſons promoted to this dignity without any regard had to their years. *Pompey* eſtabliſhed among the *Bithynians* a law, by which no one could become a member of their ſenate till he was thirty complete. It is probable, he followed the cuſtom of the *Roman* republic in this regulation; and the more ſo, becauſe *Pliny* the younger, in one of his letters to the emperor *Trajan*, ſays, that the *Bithynians* made the *Romans* their patterns, eſpecially in what related to their magiſtracy and ſenate.

(6) *Cic. pro lege Manil.*

the other ſide prevailed, moſt of the ſenators being weary of theſe diviſions, and deſirous to have peace at any rate; ſo that, with almoſt an univerſal conſent, a *ſenatus conſultum* or decree of the ſenate was paſſed, permitting the creation of theſe new magiſtrates, who were called *Tribunes of the people.* This decree which included alſo the abolition of debts, was carried by the deputies of the ſenate to the camp as a ſeal of peace. The people were now for returning to *Rome*, but the leaders of the ſedition would not allow them to ſeparate, before they had elected the new magiſtrates. The aſſembly was held in the very camp, and, the auſpices being taken, the ſuffrages were gathered by curiæ, when *L. Junius Brutus* and *C. Sicinnius Bellutus* were, according to *Dionyſius*, choſen for the firſt tribunes. Theſe immediately named the two *Licinii*, *Publius* and *Caius*, with *Sp. Lilius Ruga* to be their colleagues. *Livy* ſays, that *C. Licinius* and *Lucius Albinus* were the firſt tribunes, and that they afterwards choſe themſelves three colleagues, among whom was *Sicinnius Bellutus.* Before they left the camp a law was paſſed, whereby the perſons of the tribunes were made ſacred. The words of the law were, *Let the tribune of the people be exempt from all the ſervile offices impoſed on the citizens. Let none of theſe offices be laid upon him, but by his own conſent. Let no one ſtrike him or cauſe another to ſtrike him. If any offend in this, let him be execrable, and his goods appropriated to the worſhip of* Ceres. *If any one kills him, any perſon may kill the murderer with impunity.* To make this law perpetual, all the *Romans* were obliged to ſwear, for themſelves and their poſterity, that they would inviolably obſerve it. After theſe regulations the people erected an altar to *Jupiter the terrible* on the top of the hill where they had incamped, and, having conſecrated the place of their retreat, which from this time was called *the ſacred mount*, they followed the deputies of the ſenate and returned to the city [s].

Tribunes of the people created. Year of the flood 2511. *Before Chriſt* 488. *Of* Rome 260.

The people return to Rome.

The tribunes were at firſt five in number, but a few years after five more were added. They were always choſen by the plebeians, and out of their body. Their ſole function was, to defend the liberties of the plebeians, and to interpoſe in all grievances offered them by their ſuperiors. This interpoſing, in matters determined by the ſenate or other magiſtrates, was called *interceſſio*, and was performed by ſtanding up, and pronouncing only one word, *Veto*, *I forbid it.* They had their ſeats placed at the door of the ſenate, and were never admitted into it, but when the conſuls called them to aſk their opinion upon ſome affair that concerned the intereſts of the people. As for the enſigns of their office, they had no *toga prætexta*, lictors, or curule chair; but were habited like private men, and attended only by one ſervant, called *Viator*. Their power was confined within the walls of *Rome*, or extended at moſt to a mile round the city. They were not allowed to be abſent from the city a day, *Dion* ſays an hour, except in the *feriæ Latinæ.* To ſhew their readineſs to protect the people, they were obliged to keep their doors open night and day. Their authority was very great; for, though at firſt they pretended only to prevent oppreſſion, yet afterwards they uſurped the power of doing almoſt whatever they pleaſed, having the people to back them. They aſſembled the people, enacted laws, made decrees, and executed them upon the magiſtrates themſelves, commanding ſometimes the very conſuls to be carried to priſon. In ſhort, they occaſioned far greater diſturbances in the ſtate, than thoſe which they were firſt created to appeaſe, whence they are ſtyled by ſome of the antients, *the bane of the public tranquillity.*

One of the firſt ſteps of the tribunes towards an increaſe of power was, to aſk permiſſion of the ſenate to chuſe two aſſiſtants in the execution of their office. This new demand was alſo complied with, and two men were choſen out of the plebeians to be the tribunes aſſiſtants, or agents. Theſe afterwards had the cognizance of a great many affairs, which before belonged to the conſuls, and the inſpection of all buildings both public and private; from which laſt branch of their office they took the name of *Ædiles*, with the epithet of *Plebeian*, to diſtinguiſh them from the *Ædiles curules*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

The tribunes inlarge their authority.

Rome being now in a profound peace at home, troops were eaſily raiſed to march againſt the *Volſci*, whom the conſul *Cominius* defeated in a pitched battle, and took from them *Longula* and *Polluſca.* He marched next to beſiege *Corioli*, the metropolis of the *Volſci* and ſtrongly fortified; which he likewiſe made himſelf maſter of, and gained a victory over the *Antiates* the ſame day. But *Caius Marcius*, a young patrician, had all the glory of both actions; for the beſieged having made a victorious ſal-

The Volſci *and* Antiates *defeated.*

[s] Dio. Hal. p. 386—410. Liv. l. iii. c. 30—33.

and driven the *Romans* back quite to their intrenchments, *Marcius*, by his words and example, rallied the fugitives, brought them back to the charge, and having obliged the enemy to retire into the city, followed them ſo cloſe, that he went in with them, and made himſelf maſter of the place. He then haſtened, without ſuffering his ſoldiers to ſtay for plunder, to join the conſul's army, which was upon the point of engaging with the *Antiates*, who were come to aſſiſt their allies. In the engagement which enſued, he behaved with equal bravery, and was attended with equal ſucceſs, the victory, which was gained, being entirely owing to his courage and prudent conduct. The next day, the conſul, having cauſed his tribunal to be erected before his tent, and called his ſoldiers together, made an harangue to them, which was little more than a panegyric on the brave *Marcius*. He put a crown of gold upon his head, aſſigned him a tenth part of all the ſpoil, gave him a fine horſe with ſtately furniture in the name of the republic, allotted him as much money as he could carry away, and, laſtly, allowed him to chuſe out any ten of the priſoners. But of all theſe preſents the young hero accepted only the horſe, and demanded but one captive of the ten, an old friend of his family, with a deſign to give him his liberty. This generous and diſintereſted conduct ſilenced even jealouſy itſelf. All reſpected an hero, whoſe ſentiments were as noble as his valour ſignal. But the conſul, to add to the glory of the brave warrior, beſtowed on him the ſurname of *Coriolanus*, transferring thereby from himſelf to *Marcius* all the honour of the conqueſt of *Corioli* [t].

The gallant behaviour of Caius Marcius Coriolanus.

THE enemies of *Rome*, being terrified by the reduction of the *Volſci*, kept quiet at home; ſo that the conſul diſbanded his army, and war was ſucceeded by works of religion, public games, and treaties of peace. The ancient alliance was renewed with the *Latins*, and a third day added to the *feriæ Latinæ*. In the mean time, *Menenius Agrippa* died in as great poverty as *Poplicola*. His relations reſolved to bury him without ceremony. But the people, at the motion of their new tribunes, agreed to pay a *ſextans*, or two ounces of braſs, a head, towards the expences of a magnificent funeral. Upon this, the ſenate, thinking it would reflect no ſmall diſhonour upon them to ſuffer an illuſtrious patrician to be buried at the expence of the people, allotted a ſum out of the public treaſury for his funeral, and committed the care of it to the quæſtors. Nevertheleſs the people refuſed to receive back their money, ordering it to be given to the children of the deceaſed *Menenius* [u]. This memorable conſulſhip ended with a *cenſus* and *luſtrum*, and there appeared to be but a hundred thouſand men in *Rome* fit to bear arms.

UNDER the new adminiſtration of *T. Geganius* and *P. Minucius*, *Rome* ſuffered greatly by a famine, and this calamity revived the civil diſſenſions. The ſenate, to diſburden the city, ſent away great numbers of the people to plant colonies at *Velitræ* and *Norba*, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the tribunes. In the mean time, the *Antiates*, taking advantage of the famine, with which *Rome* was afflicted, and of the diſcord between the people and the ſenate, made incurſions to the very gates of the city. *Coriolanus* could not bear this inſult, and therefore, as the tribunes ſtill oppoſed any regular levies being made, he put himſelf at the head of a band of voluntiers, advanced into the enemy's country, defeated them in ſeveral engagements, and returned loaded with a rich booty, conſiſting of corn, cattle, and ſlaves. At this the patricians triumphed, and the plebeians, who had remained behind, complained of their tribunes for having diverted them from following ſo ſucceſsful a leader. On the other hand, the tribunes, whoſe credit ſubſiſted only by the miſunderſtanding they fomented between the two orders in the commonwealth, endeavoured to ſtir up the populace to a general revolt, openly accuſing the patricians of being the cauſe of the ſcarcity, while their own families, they ſaid, were plentifully ſupplied with proviſions. The ſenate, alarmed at the ſtorm that threatened them, met daily to deliberate on the means to avert it. Some of the ſenators were for employing ſoft words and fair promiſes to gain over the moſt mutinous. But the opinion of *Appius* prevailed, which was, that the tribunes ſhould be threatened with the ſevereſt puniſhments, as diſturbers of the public peace, if they did not amend their behaviour. But when the conſuls came to declare to the curiæ the reſolution of the ſenate, the tribunes interrupted them, and even diſputed with them the right of ſpeaking in the comitia, contending, that their province was confined to the ſenate. The conteſt growing very warm and the hotteſt in each party being ready to come to blows, *Brutus*, who was now but ædile, deſired leave of the

Rome *ſuffers greatly by a famine.*

The civil diſſenſions revived.

[t] DIO. HAL. p. 412—414. LIV. l. ii. PLUT. in Coriol. [u] DIO. HAL. p. 415. LIV. ubi ſupra.

the conſuls to ſpeak to the people, promiſing to quiet the diſpute. *Geganius* and *Minucius*, pleaſed with the deference paid them, readily conſented to let him ſay what he thought fit. But he, inſtead of addreſſing himſelf either to the tribunes, or the people, turned to the conſul *Geganius*, who had been one of the commiſſioners ſent to the malecontents on the ſacred mount, and aſked him, whether he remembered, that one of the articles of the late reconciliation was, that no patrician ſhould interrupt thoſe who were appointed to take care of the intereſts of the people? *I remember it very well*, replied the conſul. *Why then*, added *Brutus*, *do you now come hither to diſturb the conference between the people and their tribunes? Becauſe*, ſaid *Geganius*, *this aſſembly was ſummoned by us, and not by you.* The conſul added too raſhly, *that if the tribunes had convened the aſſembly, he would not even have come to hear what they ſaid.* At theſe words *Brutus* cried out aloud, *that's enough; you grant all we aſk; ſpeak to day as much as you pleaſe; to morrow I will tell you, how far our power extends, and how far yours.* The next morning, before it was light, the tribunes and ædiles went to the temple of *Vulcan*, which ſtood near the comitium, and there aſſembled the people, complaining to them of the attempt that had been made the day before, to impoſe ſilence upon them in the aſſembly of the people, whom it was their duty to defend. They then propoſed to the curiæ the following law, empowering the tribunes to harangue the people. *Let no man preſume to interrupt a tribune who is ſpeaking in the aſſembly of the* Roman *people. If any one break this law, he ſhall preſently give bail to pay the fine, to which he ſhall be condemned: if he refuſes to give this ſecurity, he ſhall be put to death and his goods confiſcated: the difficulties, which may ariſe about theſe ſecurities, ſhall be referred to the people, and determined by them.* This law was confirmed by the ſuffrages of the people, before the conſuls could make any oppoſition to it. The ſenate indeed refuſed to confirm it; but then the people in their turn would not accept the decrees of the ſenate. Thus theſe two tribunals were ever oppoſing one another; but the people always gained their point by their numbers and the unanimity of their leaders [w].

A law is paſſed, making it penal to interrupt the tribunes, when they are ſpeaking to the people.

Freſh diſputes about the diviſion of corn.

The people, ſatisfied with having inlarged the power of their tribunes, bore the famine patiently, and continued quiet, till plenty of corn arriving from *Sicily* furniſhed the tribunes with a new occaſion of rekindling ſedition. The ſenators, who favoured the people, were for diſtributing gratis among the poor the corn, which had been bought with the public money. But the oppoſite faction was for holding up the price of bread, in order to keep the populace in dependence and ſubjection. The famous *Coriolanus*, at the head of the ſevere party, ſpoke loudly againſt ſhewing any indulgence to the people, propoſed the aboliſhing of the tribuneſhip, and taking vengeance of the mad rabble for their paſt inſolence. The ſenators were divided in their opinions, but the major part were for re-eſtabliſhing the government upon its ancient foundations, and annulling the treaty concluded on the ſacred mount. Theſe proceedings inraged the tribunes, who left the aſſembly in the greateſt fury, calling out aloud on the gods, the avengers of perjury, to witneſs the ſolemn oaths by which the ſenate had authorized the eſtabliſhment of their dignity. The people, fired by their factious tribunes, were ready to break into the ſenate, and there ſacrifice *Coriolanus* to their hatred and revenge. But the tribunes, that their proceedings might be regular, ſtopt them, and, having aſſembled the curiæ, ſummoned *Coriolanus* to appear before them. But he deſpiſed a ſummons brought him from a tribunal, which he did not acknowledge. Hereupon the tribunes, with a gang of the moſt mutinous among the plebeians, waited for him at the door of the ſenate, with a deſign to ſeize him when he came out. But, as he had a ſtronger guard with him than they, compoſed of young ſenators, who had a great reſpect for his perſon, the tribunes and their officers were beat back. Upon this the uproar was increaſed, on the one hand, by the crouds of people, who flocked together from all parts of the city, and, on the other, by the patricians, who haſtened to the aſſiſtance of *Coriolanus*. But, in the mean time, the conſuls coming up diſperſed the croud, and, partly by intreaties partly by their authority, prevailed upon the people to retire. The next day the tribunes, having aſſembled the people early in the morning, inveighed, as uſual, againſt the whole order of the patricians, but in particular againſt *Coriolanus*, repeating the very words he had uttered in the ſenate relating to the diſtribution of corn. Then they exaggerated the violence he had uſed againſt them the day before, the ill uſage their officers had met with

Coriolanus *ſummoned to appear before the tribunes.*

[w] Dio. Hal. Liv. Plut. ibid.

a with from him and his company, the great number of men he had always about him, whom they called the tyrant's guards, *&c.* After they had with long and bitter invectives made *Coriolanus* odious to the people, they added, that if there was any patrician, who would undertake his defence, he might mount the tribunal and ſpeak to the people. Then *Minucius*, the eldeſt conſul, preſenting himſelf, in a long ſpeech cleared the ſenate from being the cauſe of the famine, excuſed the imprudent warmth of *Coriolanus*, deſired them to remember his virtues as well as his faults, and intreated them, in the name of the ſenate, to forgive him. The gentle words of *Minucius*, joined with promiſes of ſudden plenty, ſoftened and calmed the people. But the artful *Sicinnius*, now tribune of the people a ſecond time, effaced all impreſſions made on their minds
b in favour of *Coriolanus*. After having thanked the conſuls and patricians for their favourable diſpoſition, he exhorted *Coriolonus* to have recourſe to the clemency of the people, and to make an apology for his conduct. The tribune well knew, that *Coriolanus* was a man of too lofty a ſpirit to ſtoop to ſupplications, and therefore did not doubt, but he would provoke the people afreſh with the haughtineſs of his anſwers. Accordingly, the young patrician, inſtead of appearing as a criminal, aſſumed the air of a judge, and by an ill-timed reſoluteneſs deſtroyed the effect of the conſul's ſpeech. For he not only owned what he had ſaid in the ſenate, but gloried in it, and refuſed to ſubmit to any tribunal but that of the conſuls, proteſting, with a loud voice and a threatening look, that he would not have vouchſafed to appear in a tumultuous
c aſſembly of ſeditious men, had it not been to reproach them with their crimes, and put ſome check to their boundleſs deſires. Laſtly, he declared his hatred to the tribunes, whom he called the bane of the public happineſs.

Coriolanus provokes the people with the haughtineſs of his anſwers.

It is eaſy to imagine, that ſuch a ſpeech muſt greatly offend the plebeians. Some of them were for maſſacring him on the ſpot. But *Sicinnius*, thinking it neceſſary to obſerve, at leaſt, ſome appearance of juſtice, put a ſtop to the fury of the inraged multitude, and, having conſulted apart with his collegue, without ſo much as giving himſelf the trouble to collect the voices of the aſſembly, pronounced ſentence of death upon him, and ordered him to be thrown down headlong from the top of the *Tar-*
d *peian* rock, a puniſhment inflicted upon ſuch as were enemies to their country. The ædiles inſtantly advanced with their officers to put the ſentence in execution. But the ſenate and all the patricians in the aſſembly, haſtening to his aſſiſtance, placed him in the midſt of them, determined to oppoſe force with force. And now the people, either thinking their tribunes had carried their animoſity too far, or awed by the preſence of the conſuls, refuſed to give aſſiſtance to their ædiles; *Sicinnius* therefore, by the advice of *Brutus*, reſolve to proſecute *Coriolanus* in a legal way, and to convene the people by tribes for his trial. Of this reſolution he gave *Coriolanus* notice with the following words: *We cite thee*, Coriolanus, *to appear before the people in ſeven and twenty days.* He then added, *as for the diſtribution of corn, if the ſenate does not take due care of that matter, the tribunes will give directions about it themſelves.* Having thus
e ſpoke, he adjourned the aſſembly. In the mean time, the ſenate, in order to ſooth the people, fixed the price of corn at the loweſt rate it ever had been at even before the ſedition. The conſuls likewiſe, fearing leſt the proſecution of *Coriolanus* ſhould deter others from ſpeaking their mind freely in the ſenate, did all that lay in their power to appeaſe the tribunes. *Minucius* repreſented to them, that, by an immemorial cuſtom, all proceedings in capital caſes were to begin in the ſenate, and that it belonged to the ſenators to declare, whether it was proper to refer them to the people; he added, that the kings themſelves had paid this deference to ſo auguſt a body, and that he hoped the tribunes would not violate the ancient rules of the government, but apply to the
f ſenate, if they had any grievances to lay to the charge of *Coriolanus*; he concluded by aſſuring them, that, according to the nature of the crime and the ſolidity of the proofs, the ſenate would refer the whole matter to the judgment of the people. *Sicinnius* exclaimed againſt this propoſal, pretending, that the affair naturally devolved upon the people, as the ſupreme court of judicature. But the other tribunes, plainly perceiving that they ſhould make themſelves odious even to the plebeians, if they ſo manifeſtly deviated from the uſual forms of juſtice, agreed to let the ſenate decide, as uſual, whether the people ſhould take cognizance of the matter depending. However, they inſiſted upon two conditions, which were; 1ſt, that the tribunes might be heard in the ſenate, with relation to the grievances which they pretended they had to lay to the charge of the perſon accuſed; 2dly, that the ſenators, after having been ſworn, ſhould deliver their opinions regularly, and the conſuls pronounce ſentence according

Coriolanus condemned to death by the tribunes, but is reſcued by the patricians.

to

to the plurality of voices. Theſe preliminaries being agreed on, the tribunes were a
introduced into the ſenate. *Decius*, the youngeſt of them, but a man of great elo-
quence, undertook to ſhew, that it belonged to the people to hear and determine the
preſent cauſe. He cited a law of *Poplicola*, by which the plebeians, when ill treated
by the patricians, were allowed to bring their complaints before the aſſembly of the
people; he urged, that *Coriolanus*, having been guilty of a notorious inſult on the
authority of the people and the dignity of their tribunes, the people were therefore
his legal judges; he exaggerated the heinouſneſs of *Coriolanus*'s offence, and adviſed
the ſenate to withdraw their protection from ſo proud and inſolent a patrician [x].

When the tribune had ended his ſpeech, the conſuls aſked the opinion of the aſſem-
bly, beginning with the oldeſt and moſt venerable ſenators; for in thoſe days, ſays b
Dionyſius, the young ſenators were not ſo preſumptuous as to make ſpeeches, or to
think themſelves capable of inſtructing their elders. They only gave their opinion by
ſome ſign, or by walking over to that ſide which they thought to be moſt in the right;
whence they were called *Senatores Pedarii*, from the *Latin* word *pes*, *a foot*. *Appius*
Claudius, when it came to his turn to ſpeak, appeared to be ſtill the ſame man, an irre-
concileable enemy to the people; he enumerated with great warmth all the incroach-
ments of the plebeians. At firſt, ſaid he, they pleaded poverty, and only demanded
an abolition of debts. In the beginning of their ſeditious ſeparation, they ſeemed to
be content with impunity and leave to return home. After this they thought fit to
demand a college of tribunes to protect them againſt our decrees. The authority of c
theſe officers they would have to be ſacred, and their perſons inviolable. Then, by
the help of theſe new magiſtrates, they made laws without our privity, deſpiſed the
authority of the ſenate and conſuls, and diſannulled our decrees. And now, by an
unheard-of uſurpation, they ſummon a moſt illuſtrious patrician to appear at their
tribunal, where he is to be tried as a criminal, only for delivering his opinion freely.
After this he exclaimed againſt ſubmitting *Coriolanus* to be tried by the people, or
making any conceſſions to them, and exhorted the ſenators not to fear a civil war,
telling them, that both gods and men would join in their defence. But the popular
Valerius was of a contrary opinion. He exaggerated the horrible conſequences of a
civil war, and endeavoured to ſhew, that their paying ſome deference to the people and d
their tribunes was the only means to quiet their fury, both againſt their threatened coun-
try and the offender. His opinion prevailed, and it was carried by a majority, that
Coriolanus ſhould be tried by the people. When the decree was ready to be drawn
up, *Coriolanus*, finding the ſenate was deſerting him, deſired to know what crime in
particular he was to be accuſed of; the tribunes anſwered, that they would confine
their whole accuſation to the ſingle crime of uſurping tyrannical power. *Upon that*
foot, replied Coriolanus, *I have nothing to object to the decree of the ſenate*; *let it be*
put in writing; *I will appear before the people, and anſwer that frivolous charge.* Thus,
with the conſent of all parties, the decree was drawn up, and put into the hands of the
tribunes, who immediately aſſembled the people, read it to them, and exhorted all the e
citizens of the republic, as well thoſe who dwelt in the country as the inhabitants of
Rome, to be in the forum on the day appointed for the deciſion of this affair. The
decree of the ſenate allowed the accuſed ſeven and twenty days to prepare his defence;
during which time, the tribunes frequently conferred among themſelves and with the
leading men among the plebeians, as if the preſervation of the republic had depended
on the deſtruction of *Coriolanus*.

The ſenate conſent that Coriolanus *ſhall be tried by the people.*

When the appointed day came, new diſputes aroſe about the form of the comitia,
by which the accuſed was to be tried. The tribunes had ſeparated the people by tribes
before the ſenators came; whereas from the reign of *Servius Tullius* the voices had
always been gathered by centuries. The conſuls were for keeping up the ancient f
cuſtom, being well appriſed, that they could ſave *Coriolanus*, if the voices were
reckoned by centuries, of which the patricians themſelves and the richeſt citizens
made the majority. But the artful tribunes, alledging, that, in an affair relating to the
rights of the people, every citizen's vote ſhould have its due weight, would not by any
means conſent to let the voices be collected otherwiſe than by tribes. The people being
aſſembled, *Minucius* the conſul ſpoke firſt, and endeavoured to perſuade the people to
be ſatisfied with *Coriolanus*'s ſubmiſſion in being brought to a trial before them, and
not ſuffer it to be ſaid, that ſo illuſtrious a citizen underwent the forms of juſtice like a
criminal.

[x] Dio. Hal. p. 447. Plut. ibid.

criminal. But, if you perſiſt, ſaid he, and are determined to vote, remember, that
a the whole ſenate is come hither to ſue for his pardon. Will you refuſe it to three hundred of the moſt venerable men in the republic? No; the moſt bitter enemy can never hold out againſt ſuch powerful interceſſors. *Sicinnius* anſwered with a haughty air, that he was not ſo cowardly as to betray the intereſts of the people, and that the aſſembly ſhould not be diſmiſſed till the affair was determined by a majority of voices. Well then, replied *Minucius*, ſince you obſtinately inſiſt, that *Coriolanus* ſhall be tried by this aſſembly, notwithſtanding our intreaties, I demand, that, purſuant to your agreement with the ſenate, you confine your accuſation to the ſingle article of tyranny, and bring proofs and witneſſes of this crime. *Sicinnius* then began the accuſation,
b and, running over the whole life of *Coriolanus*, repreſented him as aiming, in every part of it, at regal power.

Coriolanus *is tried in an aſſembly of the people by tribes.*

As ſoon as the tribune had done ſpeaking, *Coriolanus* preſented himſelf in the aſſembly, and anſwered the calumnies thrown upon his conduct by a bare recital of his ſervices. He firſt enumerated the many campaigns he had made in the ſervice of the republic. Then he expoſed to the view of the people many crowns, with which he had been rewarded by the *Roman* generals; and every time he ſhewed the people any of thoſe proofs of his valour, he called upon the commanders, who had honoured him with them, to teſtify the truth of what he ſaid. He likewiſe named the many citizens he had ſaved in battle, and deſired them to ſtand up and witneſs what he
c advanced. Theſe men immediately appeared in the midſt of the aſſembly, and, ſtretching out their hands as ſuppliants, conjured the aſſembly not to deſtroy a man, to whom they were indebted for their lives: they offered to take the place of the accuſed, and to ſecure his life at the expence of their own. As theſe were moſtly plebeians, their ſighs and preſſing ſolicitations made ſuch an impreſſion on the multitude, that they could not refrain from tears. Then *Coriolanus*, tearing away his robe, ſhewed his breaſt all covered with the ſcars of many wounds he had received, and at the ſame time, with an air of confidence mixed with modeſty, It was to ſave theſe worthy men, ſaid he, that I have received the wounds you ſee; let the tribunes ſhew, if they can, how ſuch actions are conſiſtent with the treacherous deſigns they lay to my
d charge. Is it eaſy to believe, that a man, who has done nothing to gain the favour of the people, but hazard his life for them, could have a deſign of uſurping the throne? He had ſcarce done ſpeaking, when the moſt worthy men among the plebeians cried out, that ſo good a citizen ought to be acquitted, and that a man of his birth and merit ought not to have been brought to a trial upon ſuch ſlight preſumptions. Even the moſt mutinous thought, that the accuſers had not given ſufficient proofs of the crime laid to his charge. So that the aſſembly was juſt ready to break up much to the reputation of *Coriolanus*, when the tribune *Decius*, alarmed at this change, brought in a new charge againſt him, *viz.* that, contrary to the *Roman* laws,
e he had diſpoſed of the ſpoils taken from the *Antiates* in his late expedition, during the famine, among his ſoldiers, inſtead of delivering them to the quæſtor. This, ſaid *Decius*, is a plain proof of his evil deſigns: with the public money he ſecured to himſelf creatures, and guards, and ſupporters of his intended uſurpation. Let him make it appear, that he had power to diſpoſe of the booty without violating the laws: let him anſwer directly to this one article, without dazzling us with the ſplendid ſhew of his crowns and ſcars, or uſing any other arts to blind the aſſembly. Neither *Coriolanus* nor his friends were prepared for this chicane; ſo that the tribunes, taking advantage of their ſurprize, exaggerated this breach of the law: *Sicinnius* inſolently aſked him, whether he was king of *Rome*, and by what authority he had diſpoſed of what belonged to the republic and the *Roman* people? All *Coriolanus* could ſay was, that thoſe of
f the people, who had attended him in that expedition, had received the whole benefit of that pillage. But the tribunes, urging he had by that diſtribution violated a law which was as ancient as *Rome* itſelf, rekindled the former animoſity of the people againſt him, eſpecially of thoſe who had not been ſharers in the booty. Of this animoſity they laid hold, as the moſt favourable opportunity to collect the ſuffrages, and get *Coriolanus* condemned to perpetual baniſhment. Of the twenty-one tribes, but nine voted for him, and the reſt againſt him. The joy of the people upon this great event is not to be imagined: they never expreſſed more, even after the greateſt victories. And indeed not without reaſon; for, by the advantage they had gained over the ſenate and the nobility, the form of government was abſolutely changed, and the plebeians, who had been hitherto dependent on the patricians, were become their

Coriolanus *is condemned to baniſhment.*

judges, and poſſeſſed of a right to call before their tribunal the greateſt men in the commonwealth, and to decide their fate. As the aſſembly was diſperſing, it was eaſy to diſtinguiſh the patricians from the plebeians, by the ſorrow or joy which appeared in their countenances. *Coriolanus* was the only perſon among the former, who ſeemed unconcerned. He neither ſaid nor did any thing unworthy of his uſual magnanimity. He repaired immediately to his own houſe, where he found his mother *Veturia* and *Volumnia* his wife, drowned in tears and in the firſt tranſports of their grief. He exhorted them, in a few words, to behave with conſtancy and fortitude under the various events of life; and having recommended to them the care of his children, who were yet but infants, he took his leave, not ſuffering any body to attend him in his exile, except three or four of his clients. A great number of the ſenators and other patricians attended him to the gate of the city; but he, juſtly offended at the weakneſs of their conduct, ſaid not one word to them by the way, and parted from them with the ſame reproachful ſilence [y].

The illuſtrious exile ſpent the firſt days of his baniſhment at a country ſeat of his own in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. There being left wholly to himſelf, he could not reſiſt the ſtrong motions of his reſentment, but reſolved to revenge the affront which the ſenate had ſuffered the people to put upon him. Having taken this reſolution, he caſt his eyes upon the ſeveral nations that were neighbours and enemies to *Rome*, and finding none more exaſperated againſt the *Romans*, or in a better condition to undertake a war, than the *Volſci*, he determined to ſeek a retreat among them, not doubting, but he ſhould prevail upon them to eſpouſe his quarrel, and join with him in purſuing their common revenge. The *Volſci* were at that time a republic, conſiſting of ſeveral ſmall cantons, united by a league and governed by an aſſembly of deputies from each of them. One *Attius Tullus*, or, as *Plutarch* calls him, *Tullus Amphidius*, a man of great experience in war, and who had a conſiderable intereſt throughout the whole nation, was then their general. In the late wars between the *Romans* and the *Volſci*, he had been often encountered, and always conquered in battle, by *Coriolanus*. However, the *Roman* thought he could diſcloſe his reſentments and intruſt his life with no-body more ſafely than with a brave man, who perhaps might entertain as great an eſteem for him as he had for *Attius*. He therefore came to a reſolution to apply himſelf directly to him. Accordingly, he left his retreat in diſguiſe, and in the evening entering *Antium*, one of the chief cities of the *Volſci*, where *Tullus* reſided, he went ſtrait to his houſe with his face covered, and ſat down by the hearth of the domeſtic gods, a place ſacred in all the houſes of the ancient *Pagans*. *Attius* was at ſupper in an inner apartment, when news was brought him, that a ſtranger, of a very majeſtic air, was, without ſpeaking to any body, come into his houſe, and had placed himſelf by the hearth of his lares. *Attius* immediately came out, and aſked him who he was, and what he required? *Coriolanus* then diſcovered his face; but the other not recollecting him, he told him his name, acquainted him with his caſe, and offered to aſſiſt the *Volſci* againſt *Rome*, with his counſels and all his experience in war. *Attius* immediately gave him his hand, received him with great kindneſs, and aſſured him of the friendſhip of the *Volſci*. He then led him into his apartment, where they ſpent the following days in private conferences, about the means of puniſhing *Rome*, for the miſchiefs ſhe had done to the *Volſci* and the hard uſage *Coriolanus* had received from her. But the great point was, how to bring the whole nation to a declaration of war with *Rome*. The *Volſci* had ſuffered greatly in the laſt war, and had, by yielding ſome of their towns and part of their territory, obtained of the republic a truce for two years. As this truce was not yet expired, *Tullus*, though he had a great intereſt in the diets of the cantons of his country, could not promiſe, that he ſhould be able to perſuade the whole nation to take up arms. However, the two generals found means at laſt to compaſs what they deſired. The *Romans* were making great preparations for public ſports, which drew crowds of ſtrangers from all parts. The *Volſci* eſpecially went thither in great numbers, which gave no ſmall uneaſineſs to the conſuls, whoſe apprehenſions were increaſed by an artifice which the two generals had concerted together. This was to ſuborn one of the *Volſci* to go to the conſuls, and pretend to make a diſcovery of a deſign his countrymen had to ſet fire to *Rome*, while the *Romans* were taken up with the games and public ſports in the circus. *Livy* ſeems to inſinuate, that this ſcheme was laid without the knowledge of *Coriolanus*; but *Plutarch* and *Dionyſius* tell us,

He retires to Antium, *the chief city of the* Volſci.

[y] Dio. Hal. l. vii. 463. Liv. l. ii. Plut. in Coriol.

a us, that the whole was an artifice of his. The conſuls immediately made the report of the pretended plot to the ſenate, and the ſenate cauſed the ſame day a decree to be publiſhed throughout the city, ordering all the *Volſci* to leave it before ſun-ſet on pain of death. The conſuls, being ordered to ſee this decree put in execution, cauſed all the gates of the city to be ſhut, except the gate *Capena*, through which all the *Volſci* were drove out with ſhame and ignominy. *Tullus* met them as by chance, and, hearing how they had been treated, exaggerated the affront they had recived. *We alone*, ſaid he, *of all the different nations now in* Rome *are not thought worthy to ſee the games. We alone, like the profaneſt wretches and outlaws, are driven from a public feſtival. Go and tell in all your cities and villages the diſtinguiſhing mark the* Romans *have put upon us.* He

b found no difficulty in exaſperating minds already prejudiced; a general diet was tumultuouſly aſſembled, when all the deputies were of opinion, that they were at liberty to begin the war, without waiting till the truce was expired. When *Tullus*, who conducted the affair, ſaw his countrymen ready to carry fire and ſword into the territory of *Rome*, he adviſed them, before they broke up, to ſend for *Coriolanus* into their aſſembly; telling them, that he now bore more enmity to the *Romans* than they themſelves, and was capable of doing them more hurt than they had received from them. The *Roman* was accordingly ſent for, and, being introduced into the aſſembly, he related his misfortune, made a merit of chuſing a retreat among the *Volſci*, rather than among the *Latins*, *Etrurians*, *Sabines*, &c. perſuaded them to demand

c back all the cities the *Romans* had taken from them; and laſtly, offered to aſſiſt their generals with his counſels and ſword, without aſpiring to any command in their armies. His ſpeech was received with great applauſe, and embaſſadors were diſpatched to *Rome*, to demand the reſtoration of the lands and cities which had been taken in the late war. But the only anſwer they brought back was this; that the *Romans* would not give up what they had conquered, and that if the *Volſci* were the firſt to take arms, the *Romans* would be the laſt to lay them down. Upon this the *Volſci* unanimouſly appointed *Tullus* and *Coriolanus* to command their troops, and, to bind the latter more ſtrictly to them, conferred on him the dignity of ſenator. The two generals immediately raiſed a numerous army, which they divided into two bodies; *Tullus* with one

d ſtaid in the country to cover it on the ſide of *Latium*, while *Coriolanus* with the other, conſiſting of the flower of the *Volſcian* troops, entered the territory of *Rome*, before the conſuls had taken any meaſures to oppoſe him, and there made himſelf maſter of *Circæum*, *Corbio*, *Vitellium*, and *Trebia*. *Toleria*, *Bola*, *Labicum*, and *Pedum*, all in *Latium* or on the confines of that country, were taken ſword in hand, and the inhabitants given up to the fury of an enemy victorious and inraged. As this irruption was not expected, *Coriolanus* found many *Roman* citizens diſperſed about the country, and theſe he made ſlaves. He burnt their farms, carried away their cattle, broke in pieces all their inſtruments of huſbandry, and, in ſhort, carried fire and ſword into all parts. However, in that general devaſtation, either out of regard to his old friends,

e or to keep up a reciprocal animoſity between the two parties, he ſpared the houſes and lands of the patricians. This conduct had the deſired effect. The plebeians complained of the patricians, as if they had brought ſo formidable an enemy upon them. The patricians, on the other hand, upbraided the people, with having forced ſo great a captain to throw himſelf in deſpair into the party of the enemy. As mutual diſtruſt, ſuſpicion, and hatred reigned in both parties, they were not ſo eager to repulſe the *Volſci*, as to decry and ruin each other: ſo that *Coriolanus*, finding no army in the field to oppoſe his deſigns, carried on his conqueſts, took *Lavinium*, and at length came and incamped at the *Foſſa Cluilia* within five miles of *Rome*. The conſternation in the city was then general. The people, terrified at the approach of ſo formidable an

f enemy, haſtened into the forum, and there with loud cries demanded peace and the abolition of the decree of *Coriolanus*'s baniſhment. But the ſenate, who had formerly protected the exile, now refuſed to comply with the demands of the people, either to clear themſelves from the ſuſpicion of maintaining a correſpondence with *Coriolanus*, or perhaps out of that ſpirit of magnanimity, which made the *Romans* averſe from peace, when they were attended with bad ſucceſs in war. However that be, the *Roman* general no ſooner underſtood the oppoſition the ſenate made to his return, but he advanced to *Rome*, and inveſted the place, as if he deſigned to beſiege it. As he continued there that evening and a good part of the next day, without making any motion, the *Romans* imagined he only waited for an opportunity of reconciling himſelf with his country. The ſenate therefore reſolved to ſend a deputation to him, conſiſting of five

The Volſci reſolve upon a war with Rome.

Coriolanus appointed to command their troops.

Takes many cities from the Romans.

The people are for recalling him from baniſhment.

The ſenate ſend a deputation to him.

five ſenators, who had been his moſt zealous friends. Theſe were *M. Minucius*, *Poſthumus Cominius*, *Sp. Lartius*, *P. Pinarius*, and *Q. Sulpicius*, who had all been conſuls. When *Coriolanus* underſtood, that the deputies were coming, he pleaſed himſelf with the thought of humbling thoſe proud republicans. He made them paſs through two ranks of ſoldiers ſtanding to their arms, and gave them audience, ſitting, and ſurrounded by the moſt conſiderable men among the *Volſci*. *Minucius*, who had been his chief advocate, put him in mind of the regard the patricians had always ſhewn him, and endeavoured to excuſe, in ſome meaſure, the people, of whom nine tribes had voted for him. He expoſtulated with him for carrying his reſentment to ſuch an exceſs, reminded him of the inſtability of fortune, and, laſtly, invited him to throw himſelf into the arms of his native city, which ſtretched them out, like a tender mother, to receive him into her boſom. *Coriolanus* anſwered with a haughty air, that as general of the *Volſci* he muſt adviſe them to apply to the nation he ſerved, and in a ſuppliant manner ſue to them for peace, which he engaged to procure for them, upon condition, that *Rome* reſtored to the *Volſci* the country ſhe had taken from them, granted them the ſame rights of civiz nſhip which ſhe had granted to the *Latins*, and recalled the *Roman* colonies from thoſe towns of which ſhe had got poſſeſſion unjuſtly. As to the liberty offered him of going back to *Rome*, he ſaid it was not worth his acceptance. *Is a bare re-eſtabliſhment in* Rome, ſaid he, *a ſufficient ſatisfaction for the affronts I have received? Can there be any ſafety for me, while a* Sicinnius *or a* Decius *is able to arm the populace againſt my life? No*; Rome *is an unnatural mother, who has caſt off a ſon that was uſeful to her and zealous for her glory. She ſhall ſoon know by the effects of my reſentment, whoſe cauſe it is that the gods eſpouſe.* Having thus ſpoke in a haughty ſtrain what concerned the intereſts of the *Volſci* and his own injuries, he aſſumed a more gentle air towards the deputies, aſſured them, that he remembered with pleaſure his obligations to them, returned them thanks for the generous protection they granted to his wife and children, and told them, that, to ſhew his gratitude, he would even allow the *Romans* a truce for thirty days with reſpect to the proper territory of *Rome*; but that, after the expiration of that time, he ſhould expect from them a deciſive anſwer [z].

His anſwer to the deputies.

Coriolanus employed the thirty days in making new conqueſts in *Latium*, and then returned and incamped before *Rome* with all his forces. The ſenate had ſpent the thirty days in deliberations, and the reſult of their debates may give us a true notion of the temper of thoſe haughty republicans. They reſolved never to receive law from their enemy, nor treat of peace with him, till he had laid down his arms, and retired from the territory of *Rome* and from thoſe of her allies. Their pride did not abate, notwithſtanding the preſent calamity. They choſe ten new deputies to carry this meſſage to *Coriolanus*, who returned them this ſhort anſwer, that the *Romans* had no choice but compliance with the articles, or war; and that he allowed them three days more to come to a final determination. He even refuſed to hear their reply, threatening to treat them as ſpies, if they did not quit his camp immediately. The report of the deputies threw the city into the utmoſt conſternation. All that could be done in this univerſal dejection was, to appoint every one his poſt, either on the ramparts, the capitol, or in the towers. The tribunes were not now ſo much as heard of; the conſuls, being at a loſs what to do, aſſembled the ſenate; expedient upon expedient was propoſed, and at laſt they all agreed to ſend a deputation to the enemy's camp, conſiſting of all the miniſters of the gods, with which they thought *Coriolanus* could not but be affected. Accordingly, all the prieſts, augurs, ſacrificers, and guardians of the ſacred things, were ordered to march out of the city in their pompous habits, and to conjure *Coriolanus*, by the reſpect he owed to the gods, to grant peace to his country. But this deputation was as fruitleſs as the former. *Coriolanus* ſent them back to the city with orders to acquaint the ſenate, that the attack would immediately begin, if they did not ſubmit to the conditions which he had propoſed in the name of the *Volſcian* nation.

Another deputation ſent to him conſiſting of the prieſts, augurs, &c.

Upon the return of the prieſts, they all looked upon the republic as loſt; the men ran in diſorder to the walls, and the women in deſpair to the temples, eſpecially to that of *Jupiter* in the capitol, where, with tears in their eyes, they implored of the tutelar gods of *Rome* the preſervation of their country, then on the brink of ruin. Such was the face of affairs in the city, when a *Roman* matron, named *Valeria*, ſiſter of the famous

[z] Dio. Hal. l. viii. p. 492—509. Liv. l. ii. c. 39. Plut. in Coriol.

famous *Valerius Poplicola*, as if ſhe had been moved by a kind of divine inſpiration,
a turned to the other matrons, who were come in crouds to the temple of *Jupiter*, and
ſuggeſted to them a reſolution which ſaved *Rome*. *Let us not ſuffer ourſelves*, ſaid ſhe
to them, *to ſink under our preſent afflictions. What men could not do, women may perhaps*
accompliſh. We may perhaps ſoften the heart of a conqueror hitherto inflexible. Let us go
in this mournful dreſs to the houſe of Veturia, *the mother of* Coriolanus, *and agree with*
her to repair to the camp of her ſon. Coriolanus *will never be able to hold out againſt the*
tears of his mother, his wife, and his children, when attended with all the women of di-
ſtinction in Rome. The motion being approved of by all who were preſent, they went
ſtrait to the houſe of *Veturia*, whom they found with *Volumnia*, her daughter-in-law,
deploring their own misfortunes and thoſe of *Rome*. *Volumnia*, ſurpriſed to ſee ſo
b many women of diſtinction crowd to her, aſked what had brought them to a houſe
overwhelmed with ſorrow? *You*, replied Valeria, *are the only refuge we have left in*
our misfortunes. We come to intreat you to preſerve our eſtates, our honour, and our liberty
from the Volſci. *Repair then with us to the camp of* Coriolanus, *and bring with you*
Volumnia *and theſe tender children, who may ſoften the heart of their beloved father.*
Your preſence will perſuade him to prefer the preſervation of his deſtitute family to the purſuit
of his reſentment, and the honours he may expect from the Volſci. *Nothing can be more*
glorious for you, Veturia, *than to recover your ſon, deliver your country, and ſave the*
lives of your fellow-citizens. Make no delay, ſince the danger is great and requires a ſpeedy
remedy. At theſe words *Veturia* burſt out into tears, recollected herſelf a moment,
c and then replied; *Alas! my intereſt in* Coriolanus *is but a poor refuge. What impreſ-*
ſions can women make on a warrior ſpirited by revenge? I am not wanting in affection to my
country; but what am I now in my ſon's eyes more than other Roman *women, who ſhare the*
averſion he has for Rome? *This he ſufficiently ſhewed at his departure into baniſhment.*
Cariolanus, ſaid he to us, *is now loſt to you for ever. I have no longer either mother, wife,*
or children. I renounce all, even my domeſtic gods. Can we then hope to ſoften ſo hard
a heart? What ſhall we perſuade him to do? To love a country, which has treated him ſo
injuriouſly? To betray a nation, which has received him in its boſom? Shall we deſire him
to ſhew compaſſion for a people, who had none for him? Let me ſpend my days, Valeria, *in*
grief and ſorrow, and don't force me to ſuffer the mortification of a refuſal, which will be
equally diſhonourable to Corolianus *and his mother.* But *Valeria* renewing her intreaties,
and with her all the *Roman* matrons embracing her knees and conjuring her not to
refuſe her country this laſt aſſiſtance, *Veturia*, at length overcome, promiſed to
comply with their requeſt, if the ſenate agreed to it. *Valeria* immediately gave
advice of this deſign to the conſuls, who propoſed it in the ſenate, where, after long
debates, it was approved of by the fathers. Then *Veturia* and the moſt illuſtrious of
the *Roman* matrons, in a great many chariots, which the conſuls had ordered to be
got ready for them, took their way to the enemy's camp. *Coriolanus*, being informed
by his ſcouts, that his mother, his wife, and a great number of other women were
coming to his camp, determined to receive them with the ſame reſpect that he had
e paid to the miniſters of religion, but in the main to grant them nothing; for he was
well appriſed of the views the *Romans* had in ſo unheard-of a deputation. But not-
withſtanding his reſolution, he no ſooner ſaw his mother and wife at the head of this
troop of women, than he began to relent. He walked out of his tent, and order- *The interview*
ing his lictors to lower their faſces before perſons ſo dear to him, he ran haſtily to *between* Corio-
embrace them. They expreſſed their joy upon ſeeing each other again chiefly by lanus *and his*
tears; and when they had given ſome time to the firſt emotions of nature, *Veturia* *mother.*
began to enter upon the ſubject for which ſhe came. *Coriolanus*, that he might
not give any umbrage to the *Volſci*, called the chief officers of his army to be witneſſes
f of what paſſed in this interview. They were no ſooner come, than *Veturia* told him,
that the *Roman* matrons, who attended her, had omitted nothing, during his abſence,
that could comfort her and his wife *Volumnia* in their affliction; that they were come to
beg peace of him once more, and to conjure him, by all that was dear to him, to turn
his arms againſt other enemies, *&c. Coriolanus* replied, that he could not think of
betraying the intereſts of a nation, that had truſted him with the command of their
army, and honoured him with a place in their ſenate; that he had found more honours
at *Antium*, than he had loſt at *Rome*, and that nothing would be wanting to his hap-
pineſs, if ſhe and *Volumnia* would leave the ungrateful city, and come and enjoy among
the *Volſci* the honours which they would pay to the mother and wife of their general.
The *Volſcian* officers ſeemed very much pleaſed with this anſwer; but *Veturia*, without

entering into a comparison between *Rome* and *Antium*, which would have offended a them, told her son, that she would never require any thing of him that might be a blemish upon his honour; but that, without being any ways wanting in what he owed to the *Volsci*, he might mediate a peace equally advantagious to both nations. Then, raising her voice, she added; *and can you, my son, reject a proposal so equitable? can you prefer a cruel and obstinate revenge to the tears and intreaties of your mother? consider, that your answer is to decide the fate of my glory and of my life too. A* Roman *woman knows how to die, when her honour calls upon her so to do. If I cannot move you, know I have resolved to give my self death in your presence. You shall not march to* Rome, *without treading under your feet the body of her to whom you owe your being.* *Veturia*, perceiving her speech made a deep impression on his mind, b continued her discourse, conjuring him by the great *Jupiter*, who presided in the capitol, and by the manes of his father and ancestors, to withdraw his troops from before *Rome*, and allow the *Romans* for her sake a truce for a year, that in this interval measures might be taken to procure a solid and lasting peace. *Grant this, my son*, said she, *and, if my tears and prayers are not able to move you, behold your mother at your feet, imploring of you the preservation of her country.* With these words, melting in tears, she embraced his knees; his wife and children did the same, and all the *Roman* matrons, who were with them, begged for mercy by their cries and, tears. *Coriolanus*, seeing his mother at his feet, could hold out no longer, but a- midst a struggle with different passions cried out, *ah, my mother, you disarm me*, and, c tenderly pressing her hand in lifting her up, he added in a low voice, Rome *is saved; but your son is lost*; well foreseeing, that the *Volsci* would never forgive him the regard he was going to pay to her intreaties. He then retired into his tent with his mother, wife, and children, and there conferred with the two persons that were most dear to him about the measures he should take with respect to the *Volsci* and to the *Romans*. The articles agreed on were these; 1st, that *Coriolanus* should decamp the next day, without committing any hostilities in the *Roman* territory; 2dly, that after he had assembled the chiefs of the *Volsci*, he should use his utmost endeavours to persuade them to conclude a peace with *Rome* upon reasonable terms; 3dly, that if the *Volsci* would not hearken to an accommodation, he should then lay down the com- d mand of their army, which would probably be a means to bring them to a better temper. *Veturia*, after a conference so beneficial to her country, taking leave of her son, returned in the evening with the other *Roman* ladies to *Rome*, where they were received with the acclamations of the whole city. The senate desired them to ask what reward they pleased for so important a service. But *Veturia*, after having consulted with the others, replied, that they asked nothing but leave to build a temple at their own expence to *The Fortune of women*. The senate, applauding their disinterestedness, ordered both the temple and the statue to be erected at the expence of the public, in the very place where *Veturia* had overcome the obstinacy of her son. *Valeria*, who had proposed so successful a deputation, was the first priestess of this sanctu- e ary, which was much frequented by the *Roman* women [a].

His mother prevails upon him to raise the siege of Rome.

Early next morning, *Coriolanus* led back his troops into the country of the *Volsci*, and there divided all the spoil among his soldiers, without reserving any thing for himself. This liberality increased their affection to him, so that they made his apology where-ever they went. However, some murmured at the respect he had shewn for his mother and country. Among these was *Attius Tullus*, who, growing jealous of the esteem and credit which his rival had gained with the soldiers, publicly gave out, that he had betrayed the interest of the *Volsci*. Hereupon *Coriolanus* desired, he might be allowed to clear his conduct before the general council of the nation. An assembly was accordingly held; but while *Coriolanus* was beginning to answer the charge f brought against him by his adversaries, *Tullus*, who no less feared his eloquence than his valour, raised a tumult, by the advantage of which some of the opposite faction, suborned by *Tullus*, threw themselves upon him and stabbed him. The soldiers, who had served under him, greatly lamented his death, and the people of *Antium* performed his obsequies with great pomp, and erected a stately tomb to his memory. The *Romans* had their reasons of state for not decreeing him the same funeral honours. For he had born arms against his country, and was not yet reconciled to *Rome* by a regular treaty. However, the *Roman* ladies, upon their presenting a petition to the senate,

He is assassinated by the Volsci.

[a] Dio. Hal. p. 511—526. Liv. ii. Plut. ibid.

a ſenate, obtained leave to wear mourning for him ten months. Such was the end of the famous *Marcius*, ſurnamed *Coriolanus*, who, for his eminent virtues and great ſervices, deſerved a much better treatment both from the *Romans* and the *Volſci*. He was deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious patrician families in *Rome*. He had an excellent underſtanding, was frugal, diſintereſted, of ſtrict probity, and inviolably attached to the obſervation of the laws. Theſe pacific virtues were never known to be accompanied with a more heroic courage, or ſo great a capacity for the art of war. *Rome* never bred a more able general: he was always ſucceſsful, becauſe always equally brave and prudent. But he was imperious, inexorably ſevere, and ſo far from affecting popularity, that he ran into the other extreme, which paſſed for pride. Tho' b he was too haughty for a republican, his country has ever honoured him as one of her heroes, and hiſtory has done him the juſtice to ſay, that he could, at the head of a *Roman* army, have more inlarged the dominions of the republic, than all the generals who went before him. But unhappy factions hindered *Rome* from reaping any benefit from his virtues. But ſhe was at laſt ſenſible of the loſs ſhe had ſuffered by baniſhing him; and her own misfortunes taught her, how many calamities ſhe might have avoided, and how many conqueſts gained, if ſhe had not provoked a man of ſuch eminent parts.

Upon the news of *Coriolanus*'s death, the conſuls ventured to take the field. Theſe were *Sp. Nautius* and *Sextus Furius*, men of no experience in war or courage. They c incamped ſeparately on eminences at a ſmall diſtance from the enemy. But though the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, who had entered into a confederacy againſt *Rome*, quarrelled about the choice of a general, and even fought a bloody battle, the timorous conſuls did not venture to attack them in their retreat, but led their troops back to *Rome*, where they were received with the hiſſes of the people [b].

The people had of late placed ſuch perſons at their head as were pliable and ſubmiſſive, without regarding any other qualifications; but, having experienced the inconveniencies of being governed by men of little merit, they reſolved for the future to change their conduct; and therefore choſe two conſuls, who had given diſtinguiſhing proofs of their courage and ſkill in war, *Aquilius Tuſcus* and *Sicinnius Sabinus*. The d former gained a complete victory over the *Hernici*, and latter over the *Volſci*, who had been ſo formidable under the command of *Coriolanus*: their army was intirely defeated, their camp taken, and their general *Attius Tullus* killed in the battle. This victory being of greater conſequence than that of *Aquilius*, *Sicinnius* was decreed a triumph, and the other only an ovation. Theſe conſuls were ſucceeded by *Sp. Caſſius*, who had been twice conſul before and had obtained a triumph, and *Proculus Virginius*, a patrician of known courage. The latter marched againſt the *Æqui*, who, upon the approach of the *Roman* army, retired with all their effects into their cities. The conſul therefore, who was not in a condition to undertake ſieges, returned to *Rome*. It had fallen to *Caſſius*'s lot to make war with the *Hernici*; and accordingly he took the e field, and entering their country, by the mere terror of his arms reduced them to ſubmit, and ſue for peace and an alliance with the republic. The conſul, however, would not ſettle the conditions of the alliance, till they had firſt obtained a decree of the ſenate for it; which deference ſo obliged the fathers, that they impowered *Caſſius* to draw up the articles of the treaty himſelf, promiſing to ratify whatever he ſhould determine. This mark of diſtinction emboldened the conſul to demand the honours of a triumph, which, though not due to him, for he had gained no victory, yet were granted. He was no ſooner honoured with a ſecond triumph, than he drew up the conditions of the treaty with the *Hernici*, which was only a copy of the treaty he had made with the *Latins* in his ſecond conſulſhip. This condeſcenſion gave no ſmall umbrage to the ſenate; f they could not bear, that a foreign nation, but juſt reconciled to *Rome*, ſhould be raiſed at once to equal honours and privileges with the *Latins*, who were allied to them by blood, and had done them many important ſervices. As *Caſſius* was a man naturally vain and oſtentatious, ſome penetrating republicans began to ſuſpect, that, in thus favouring the *Hernici*, he had private views prejudicial to the ſtate. And indeed he ſoon convinced them, that his views and intereſts were very different from thoſe of the commonwealth. For the very next day after his triumph, having, according to cuſtom, convened an aſſembly of the people, to give them an account of what he had done for the ſervice of the republic during the campaign, among other things he told them, that he

The Romans *gain two compleat victories; the one over the* Hernici, *the other over the* Volſci.

The conſul Sp: Caſſius *courts the favour of the people.*

[b] Dio. Hal. p. 528.

he propoſed, before the end of his magiſtracy, to render the condition of the plebeians ſo happy, that they ſhould no longer envy that of the patricians. The next day he aſſembled the ſenate, and there made a long ſpeech in praiſe of the plebeians, which he concluded by propoſing a new diviſion of the lands belonging to the public, ſaying, it was but reaſonable, that the lands, taken from the enemy, ſhould be divided among thoſe who had expoſed their lives to inlarge the bounds of the republic. He added, that he likewiſe thought it reaſonable that the poor citizens ſhould be reimburſed what money they had paid in the late famine for the corn, which *Gelo*, one of the princes of *Sicily*, had made a preſent of to the republic, and which ought to have been diſtributed gratis among the people. Both theſe propoſals were rejected by the ſenate with great indignation. Moſt of the ſenators, without any reſpect to the dignity of *Caſſius*, publicly reproached him with his pride, his ambition, and the deſire he betrayed of raiſing new troubles in the commonwealth. But *Caſſius*, flattering himſelf that the people would declare in his favour, convened a new aſſembly, and having there bitterly inveighed againſt the patricians, he exhorted the multitude to free themſelves at once from the indigence to which the avarice of the nobility had reduced them, by making a ſolemn law for the partition of the conquered lands in their own favour. He did not ſtop here; but adviſed them, by the ſame law, to admit the *Latins* and *Hernici* to ſhare with them in the diſtribution. To make the people reliſh this part of his propoſal, he inſinuated to them, that by this means thoſe two nations would be united with them in one common intereſt, and conſequently would not fail to ſupport them in caſe of any attempt made by the patricians to drive them from their poſſeſſions. This law, as it related to the diviſion of lands, was called the *Agrarian* law from the *Latin* word *ager*, ſignifying *land*. The people at firſt received the propoſal with great applauſe. But the tribunes, diſpleaſed to ſee a conſul author of a law, which favoured the people, oppoſed it to the utmoſt of their power, and brought over to them great numbers of the people, who at firſt had been fond of *Caſſius*, and had blamed both tribunes and patricians as betraying their intereſt. *It is a ſhame*, ſaid the tribunes, *to ſuffer lands, which you have acquired by your blood, to be profuſely diſtributed among allies, who had no ſhare in your conqueſts. Why are the* Hernici *to have one third of their lands left to them? Ought they not, as a conquered people, to be intirely deprived of them? There is, without all doubt,* O Romans, *a deſign upon your liberty. Your ſlavery will be the conſequence of this fatal diviſion of lands, which the artful conſul would make between you and foreigners. By that extraordinary diſtribution of lands between the conquerors and the conquered, he deſigns to make the old enemies of* Rome *his creatures, to the prejudice of the republic, and to plane himſelf a way to ſovereign power.* One day, when *Caſſius* and his collegue *Virginius*, who oppoſed this law, were diſputing before the people, *Rabuleius*, a cunning tribune, addreſſed them both thus: *Is not your diſpute, whether the people of* Rome *ſhall themſelves take poſſeſſion of all the conquered lands, or ſhare them with the* Hernici *and* Latins? The conſuls agreed it was. Upon which the tribune, turning to the people, *Our conſuls agree*, ſaid he, *as to the main point; neither of them is for excluding you from the lands in diſpute. Loſe no time therefore*, Romans, *in taking poſſeſſion of what is unanimouſly granted you. As for the other article, leave it to be conſidered of hereafter.* This advice pleaſed the people, who were for having the clauſe in favour of foreigners dropt. But *Caſſius*, who was fond of his own ſcheme, diſmiſſed the aſſembly before they came to any reſolution. As the people were then all inclined to favour *Virginius*, *Caſſius* did not appear for ſome days in public, pretending to be indiſpoſed, but in reality contriving new expedients to get his law paſſed. To this end he brought as many *Latins* to *Rome* as he could, for they had the privileges of *Roman* citizens. But *Virginius*, aware of his collegue's deſign, publiſhed a decree, commanding all thoſe, who were not inhabitants of *Rome*, to leave it immediately. *Caſſius*, on the other hand, made a contrary edict, declaring it lawful for any one, who was inrolled among the citizens of *Rome*, to remain there; ſo that a ſedition was like to enſue. The ſenate aſſembled to prevent the calamities which ſeemed to threaten the ſtate. Several opinions were offered: *Appius Claudius*, that intrepid defender of the laws, ſpoke firſt, and oppoſed the *Caſſian* law in both its parts. He was againſt diſtributing the lands either to *Romans* or foreigners; inveighed againſt *Virginius* for ſhewing too much indulgence to the people and their tribunes; propoſed ſelling part both of the newly conquered lands, and of thoſe which ſome of the nobility had uſurped; and depoſiting the money ariſing from the ſale in the treaſury, for defraying the charges of the war; and laſtly, moved, that a college of ten ſenators, under the

The Agrarian law.

Why the tribunes oppoſed it.

The artful conduct of the tribune Rabuleius

the name of *Decemviri*, might be created to measure these lands, and determine the a differences which might arise about their limits. *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, a man much respected by the senate, spoke next, and, after having highly approved of *Appius*'s advice, observed, that there were two sorts of lands to be disposed of; some, which were formerly conquered by the *Romans*, without the assistance of their allies; and these he thought ought to be divided between the public and the indigent *Romans* only; others, that had been lately conquered from the *Hernici*, by the assistance of the *Latins*; and these he was for dividing between the public, the *Romans*, the *Latins*, and the *Hernici*, who were now become allies. As to the creation of the *Decemvirs*, he seconded that motion. Pursuant to the advice of these two senators, a *senatus consultum*, or decree of the senate, was drawn up, by which it was enacted, that ten of the fathers, b who had been consuls, should be appointed to divide the conquered lands between the treasury, the *Romans*, and their allies; that for the future all the lands the *Romans* should conquer, with the assistance of their allies, should be divided between the public treasury, the citizens of *Rome*, and those allies; and lastly, that the choice of the first decemvirs should be left to the consuls of the ensuing year. As the estates of the principal men in *Rome* lay wholly in those conquered lands, they got this last article added to the decree, in order to put off the execution of it. Nay, the chief men in the senate resolved among themselves to impeach *Cassius*, and prosecute him to the utmost, in order to deter others from stirring in this affair. Accordingly, the two new con- c suls, *Q. Fabius* and *Servius Cornelius*, were no sooner entered upon their office, but the quæstors *Cæso Fabius*, brother to the first consul, and *Valerius*, nephew to the great *Poplicola*, having convened an assembly of the people, according to the power annexed to their office, accused *Cassius* of having introduced foreign troops into the city with a design to usurp the sovereignty. The charge being plainly proved by the depositions of the *Latins* and *Hernici* themselves, *Cassius* was condemned by the unanimous voice of all his fellow-citizens, and thrown down headlong from the top of the *Tarpeian* rock [c]. Some writers tell us, that as soon as the two new consuls had taken possession of their dignity, *Cassius*'s own father accused him to the senate of having aspired to the sovereignty, and that, like another *Brutus*, having laid the d proofs of his crime before the assembly of the people, he took him home to his own house, and there caused him to be put to death in the presence of his whole family [d].

The senate decree a partition of the conquered lands.

Sp. Cassius *is condemned and executed.*

The pride of the patricians and their contemptuous treatment of the people made the poorer citizens regret the loss of *Cassius*, who had been their zealous defender. The consulsput off from dayto day the nominating of the decemvirs for the distribution of the lands, notwithstanding the solicitation of the tribunes to have the agrarian law put in execution. This provoked the people, who, being stirred up by the seditious harangues of their tribunes, began to hold private assemblies, and threatened both the consuls and the senate. Every thing seemed to tend to a revolt, when the consuls had recourse to the old expedient of amusing the people with a war. But, as they were e well apprised that the tribunes would oppose the necessary levies, they caused a rumour to be spread, that they were going to create a dictator, and that *Appius Claudius* would be chosen. The very name of a man so severe, and so much dreaded by the multitude, made such an impression on the people, that they listed themselves without delay. *Cornelius* entered the country of the *Veientes*, and *Q. Fabius* that of the *Volsci*: both consuls were attended with good success. *Fabius* returned with a great booty in spoils, cattle, and slaves, but sold the whole, and put the money into the hands of the quæstors, without giving the least part of it to his soldiers. And now this year being expired, *Cæso Fabius*, the quæstor, and *Æmilius Mamercinus* were chosen consuls in the comitia by centuries. *Æmilius* marched against the *Volsci*, by whom he was f defeated in the field; but the enemy having attacked his camp, after he had received a strong reinforcement from his collegue, he sallied out upon them, put them flight, and laid waste their country. During the absence of the consuls, the senate, to divert the people's minds from the *Agrarian* law, ordered the consecration of the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, which had been vowed by *Posthumius* at the battle of *Regillus*. In the mean while, the time for electing new consuls being come, *M. Fabius*, brother to *Quintus* and *Cæso*, and *L. Valerius*, who in his quæstorship had been instrumental in the destruction of *Cassius*, were chosen. During their consulship, the war with the *Volsci* breaking out anew, the tribune *Mænius* protested against any levies for the service, till

New troubles on account of the Agrarian *law.*

[c] Dio. Hal. p. 537—545. Liv. l. ii. c. 41. [d] Val. Max. l. v. c. 8.

till the decemvirs were named for executing the *Agrarian* laws. The conſuls, to a extricate themſelves from this perplexity, carried their tribunal out of *Rome*, beyond the juriſdiction of the tribunes, which was confined within the walls of the city. They then ſent a ſummons to the people; and if any one refuſed to appear, or give in his name, they ordered his houſe in the country to be demoliſhed, and his lands laid waſte. Thus, without having any conteſts with the tribunes, they brought the people to their duty, and ſoon formed two armies, one to march againſt the *Veientes*, the other againſt the *Volſci*. The conſuls diſtruſting their troops, which conſiſted of men ill affected to them and for the moſt part inliſted againſt their will, agreed to act only upon the defenſive. This agreement was obſerved by *Fabius*, who marched againſt the *Veientes*; but *Valerius* came to an engagement with the *Volſci*, which proved b very bloody without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide; for both armies, after having fought many hours with incredible fury, retired, as it were by common conſent, to their reſpective camps. The friends of *Valerius* at *Rome* gave out, that it was through want of affection in the ſoldiers to their general, that he had not gained a complete victory; but the ſoldiers in all their letters accuſed their general with incapacity in military affairs. The conſuls detained their ſoldiers in the field, as long as poſſible, to avoid new diſturbances; but the time for the election of new magiſtrates drawing near, they were obliged to return to *Rome*, and then diſcord raged again with more fury than ever. The patricians were for promoting *Appius Claudius*, ſon of the famous *Appius*, who had ſo ſignally ſhewed his averſion to the people. But as often c as the conſuls ordered the centuries to aſſemble, the tribunes at the head of the people made ſo much noiſe, and raiſed ſuch violent and bitter conteſts, that it was impoſſible to proceed to the election. The conſuls and the ſenate endeavoured to appeaſe the tumult but to no effect, the tribunes telling them, that unleſs they choſe men of unqueſtionable characters, they ſhould find means to prevent any election, and that they would not ſuffer tyrants to be impoſed upon them for magiſtrates. As theſe diſputes threatned a ſedition, the ſenate agreed to reduce the republic for ſome time to an inter-regnum, and commit the adminiſtration of affairs to ſome venerable old men, who ſhould govern by turns and take care to provide new conſuls, *S. Atratinus* was the firſt who took upon him the care of public affairs, according to this ſcheme; and from that time all other authority ceaſed in *Rome*. To him, a few d days after, ſucceeded *Sp. Lartius*, a man of a pacific diſpoſition, who managed both parties ſo artfully, that he prevailed on each to abate ſomewhat of their demands. It was concluded, that the election ſhould be made as uſual, and by the votes of the centuries, and that the two parties ſhould agree before-hand upon the perſons who ſhould be raiſed to the conſulate. Union being re-eſtabliſhed upon theſe conditions, they proceeded only for form ſake to the election. The tribunes got the conſular dignity beſtowed upon *C. Julius Julus*, who was of the people's party. The patricians named for his collegue *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, who, without having ever offended the people, had on all occaſions ſtood up for the rights of the ſenate. As for the promotion of *Appius*, the patricians, fearing the oppoſition of the tribunes might raiſe a fatal ſedi- e tion, thought it adviſeable to defer it to more peaceable times. The tribunes made ſome oppoſition to the new levies, in hopes of getting the decemvirs named and obtaining the partition of the lands. But *Fabius*, notwithſtanding their oppoſition, raiſed ſuch a number of troops, as enabled him to take the field, and ravage the country of the *Veientes* [e].

The republic falls into an inter-regnum.

Union re-eſtabliſhed.

The civil feuds break out afreſh.

The civil feuds broke out afreſh upon the next election of the conſuls. The people inſiſted on chuſing patricians of their party, and the ſenate were for electing ſuch only as were in the intereſt of the nobility. Each party ſtood to its pretenſions with equal warmth; but at length the affair was accommodated, and they agreed to go by the ſame rule as in the laſt election. The ſenate, named *Cæſo Fabius*, who in his quæſtorſhip had deſtroyed *Caſſius*, and the people *Sp. Furius*. The *Æqui* and the *Veientes* having renewed their incurſions, the conſuls ordered the people to take arms. But *Sp. Icilius*, one of the tribunes, revived the old quarrel about the diviſion of lands, and declared, he would vigorouſly oppoſe all the decrees that ſhould be iſſued by the ſenate, let the matter of them be what it would, till the decemvirs were named. In the mean time, the *Æqui* and *Veientes* with fire and ſword laid waſte the territory of *Rome*, without the conſuls being able to take the field, through the obſtinacy of the tribunes, who

[e] Dio. Hal. p. 557—559. Liv. l. ii. c. 43.

a who prevented their making great levies. In this perplexity *Appius* thought of an expedient, which proved very ſucceſsful. This was, to gain over ſome of the tribunes; for if the oppoſition of a ſingle tribune could ſuſpend the execution of a decree of the ſenate, he concluded, that it had the ſame force as to the reſolutions of his collegues. The ſenators therefore applied themſelves to gain the friendſhip of the tribunes, wherein they ſucceeded, four of that college declaring in a public aſſembly, that they could not bear, that the enemy ſhould thus lay waſte the country with impunity. The oppoſition of *Icilius* being therefore over-ruled, the people took arms. *Furius*, being beloved by his ſoldiers, had a ſucceſsful campaign, and gained very conſiderable advantages over the *Æqui*. But the troops of *Fabius*, who were to act againſt the b *Veientes*, choſe rather to loſe their own glory, than gain any honour for their general. They refuſed to purſue the enemy, after they had put their troops to flight, leſt, by making the victory compleat, they ſhould procure *Fabius* a triumph at his return to *Rome*. Neither did they ſtop here; but the night following they ſtruck their tents without orders, and began their march towards the city. The conſul, finding it impoſſible to govern them, put the beſt face he could upon the matter, ſounded a retreat and returned with them.

The ſenate by a ſtratagem carry their point againſt Icilius, *and make the neceſſary levies.*

As it was now become cuſtomary in the republic to have one of the conſuls choſen according to the inclinations of the people, and the other according to thoſe of the ſenate, the patricians caſt their eyes again upon the *Fabian* family, and raiſed to the c conſulate *M. Fabius* a ſecond time, notwithſtanding his brother *Cæſo* had been ſo diſagreeable to the army the year before; and the people promoted *Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus*. In their conſulſhip, the *Hetrurians*, encouraged by the diviſions in *Rome*, invaded the *Roman* territory with a numerous army. *Pontificius*, one of the tribunes, renewed the old diſpute; but the ſenate having gained ſome of their college, an army of twenty thouſand men was raiſed, and equally divided between the two conſuls, who, taking the field, incamped near each other; but had ſo little dependence on the affection of their troops, that they kept within their intrenchments. In the mean time, lightning falling upon the tent of the conſul *Manlius*, the augurs declared, that his camp would be taken by the enemy; upon which prediction he quitted it the d ſame night, and joined his army to that of *Fabius*. The *Hetrurians*, interpreting the omen to their advantage, ſeized the deſerted camp, and then inſulted the united armies in their intrenchments. Upon this, thoſe very ſoldiers, who a little before had agreed not to come to a battle, began to complain of their commanders for not leading them out againſt the enemy. The generals ſeemed to conſult together whether it were proper to engage the enemy; but their true deſign was to increaſe the eagerneſs of the ſoldiers by further delays. Accordingly, they grew ſo impatient to fall upon the inſulting *Hetrurians*, that the conſuls were obliged to take away their arms, leſt they ſhould come to an engagement without orders. Then they crouded about the generals tents, making great clamours; and *Fabius* laid hold of that opportunity to reproach e them with their former behaviour, and to increaſe their ardor by expreſſing a diffidence of their courage and honour. He had no ſooner ended his ſpeech, but they all cried out with one voice, *Lead us on, and lay aſide your ſuſpicions.* One *Flavoleius*, a centurion in great eſteem among the troops, hearing theſe words, got upon an eminence, and thus addreſſed himſelf to the conſuls: *I plainly ſee you have quite not laid aſide your diſtruſt of us; and indeed you have reaſon to fear that we ſhall not act anſwerably to our promiſes. But for my part, at leaſt, I declare, I will behave in the battle like a true* Roman. *Fellow ſoldiers*, continued he, *do you take the ſame oath that I am now going to take.* At which words he drew his ſword, and, lifting it up towards heaven, cried out, *O great* Jupiter, Mars, *and thou god, whoſoever thou art, who puniſheſt breach of faith, I call you* f *to witneſs, that I will never return to* Rome *till I have conquered.* The conſuls, inferior officers, and all the ſoldiers, took the ſame oath, and confirmed it by ſacrifices. Then the conſuls reſtored the ſoldiers their arms, and marched them out of the camp in ſilence and good order to take poſſeſſion of an advantagious poſt, where they drew them up in battalia. On the other hand, the *Hetrurians* were ſurpriſed to ſee the cowardly *Romans* come out of their intrenchments and offer them battle. As this was a thing they did not expect, they had not brought the ſoldiers of the two camps together. However, either of their armies was conſiderably more numerous than that of the *Romans*; and beſides, it was confidently reported, that the *Romans* would betray their generals, and deſert them in the heat of the engagement. Full of theſe hopes, they ſounded the charge. The conſul *Manlius* commanded the right wing

The Hetrurians *with an numerous army invade the* Roman *territory.*

of

The two conſuls M. Fabius *and* Cn. Manlius *engage the* Hetrurians.

of the *Roman* army, *Q. Fabius* the left, and *M. Fabius*, the other conſul the main body. Both armies advanced with great ſhouts, and came to a cloſe engagement. The front of the right wing of the *Hetrurians* being more extended than that of the left wing of the *Romans* and more numerous, *Fabius*, with great difficulty, withſtood the multitude that faced him. However, he had broke into a great body of *Veientes*, and put them in diſorder, when an *Hetrurian*, of a gigantic ſtature, attacking him, plunged his lance into his breaſt. *Fabius* drew it out, but ſoon after fell from his horſe and died. Upon his death the left wing was ſurrounded, which the conſul *Fabius* hearing, he immediately quitted his poſt and flew to their aſſiſtance with his brother *Cæſo*, and ſuch troops as he could confide in, and finding the *Romans* diſheartened at the loſs of their leader, giving way, and ready to betake themſelves to a diſorderly flight, he cried out; *Fellow ſoldiers, have you forgot your oaths? Will you ſhamefully fly back to the camp? Are you more afraid of the* Hetrurians *than of* Jupiter *and* Mars? Having uttered theſe words, he threw himſelf with his brother *Cæſo* into the midſt of the enemy, and, being ſeconded by the troops he brought with him, obliged the *Hetrurians* to retire with great ſlaughter. In the right wing, commanded by *Manlius*, the *Romans* fought with great courage and reſolution, till the brave conſul being wounded was carried out of the field. Then his abſence and the report of his death made a great alteration on that ſide. The *Romans* began to loſe ground, but the conſul *Fabius* and his brother appearing unexpectedly in the firſt ranks, and aſſuring the frighted *Romans* that the enemy's right wing and main body were put to flight, and that the conſul *Manlius* was ſtill alive, they returned to the charge, and would have gained a compleat victory, if a new battle had not begun in another place. A body of *Veientes* in the heat of the action fell upon the *Roman* camp, which was guarded by a ſmall number of troops, and were ready to enter it, when *Manlius*, wounded as he was, hearing of their danger, cauſed himſelf to be carried thither. But while, forgetful of his wound, he was defending, at the head of a ſmall body of choſen horſe, one of the avenues to the camp, his ſtrength being quite exhauſted, he fell from his horſe, and, being ſurrounded by the enemy, was killed on the ſpot. His death was followed by the taking of the camp, the *Romans*, who defended it, being overpowered with numbers. Hereupon the conſul *Fabius*, who was ſtill engaged in the plain, leaving his men, came unexpectedly upon the *Hetrurians*, retook the camp, and, then haſtening back to the field of battle, gave the finiſhing ſtroke to the defeat of the enemy, who retired into their intrenchments in diſorder. Thus the *Romans* gained the victory; but it coſt them dear, one of the conſuls, the ſurviving conſul's brother, and a greater number of perſons of diſtinction being killed than in any former action. The conſul was ſo affected with the death of his brother, that at his return to *Rome* he declined the honours of a triumph, which had been decreed him, while he was yet in the camp. He entered the city in mourning, bringing with him the bodies of his collegue and brother, and, mounting the roſtra, made a panegyric on thoſe two heroes, without ſaying any thing of his own exploits. As he was now the ſole governor of the republic, he was afraid of countenancing the leaſt appearance of monarchy, and therefore he abdicated the conſulſhip, two months before it expired, and, leaving the government in an inter-regnum, retired to cure the wounds he had received in the action. This modeſt and generous behaviour in a perſon of ſo great merit gained him the hearts of the people; ſo that from this time the *Fabii* became popular [f].

The Romans *gain a ſignal victory, chiefly by the bravery of the* Fabii.

The conſul Cæſo Fabius *adviſes the ſenate to put the* Agrarian *law in execution.*

The *Roman* people aſſembling in the *campus Martius* choſe *Cæſo Fabius* the third time: ſo that now the three brothers had enjoyed that office for ſeven years ſucceſſively. The collegue, whom the centuries gave him, was *T. Virginius*. The new magiſtrates had no ſooner entered upon their office, but *Fabius*, actuated by his new affection for the people, laboured to reconcile them to the ſenate. The demands of the people, about the diſtribution of the conquered lands, and the refuſal of the patricians had been too long the ſource of diviſions in the republic. The conſul therefore, before the tribunes had preſented any petition on that head, which they did every year, exhorted the ſenators to prevent the complaints of the people and put an end to the daily diſturbances, by making the diſtribution of thoſe lands themſelves. But *Fabius* was not heard; ſome rallied him on his new zeal for the intereſts of the people, others murmured, and ſome even accuſed him of ambition. He was attended with better ſucce

[f] Dio. Hal. l. ix. p. 567—571. Liv. l. ii c. 46—48.

a ſucceſs in his military expeditions; for he diſperſed the *Æqui*, who had committed great ravages in the *Latin* territories, without the loſs of a ſingle man, and afterwards haſtened to the relief of his collegue, who being ſurrounded by the *Veientes*, without timely aſſiſtance, would have been obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. Nor was this the only remarkable ſervice that *Cæſo Fabius* did the republic in his third conſulate. The two conſuls were ſcarce returned to *Rome* and their armies diſbanded, when the *Hetrurians* entered again the *Roman* territory, and made incurſions even to the foot of the hill *Janiculum*, carrying off the cattle, and laying the whole country waſte. The ſenate aſſembled to deliberate upon the means of putting a ſtop to theſe devaſtations, but, the people refuſing to take arms till the *Agrarian* law was put in execution,
b the fathers were greatly at a loſs what to do. In this perplexity *Fabius* formed a project worthy of his affection for his country. He aſſembled all the men of his own name and family, and having communicated to them his deſign, which was, that the family of *Fabii* ſhould, alone and at their own expence, take upon them to ſecure the frontiers againſt the *Veientes*; the *Fabii* readily conſented to the motion, and communicated their deſign to the fathers, by whom it was received with applauſe and unanimouſly approved. Early the next morning, thoſe illuſtrious patricians, being in all three hundred and ſix, appeared under arms at *Cæſo Fabius*'s door, and from thence marched through the city in good order with about four thouſand men, partly their vaſſals and partly their clients, all under the command of *M. Fabius*, who had laſt
c year gained the battle of *Veii*, and was now cured of the wounds he had received on that occaſion. The whole city ran in crouds to ſee them, and made vows to heaven for their preſervation. They went out of the city at the gate *Carmentalis*; and marching to the banks of the *Cremera*, now the *Baccano*, a ſmall river which diſcharges itſelf into the *Tiber*, there built a fort in a ſteep place, ſurrounded it with a double ditch, and erected towers at certain diſtances. When the works were finiſhed, they divided their men into four ſmall parties, one of which was left to guard the fort, while the other three marched into three ſeveral parts of the enemy's country, and pillaged it. Their firſt expeditions were attended with great ſucceſs; no huſbandmen durſt
d appear in the plains or bring out their cattle. In the mean time, new conſuls being choſen at *Rome*, viz. *Lucius Æmilius*, a ſecond time, and *C. Servilius*, *Cæſo Fabius*, the laſt year's conſul, obtained leave of the ſenate to join his family on the banks of the *Cremera*. But the conſcript fathers, to gain him the more reſpect, created for him a new office, declaring him a proconſul, a title which gave him the ſame power over the troops he commanded, as if he had been conſul; but no other authority (N). The new conſuls had ſcarce entered upon their office, when news was brought to *Rome*, that the *Hetrurians* were raiſing a formidable army in order to fall upon the *Fabii*, and that the *Æqui* and *Volſci* had already invaded the country of the *Latins*. Hereupon the conſuls divided their army into three bodies; *Æmilius* led one againſt the *Veientes*, *Servilius* another againſt the *Volſci*, and *Sp. Furius* the third, with the title of proconſul,
e againſt the *Æqui*. The *Volſci* being attacked by *Servilius*, repulſed him and obliged him to keep in his camp, without attempting any thing elſe that ſummer. The *Æqui* fled at the approach of *Furius*, who laid waſte their country. The *Veientes*, having received ſtrong reinforcements from the other *Hetrurian* leucumonies, came to an engagement with *Æmilius*, but were intirely defeated and forced to ſue for peace. The conſul out of repect to the ſenate referred their deputies to the conſcript fathers, and they in return gave him full power to conclude a treaty upon what conditions he ſhould think proper. Hereupon the conſul granted them a peace, without demanding hoſtages, or requiring any thing more than two months proviſions for his army, and money

The Fabian *family undertake alone to guard the frontiers againſt the* Veientes.

War with the Hetrurians, *the* Volſci, *and the* Æqui.

(N) *Livy* does not mention the creation of a proconſul till the year of *Rome* 289, when he ſpeaks of *T. Quinctius Barbatus*, as commanding the army of the republic againſt the *Æqui* in that quality. This dignity, when it was, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, in its infancy, was confined to the command of the troops, when the preſence of the conſul was neceſſary at *Rome*, or when the republic, being attacked by ſeveral different nations at once, was obliged to ſend ſeveral armies into the field, and conſequently to increaſe the number of her generals. When the expedition was ended, the proconſulate expired. But afterwards, when *Rome* became miſtreſs of *Italy*, and gave law to diſtant nations, ſhe then appointed governors over the conquered provinces in quality of proconſuls and proprætors. Theſe offices had then great privileges annexed to them, as we ſhall obſerve in a more proper place. It is not plain from the *Latin* hiſtorians, whether the proconſulate was at firſt diſpoſed of by the ſenate or people, or whether they both joined in the election of a proconſul; but when the proconſulate became a common office in the republic, it is certain, that, the people aſſembled by tribes, ſometimes by curiæ, and more rarely by centuries, had their ſhare in the election; of which we ſhall find inſtances in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

money to defray the expences of the war for ſix months. This indulgence highly offended the ſenate, inſomuch, that they refuſed him a triumph. However, as he was an excellent commander, they promiſed to reward him, according to his merit, on condition he relieved his collegue, who was kept blocked up in his camp by the *Volſci*. But *Æmilius*, piqued at the refuſal he had met with, returned to *Rome*, and complained to the people of the proceedings of the ſenate, as if they were diſpleaſed with him for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had put too ſpeedy an end to the war with the *Veientes*. *The patricians*, ſaid he, *prolong the wars abroad, with no other view, but to put off the execution of the Caſſian law, and the diſtribution of the conquered lands*. He did not ſtop here, but, to ſhew his reſentment, inſtead of marching to the aſſiſtance of *Servilius*, he diſbanded his army, and recalled *Furius*, who, as proconſul, was obliged to obey him [s].

Notwithstanding the peace concluded with the *Veientes*, the *Fabii* did not abandon their poſt, but continued on the frontiers to keep a people in awe, whoſe inconſtancy and inclination to break treaties were well known. In the following conſulſhip of *C. Horatius* and *T. Menenius*, the other *Hetrurian* leucumonies being offended at the ſeparate peace the *Veientes* had made with *Rome*, ſummoned them to appear in the general diet of the nation, and there gave them to underſtand, that they muſt either break the treaty they had made with *Rome*, or ſuſtain a war with the other eleven leucumonies. The *Veientes* being reduced to this dilemma, choſe the former, and accordingly ſent to the *Fabii*, requiring them to demoliſh their fort and quit the frontiers. The *Fabii* rejected the propoſal with indignation; whereupon hoſtilities were immediately renewed, and all *Hetruria* eſpouſed the quarrel of their countrymen. The *Fabii* continued to ravage the country, and often engaged the *Veientes* in the open field with their uſual ſucceſs, till they were at laſt unfortunately ſurpriſed in an ambuſh. The *Veientes* lodged a whole army of *Hetrurians* in a neighbouring wood, and poſted centinels on all the eminences, to give them notice when they ſhould ſally out. Then they brought out all their cattle and horſes into a valley under a ſmall guard, as if they had no other deſign but to feed them. The *Fabii* no ſooner ſaw them, than they marched out in a great body, leaving no more men in the fort than were neceſſary to ſecure it from a ſurpriſe. They advanced in good order, and the herdſmen with their guard flying on their approach, ſome of the *Fabii* purſued the fugitives, while others ſeized the cattle, and a ſmall number of them continued drawn up in order of battle. Immediately the *Hetrurians* ſallied out of the wood, ſurrounded the *Romans* on all ſides, and cut in pieces thoſe who were in purſuit of the booty. Hereupon the *Fabii*, who had kept their ranks, drawing themſelves into a cloſe compact body, which faced every way, quitted the plain, and gained an eminence, opening themſelves a way with their ſwords through the enemy's forces. When they had got half way up the aſcent, they fell into another ambuſh, and were quite encompaſſed anew by a freſh body of *Hetrurian* troops, which had been poſted in a wood near the hill. The *Fabii*, though quite ſpent and out of breath, renewed the fight with great vigor, made a dreadful ſlaughter of the *Hetrurians*, and at length, in ſpight of all oppoſition, gained the top of the hill. There they ſpent the night without any proviſions, being on all ſides beſet by an army of *Hetrurians*. The next day the *Fabii*, who were left to guard the fort, being informed of the danger of their relations, haſtened to their relief; but, being attacked in the plain by a numerous body of the enemy, they were all to a man cut off. Not long after, thoſe, who were on the top of the hill, being preſſed by hunger and thirſt, broke their way through the enemy, of whom they killed great numbers. The *Hetrurians*, ſurpriſed at their courage and intrepidity in the heat of action, offered to let them retire unmoleſted, upon condition they would throw down their arms, and give their word that they would abandon the fort. But this the brave men looked upon as a diſhonourable propoſal, and therefore choſe rather to die with glory, than ſave their lives by an action, which they thought would reflect diſgrace on their family. They renewed the attack; upon which the *Hetrurians*, changing their way of fighting, avoided coming to a cloſe engagement; and keeping at a diſtance, ſhowered from all parts darts and ſtones on thoſe illuſtrious warriors. They held out ſome time againſt the unexpected ſtorm, and puſhed forwards againſt the enemy, who had not the courage to come near them. At length the *Hetrurians*, perceiving that the ſwords of the *Romans* were for the moſt part broke

The miſerable ſtate of the Fabii.

[s] Dio. Hal. l. ix. p. 575. Liv. l. ii. c. 49.

broke and their bucklers ſplit in pieces, ventured to attack them man to man.
a Then the *Fabii*, like men in deſpair, threw themſelves with incredible fury into the midſt of the *Hetrurian* battalions, and, ſnatching the arms of their enemies, fought them with their own weapons. Hereupon the *Hetruriant* were again obliged to have recourſe to javelins and ſtones, with which thoſe brave men were overwhelmed, and all killed on the ſpot. The *Hetrurians* cut off their heads, and, carrying them in triumph on the tops of their lances, ſhewed them to the *Fabii*, who had ſtaid in the fort. At this ſight they gave themſelves up to deſpair, and, inſtead of defending the ramparts, ſallied out upon the enemy without obſerving any order, aiming at nothing but to ſell their lives dear. Theſe were likewiſe cut in pieces; ſo that of the three
b hundred and ſix *Fabii*, not one eſcaped. *Livy* and thoſe who have copied after him tell us, that only one of the name was left in *Rome*, a youth not fourteen years of age, from whom the *Fabii*, we find afterwards mentioned, were all deſcended. But *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* looks upon this as a mere fable, invented to give ſomething of a miraculous air to ſo tragical an event. And indeed we can hardly believe, that of all the *Fabii*, who periſhed at the *Cremera*, one only left a child behind him. However that be, *Rome* ſuffered a great loſs, and ſhewed all the concern gratitude could expreſs. The gate *Carmentalis*, through which they marched out of the city, was thenceforth called *Porta Scelerata*, or *The accurſed gate*, and the day of their defeat was reckoned among the unlucky days, on which it was not lawful to begin any
c thing of conſequence [h] (O). The conſul *Menenius*, who had received orders to march againſt the *Hetrurians*, was but thirty furlongs from the field of battle, when the *Fabii* were cut in pieces. But it was believed, that he out of jealouſy gave them up to deſtruction, when he might have eaſily relieved them. He afterwards incamped diſadvantagiouſly on the ſide of a hill, without ſecuring the top of it; ſo that the *Hetrurians* incamping above him, attacked him from the higher ground, gave him an intire defeat, and made themſelves maſters of his camp. Puffed up with this victory, they advanced to the hill *Janiculum*, and poſted themſelves on the top of it, whence they could ſee all that paſſed in the city, and obſerve what preparations were made againſt a ſiege. This obliged the ſenate to recall the conſul *Horatius*, and the
d army which was appointed to act againſt the *Volſci*. The brave *Horatius* immediately came to a battle with the *Hetrurians*, near the gate *Collina*, the ſucceſs of which was pretty equal: but in a ſecond, near the temple of *Hope*, about a mile from *Rome*, he gained

All the Fabii *killed on the ſpot.*

The conſul Menenius *defeated by the* Hetrurians.

[h] Dio. Hal. p. 571. Liv. l. ii. c. 50.

(O) We have followed *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* in our account of the unfortunate defeat of the *Fabii*. But other hiſtorians are ſaid by that writer to relate it in the following manner. The family of the *Fabii*, ſay they, being obliged to offer up a ſacrifice, and celebrate a family-feaſt together, they marched out of the fort on the *Cremera*, in order to diſcharge this religious duty, guarded by a ſmall number of their clients. They paſſed through the enemy's country without uſing the precaution of ſending out ſcouts to reconnoitre, or marching in order of battle, as if they had been at peace with the *Hetrurian* nation. But the *Veientes*, being informed of their departure, poſted part of their troops in an ambuſcade on the road the *Romans* were to take, while a ſmall body marched to meet the guard and attack it. The *Fabii*, who ſuſpected nothing of this nature, fell into the ſnares which had been laid for them. The troops, which lay concealed, ſallied out unexpectedly and attacked them with vigor, ſome in front, others in flank, while a troop of *Veientes*, who followed them cloſe, fell upon their rear. Being thus ſurrounded on all ſides and overpowered with numbers, they were all cut off. This account has not, according to *Dionyſius*, the leaſt appearance of truth. Is it credible, ſays he, that all the *Fabii* ſhould abandon ſo important a poſt without an expreſs order from the ſenate? As for the care of the ſacrifice, it might have been committed to ſuch of their family and name as were diſpenſed with by their age from bearing arms. If we ſuppoſe, that all the *Fabii*, not one excepted, were ſhut up in the fort, it would have been ſufficient for them to have diſpatched three or four of the family to diſcharge their obligations in the name of all the reſt. Beſides, it would have been highly imprudent in them to leave ſuch an important place defenceleſs and at the enemy's mercy, and to march through their country with as much confidence as in the moſt peaceable times.

Livy obſerves, that the *Fabii* marched out of the city at the gate *Carmentalis*, leaving the temple of *Janus* on their right hand. *Ovid* ſpeaks of the departure of the *Fabii*, of the curſe annexed to the gate *Carmentalis*, and of the temple of *Janus* in the following verſes:

Carmentis portæ dextra eſt via proxima Jano;
Ire per hanc noli, quiſquis es; omen habet.
Illa fama refert Fabios exiſſe trecentos.
Porta vacat culpa, ſed tamen omen habet (7).

The ſame poet tells us, that only one youth of the *Fabian* family, not yet fourteen years of age, was ſaved.

Una dies Fabios ad bellum miſerat omnes;
Ad bellum miſſos perdidit una dies.
Ut tamen Herculeæ ſupereſſent ſemina gentis
Credibile eſt ipſos conſuluiſſe deos.
Nam puer impubes, & adhuc non utilis armis
Unus de Fabia gente relictus erat (8).

(7) *Ovid. Faſt. l.* ii.

(8) *Idem ibid.*

gained a victory, which revived the *Roman* courage, and ſecured the city. However, the enemy did not decamp from the *Janiculum*, nor quite lay aſide the deſign of beſieging *Rome*. At the ſame time a famine began to be felt in the city, occaſioned by the incurſions of the *Hetrurians*. The lands having been left unſown the laſt year for fear of their ravages, and moſt of the barns in the country burnt or plundered, there was a great ſcarcity of corn. The meaner ſort of the people got together in companies, threatening to plunder the granaries of the rich; and their clamours and mutinies were fomented by the tribunes, who did not fail to throw all the blame on the conſcript fathers. On the other hand, the ſenators, to clear themſelves, did all that lay in their power to relieve the people. They ſent out merchants to buy corn, fixed the price of it at a low rate, and ordered, that none of the patricians ſhould keep more in their granaries than was neceſſary for the maintenance of their families. But theſe wiſe precautions were only ſerviceable for a time. The *Romans* found themſelves at laſt under a neceſſity either of ſtarving, or driving the enemy farther off. They marched out therefore under the conduct of their new conſuls, *A. Virginius* and *P. Servilius*, and engaging the *Hetrurians*, gained a complete victory over them. But when by the dead bodies, that were brought to *Rome* to be burnt, the ſenate ſaw how many *Romans* had periſhed in the engagement, they refuſed the conſuls the honour of a triumph [m].

The Hetrurians *intirely defeated.*

THE departure of the *Hetrurians* reſtored plenty to the city, proviſions being brought thither from all the neighbouring countries. But the people were no ſooner delivered from the fear of a foreign enemy, than they renewed their complaints about the diſtribution of the conquered lands. As they could not bring about the execution of the *Caſſian* law, they laid the whole blame upon the conſuls, citing them, as ſoon as they were out of their office, before the aſſembly of the tribes. Thus *Menenius*, the ſon of the famous *Menenius Agrippa*, was accuſed by the tribunes of having connived at the deſtruction of the *Fabii*; and ſummoned to give an account of his conduct before a tribunal, where his moſt inveterate enemies were his judges. The patricians uſed the ſame arts, they had formerly practiſed in the affair of *Coriolanus*, to prevent his being tried by the people; but to no purpoſe; for the tribunes continued obſtinate, and their obſtinacy prevailed. *Menenius* was tried, not by the curiæ, but by the tribes, and almoſt unanimouſly condemned to death. But the ſenate and all his friends ſoliciting earneſtly in his behalf, the tribunes changed the ſentence of death into a fine of two thouſand aſſes, that is, about five pounds of our money, a conſiderable ſum, when men of the firſt rank lived upon the product of their ſmall farms, which they often cultivated with their own hands. Nay, this fine was exceſſive, with reſpect to *Menenius*, whoſe father had left him no other patrimony, but his glory. His friends offered to pay it for him, but he rejected their generous offers, and, being ſenſibly affected with the injuſtice and ingratitude of his fellow-citizens, ſhut himſelf up in his houſe, where he ſoon died of grief and hunger. This melancholy accident greatly incenſed the animoſity between the patricians and plebeians; the former, determining to keep no meaſures with the latter, openly declared, that they would never ſuffer the *Caſſian* law to be put in execution. On the other hand, the tribunes, more inraged than ever, omitted no opportunity of proſecuting the nobility. They took great pleaſure in humbling the patricians, and ſummoning the conſuls, as ſoon as they had laid down their office, to appear before the tribunal of the people. *Servilius*, as we have obſerved above, had loſt a great number of men in the engagement with the *Hetrurians*, when he drove them from the *Janiculum*. He had therefore ſcarce laid down the faſces, when a criminal proceſs was commenced againſt him for purſuing the enemy too far, and by that indiſcretion expoſing the lives of many citizens to unneceſſary dangers. But this was only a pretence for the proſecution. The real crime both of *Servilius* and *Menenius* was, their omitting to name the decemvirs for the partition of the lands. *Servilius* had too much confidence in the goodneſs of his cauſe to beg the ſenate to intercede for him. He faced the danger boldly, and, without changing either his habit or countenance, appeared before the aſſembly of the people, and made ſo judicious a defence, that he was unanimouſly acquitted. He ſoon after not only cleared his character from all blemiſh, but added a new luſtre to it. A remarkable victory, which the conſul *Valerius* gained the ſame year over the *Hetrurians*, was chiefly owing to the bravery and conduct of *Servilius*, who ſerved

Menenius *accuſed before the people, and fined.*

Servilius *accuſed, but acquitted.*

[m] Dio. Hal. p. 584. Liv. l. ii. c. 52.

in quality of the conſul's lieutenant. The following year, *A. Manlius* and *L. Furius* being choſen conſuls, the former marched againſt the *Veientes*, who, at his approach, ſhut themſelves up in *Veii*, where they were ſo diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, that they ſued for peace, and obtained of the ſenate a forty years truce. The conſul *Manlius*, for this ſucceſsful and unbloody expedition, was honoured with an ovation.

The Veientes *obtain a forty years truce.*

PEACE abroad was always followed by inteſtine broils at home. The old diſputes about the diſtribution of the lands were revived by the tribunes; but the conſuls, without being in the leaſt ſhaken by their clamours and menaces, finiſhed their year, and left affairs in the ſame ſituation they had found them. They had no ſooner reſigned the faſces to *L. Æmilius*, now the third time conſul, and *Vopiſcus Junius*, than

New diſputes about the diſtribution of lands.

b *Cn. Genucius*, a daring enterpriſing tribune, cited them to appear before the people, accuſing them of having neglected to name the commiſſioners, with a deſign to debar the poor citizens and brave ſoldiers of the ſhare, they had ſo well deſerved, in the conquered lands. He exhorted the people to do themſelves juſtice, repreſenting to them, that if they inflicted an exemplary puniſhment on thoſe criminals, they might, by that means, oblige their ſucceſſors to put in execution the *Caſſian* law. Accordingly a day was appointed for their trial. Theſe violent proceedings greatly alarmed the ſenate, who now ſaw, with no leſs indignation than ſorrow, that the tribunes aimed equally at their lives and fortunes, and that they had formed a deſign of deſtroying all the ſenators one after another. They therefore had private meetings

c among themſelves, and reſolved to reſcue *Furius* and *Manlius*, if they were condemned, there not being wanting deſperate men, who offered to make the attempt. On the other hand, the people triumphed before-hand, inſolently boaſting, that, in ſpite of all the artifices of the ſenate, the *Caſſian* law ſhould paſs, and be ſealed with the blood of thoſe who had oppoſed it; but the very day before the trial of *Manlius* and *Furius*, the furious tribune *Genucius* was found dead in his bed, without any marks on his body either of violence or poiſon. He was carried into the forum, and being there expoſed to public view, the common people concluded, that the gods did not approve of his enterprize; but the wiſer ſort entertained violent ſuſpicions of the patricians. However, the religious notion having prevailed, the partition of lands

The ſudden death of the tribune Genucius.

d was not ſo much as mentioned for ſome time after[n].

THE conſuls and ſenate, finding the tribunes greatly confounded at the unexpected death of their collegue, and more at the effect it had upon the ſuperſtitious minds of the people, began to act in a very arbitrary manner, imagining they ſhould now meet with no oppoſition, either from the people or their tribunes. As there was occaſion to raiſe an army, the conſuls held their tribunal, as uſual, in the forum, and there either fined or cauſed to be whipped thoſe citizens, who did not appear as ſoon as they were called to give in their names. Amongſt others they called one *P. Volero* to liſt himſelf as a common ſoldier. *Volero*, tho' by birth a plebeian, had been formerly an officer in the army; and therefore, as he had behaved on all occa-

The haughty and imprudent behaviour of the conſuls.

f ſions with great valour, he expected to be promoted at leaſt to the poſt of a centurion. Not able therefore to ſtifle his reſentment, he complained of the injuſtice of the conſuls, and demanded to be reſtored to his former poſt, or to know for what fault he was degraded. The conſuls, in great anger, ſent a lictor to ſeize him, and, upon his making reſiſtance, ordered him to be beaten with rods. The lictor endeavoured to execcte their ſentence; but *Volero*, ſtriking him a blow on the face, declared, that he had done nothing which deſerved that puniſhment, and at the ſame time implored the protection of the tribunes; but they, terrified at the death of *Genucius*, not daring to appear, he appealed from the conſuls to the people, crying out to the multitude, *Aſſiſt me*, O Romans, *it is your protection I implore; ſince our tribunes had rather ſee a citizen of* Rome *beaten with rods, than run the hazard of dying in their beds by the treachery of the conſuls, we have no remedy left us againſt the tyranny of the conſuls but force.* At theſe words the mutinous populace fell upon the lictors, broke their faſces, and drove them out of the forum. The conſuls themſelves, being ſurrounded on all ſides by the multitude who preſſed hard upon them, thought it adviſeable to withdraw, and retire to the ſenate-houſe as a place of refuge. Hereupon the tribunes, recovering their ſpirits, inſpired the people with new fury, which was no longer levelled at the patricians in general, but only at the conſuls. Thoſe magiſtrates, in this ſudden commotion, which put all the city in an uproar, aſſembled the ſenate, and com-

[n] Idem, ibid. & ZONAR. l. ii.

complained of the outrages committed by the people, contrary to the reſpect due to their dignity. Some ſenators were for putting *Volero* to death, and ordering him immediately to be thrown down headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock; but the more moderate among them did not think proper to put it to a trial, whether the anger of the ſenate, or the fury of the people, ſhould prevail. The tribunes, on the other hand, demanded juſtice upon the conſuls, for commanding a *Roman* citizen to be whipped like a ſlave, after he had appealed to the people; which was a manifeſt and criminal trangreſſion of the *Valerian* law. While the people were thus complaining of the conſuls, and the conſuls of the people, *Volero*, in order to ſecure himſelf againſt the fury of the patricians, engaged the people to confer upon him the office of tribune, vacant by the death of *Genucius*. He publicly boaſted, that, if he were inveſted with that dignity, he would take ſuch meaſures, as ſhould deliver the people from being ever more oppreſſed by the ſenate. The multitude, charmed with this hope, readily granted him their votes, and he entered on his office after the election of the new conſuls, *L. Pinarius* and *P. Furius*. Every one expected, that he would immediately begin a proſecution againſt the laſt year's conſuls; but *Volero* ſoon diſcovered, that he had views far more extenſive and important to the intereſt of his party, than a mere perſonal revenge. Without dropping one diſreſpectful word againſt the late magiſtrates, he endeavoured to leſſen the authority of the patricians in general, by depriving them of the influence they had in the election of the tribunes. In a general aſſembly of the people he propoſed, that their magiſtrates and protectors might be choſen for the future in the comitia by tribes, and not by curiæ. In this the ſubtle tribune had two views, very prejudicial to the patricians. In the firſt place, the curiæ were never aſſembled for elections, till the ſenate had conſented to it by a decree. In the ſecond place, the patricians, who commanded the ſuffrages of their clients, often got ſuch tribunes elected, as were agreeable to themſelves; but neither of theſe inconveniencies attended the comitia aſſembled by tribes; for the tribunes had the power of aſſembling them, without the conſent of the ſenate; and the country-tribes, who were not ſo devoted to the patricians as thoſe in the city, had a right to vote in them, as well as the inhabitants of *Rome*. The plebeian faction was highly pleaſed with this propoſal, and warmly declared for paſſing it into a law: but the conſuls, the ſenate, and the whole order of the patricians oppoſed it to the utmoſt of their power; ſo that *Volero*'s law, became the common and only ſubject of diſpute between the two parties, the *Agrarian* law being for ſome time intirely dropped. A dreadful plague ſuſpended, for a few months, this furious conteſt; but it no ſooner ceaſed, than the tribunes reſumed the proſecution of *Volero*'s law. In the mean time, *Volero*'s tribuneſhip expiring, the people continued him in the ſame office for the following year, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the ſenate and the whole patrician party [r].

The tribune Volero *propoſes a law for electing the tribunes in the comitia by tribes.*

The patricians finding the people bent upon carrying their point, had but one expedient left; which was, to ſet up againſt *Volero* a man, who was not to be terrified by the clamours and menaces of the multitude. With this view, they pitched upon *Appius Claudius*, and raiſed him to the conſulate. He was the ſon of the famous *Appius Claudius*, who had ſo often ſignalized his hatred to the plebeians, and no leſs zealous than his father for the intereſt of the ſenate, but more obſtinate and inflexible. As he thought himſelf but ill qualified to govern in a time of general commotions, he had abſented himſelf from the comitia; but the patricians, acquainted with his ſteadineſs and intrepidity, got him elected, tho' abſent, in the comitia by centuries, in which they had great intereſt. They joined with him *T. Quinctius*, a venerable ſenator, of a ſweet temper, who was beloved by the people, tho' looked upon as one of the chief leaders of the other party. The new conſuls having convened the ſenate to deliberate on the moſt proper methods to hinder the publication of *Volero*'s law, *Appius*, following the dictates of his natural ſeverity, was for raiſing an army, and ſending the people to vent that martial courage abroad, which made them untractable at home. But *Quinctius* was of a contrary opinion; he thought it unjuſt to make war upon nations, that had given *Rome* no occaſion of complaint; and beſides repreſenting to the ſenate, that the people themſelves would ſoon be appriſed of their deſign, and refuſe to take arms, which would turn to the diſhonour of the conſular authority, and produce a general flame. The opinion of *Quinctius* prevailed; but *Appius*, who could not bear the leaſt contradiction, lived upon ill terms with his colleague

Appius Claudius *ſet up by the patricians againſt* Volero.

[r] Dio. Hal. p. 537. Liv. l. ii. c. 56.

a collegue all the reſt of the year; which greatly increaſed the affection the people had already for *Quinctius* [p].

The diviſion of the conſuls and union of the tribunes made *Volero* believe, that he ſhould now get his law paſſed. He had even the confidence to add the two following articles to it, *viz.* that all affairs relating to the people ſhould no longer be brought before the curiæ, but before the tribes; and that the ædiles, as well as the tribunes, ſhould be choſen by them. There were but four tribes in the city, and ſeventeen in the country, which were not any-ways influenced by the nobility; ſo that in the comitia by tribes the patricians had but little intereſt. They therefore exerted their utmoſt endeavours to ward off a blow, which tended directly to deſtroy
b the authority of the ſenate, and to eſtabliſh that of the people upon its ruins. When the ſenate met to deliberate upon theſe extraordinary propoſals; *Appius* was for making a decree to invite all thoſe who loved their country to take arms, and declaring thoſe who refuſed to obey the ſummons enemies to their country; but *Quinctius*, who was afraid of ſeeing *Rome* become a field of battle, thought it adviſeable to try, whether the people could be brought to their duty by ways of gentleneſs and inſinuation. The advice of *Claudius* was rejected as too violent, and even dangerous, and the more moderate counſels of *Quinctius* prevailing, the tribunes were deſired to convene an aſſembly of the people, and to ſuffer the conſuls, peaceably and without interruption, to repreſent to the people the true intereſts of the commonwealth; after which they might, in concert, agree upon ſuch meaſures, as ſhould be
c moſt for the common good of the people and ſenate. The tribunes acquieſced to ſo reaſonable a propoſal; and *Quinctius*, when the time came, mounting the roſtra, made ſuch an impreſſion on the minds of the people, by his ſoft and inſinuating eloquence, that *Volero*'s propoſal would have been rejected, if *Appius*, when it was his turn to ſpeak, had not, by his imperious behaviour, his threatnings, and his invectives againſt the people and their tribunes, effaced the impreſſions made by his collegue. *Caius Lectorius*, who was accounted one of the braveſt ſoldiers in the republic, and had, for that reaſon, been raiſed to the tribuneſhip, when the domeſtic broils were like to end in a civil war, roſe up to anſwer the conſuls; but, without taking
d any notice of *Quinctius*'s arguments, inſiſted only on the invectives of *Appius*, which he retorted, and concluded thus: *But to what purpoſe do we fight with words againſt a wild beaſt? The ſword is the proper weapon to be uſed in ſuch engagements; the ſword perhaps may make you ſenſible, that the* Roman *people are not ſo deſpicable as you think them. In the mean time, you ſhall experience the authority of thoſe tribunes, who are the objects of your contempt, but whom the law has made your judges.* Upon this there was a profound ſilence; and *Lectorius*, lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, ſwore by all that was moſt ſacred, that he would either get *Volero*'s law paſſed, or periſh in the attempt. Then, after having kept the people ſome time in ſuſpence, turning to *Appius*, *I com-*
e *mand you*, ſaid he, *to leave the aſſembly.* *Appius* deſpiſed his order, and told him, that, tho' a tribune, he was but a private man, and that his whole power conſiſted in forming an oppoſition to ſuch decrees of the ſenate as were prejudicial to the plebeians. Then calling about him his friends, clients. and relations, who where very numerous, he prepared to oppoſe force with force. The tribune, having conferred haſtily with his collegues, commanded one of his officers to ſeize *Appius* and carry him to priſon. Hereupon a ſcuffle began between the conſuls lictors and the officers of the tribune. The ſenators, and patricians, and the clients who attended *Appius*, placed him in the midſt of them, and repulſed *Lectorius*, who advanced in perſon to aſſiſt his officers. Nothing was heard but confuſed cries, proceeding from mutual animoſity. From reproaches they quickly came to blows; but, as arms were forbid-
f den in the city, little blood was ſpilt in the fray. *Quinctius*, attended by ſome venerable ſenators, threw himſelf into the midſt of the contending parties, and having found means to convey *Appius* out of the tumult, appeaſed the tribunes, and put an end to the ſcuffle.

The tribune Lectorius *orders* Appius *to leave the aſſembly, and to be led to priſon*

A ſcuffle enſues

The next morning, the people, ſpirited up by their tribunes, and eſpecially by *Lectorius* who had been wounded the day before, ſeized on the capitol, fortified themſelves there, and ſeemed reſolved to begin an open war. The ſenate being aſſembled to deliberate on ways to quiet the ſedition, *Quinctius* was for yielding ſomething in favour of the people; whereas *Appius* could by no means be brought to make them the

[p] Dio. Hal. p. 599, 600.

the leaſt conceſſion. During this diſagreement, which laſted ſeveral days, *Quinctius*, having often conferred with the tribunes, gained at length their conſent to refer both their private and public complaints to the ſenate, and to ſtand to the determination of the conſcript fathers. He convened the ſenators, and after having acquainted them with the good diſpoſition of the tribunes, got the following decree paſſed, *viz.* That as the ſcuffle, which had happened a few days before, was not premeditated, but the effect of a ſudden commotion, ariſing on both ſides from a pretended zeal for the republic, all injuries, committed and received on that occaſion, ſhould be buried in an eternal oblivion. As to the law in queſtion, ſince *Appius* would by no means ſuffer it to be propoſed to the aſſembly of the people, without a previous decree of the ſenate, it was agreed, that it ſhould be referred to the ſenate, and that a decree ſhould be made for that purpoſe. The affair was therefore diſputed with great warmth, *Appius* calling both gods and men to witneſs, that the republic was betrayed, and that the ſenate were ſubmitting to a law more detrimental to their authority, than thoſe which had been formed on the ſacred mount; but *Quinctius* brought the ſenate to yield to the people, and allow them to propoſe the law in their aſſembly, where it paſſed, and was unanimouſly received with great applauſe. From this time therefore the tribunes were made, and almoſt every thing relating to the people determined, not in the comitia by curiæ, but by tribes [q].

Volero's law paſſes.

War with the Æqui and Volſci.

Not long after this law was paſſed, the conſuls were obliged to take the field. *Quinctius* marched againſt the *Æqui*, and *Appius* againſt the *Volſci*. The former was ſo much eſteemed and loved by his army, that the enemy, not caring to appear againſt troops ſo well affected to their general, ſhut themſelves up in their cities, or lay concealed in the foreſts. The conſul therefore, having laid waſte their country, returned with a great booty to *Rome*, where he was received with loud acclamations, and called *The father of the ſoldiers*, while *Appius* was ſtyled by his men, *The tyrant of the army*; and indeed never was an army governed with more ſeverity, or diſcipline exacted with more rigour. As his rage againſt the people was no longer under any reſtraint from the tribunes, he intirely gave way to it; the conſequence of which was, that the centurions and ſoldiers all murmured at their general's orders, and even entered into a conſpiracy, not againſt his life, but his glory; for they reſolved by agreement, not to oppoſe the enemy, leſt their general ſhould receive the honours of triumph. The *Volſci*, being informed of all that paſſed in the *Roman* camp, drew up their men in order of battle, and challenged the *Romans* to an engagement. *Appius* marched out againſt them; but he was no ſooner within reach of the enemy, than his men threw away their arms, and, with one conſent, returned to the camp. the *Volſci* took advantage of this confuſion, and, having cut to pieces thoſe who were in the rear, attacked the entrenchments; but the *Romans*, fearing the enemy might break into the camp, faced about, made a brave reſiſtance, and drove back the *Volſci*. The raſh conſul would have led them again to face the enemy the next day; but they loudly demanded of their officers to be led out of the enemy's country, and forced *Appius* to comply with their demand and break up his camp. As ſoon as the incenſed conſul entered the *Roman* territory, where he was out of the reach of the enemy, he ſummoned his ſoldiers to aſſemble; and, being ſeated in his tribunal, he firſt upbraided them with their diſobedience and treachery, and then, giving a looſe to his reſentment, he commanded the heads of the centurions and other officers, who had abandoned their poſts, to be ſtruck off in his preſence. Thoſe, who had born the enſigns and delivered them to the enemy, he cauſed to be beaten to death with rods. As for the common ſoldiers, he decimated them, that is, put every tenth man to death. As the time of the comitia for the election of new conſuls drew near, he led back to *Rome* the remains of his army, where he was received with the hiſſes of the multitude [r].

Appius's *troops refuſe to fight.*

He puniſhes them with the utmoſt ſeverity.

The conſuls choſen to ſucceed *Quinctius* and *Appius*, were *L. Valerius*, a ſecond time, and *Tib. Æmilius*. They had ſcarce entered upon their office, when the tribunes revived the old diſpute concerning the partition of lands. Both the conſuls were diſpoſed to favour the people; *Æmilius* out of revenge againſt the ſenate, for having refuſed his father the honours of a triumph, when he returned from a ſucceſsful war againſt the *Æqui*; and *Valerius*, to gain the good-will of the people, whoſe hatred he had drawn upon himſelf by proſecuting *Caſſius* during his quæſtorſhip. As the

The old diſpute of the Agrarian *law revived.*

[q] Idem, p. 602. Liv. l. ii. c. 57. [r] Dion. Hal. p. 606. Liv. ibid.

a the conſuls, by a decree of the ſenate paſſed in the conſulate of *Virginius* and *Caſſius*, were impowered to nominate the decemvirs, in order to make a new diſtribution of the conquered lands, the tribunes, being ſecure of the preſent conſuls, brought the affair before the ſenate, where it occaſioned long debates. *Æmilius*, the conſul's father, who ſpoke firſt, was for having the decemvirs named by the conſuls, in order to proceed to the diviſion of the conquered lands; which, ſaid he, being public and common, ought to be for the equal benefit of all. But *Appius*, that ſworn enemy of the people, oppoſed the opinion of *Æmilius* with ſo much warmth and ſtrength of reaſon, that the ſenate rejected the propoſal of the tribunes, tho' ſupported by both the conſuls. Hereupon the tribunes, inraged at their diſappointment, reſolved to
b deſtroy ſo violent an adverſary, and with that view cited him before the people, as a declared enemy to the public liberty. *Appius*, without changing his habit, as was uſual on ſuch occaſions, or even ſuffering his friends to ſolicit the multitude in his behalf, on the day of the aſſembly, appeared in the midſt of his accuſers with the ſame dignity as if he had been their judge. His accuſation was reduced to theſe four heads. 1. That he had ſpirited up the ſenate againſt the people. 2. That he had raiſed ſeditions in the republic. 3. That he had cauſed a tribune to be ſtruck, tho' the laws declared his perſon ſacred and inviolable. 4. That he had ſunk the courage of his ſoldiers by his ſeverity, and ſuffered himſelf to be overcome by the *Volſci*. But he anſwered theſe ſeveral articles with ſo much ſtrength, that the people durſt not
c condemn him. The tribunes, who were bent upon his deſtruction, fearing he would be acquitted, put off giving ſentence to another day, under pretence, that they ſhould not have time before night to collect the ſuffrages. But *Appius*, plainly foreſeeing that he ſhould fall a victim to the implacable hatred of thoſe magiſtrates, prevented the diſgrace of a condemnation, by laying violent hands on himſelf. The tribunes endeavoured in vain to deprive him of ſuch funeral honours as his merit and rank in the republic deſerved. His ſon obtained leave of the conſuls to aſſemble the people, and make, according to cuſtom, his funeral oration; which the people heard with pleaſure, ſhewing him more regard after his death, than they had done in his life-time.

Appius *cited before the people.*

He kills himſelf.

d Upon the death of *Appius*, the tribunes reſumed the buſineſs of the *Agrarian* law, which his proſecution had only ſuſpended; but not being able to prevail upon the preſent conſuls to name the decemvirs, the people, at their inſtigation, refuſed to appear at the election of the conſuls for the next year, as if they intended to ſeparate themſelves once more from the body of the republic. However, the patricians, with their clients, raiſed to the conſulate *T. Quinctius*, a ſecond time, and *Q. Servilius*, who, to prevent the breach from growing wider, buſied the people all that year with foreign wars. *Servilius* had great ſucceſs againſt the *Sabines*; and *Quinctius* gained a complete victory over the united forces of the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, which was fol-
e lowed by the ſiege and ſurrender of the city of *Antium*. *Quinctius*, on his return to *Rome*, was honoured with a triumph, and attended both by the ſenate and people in his proceſſion to the capitol. The domeſtic diſſentions began afreſh in the following conſulate of *T. Æmilius*, a ſecond time, and *Q. Fabius*, ſon of one of the three famous brothers, who periſhed in the battle of *Cremera*. *Æmilius*, who had favoured the people in his firſt conſulate, renewed his endeavours to get the *Caſſian* law put in execution; whereupon great diſturbances enſuing, *Fabius* found out an expedient to appeaſe both the people and patricians. He propoſed to ſend a colony to people that pleaſant and fruitful canton of the *Volſci*, which *Quinctius* had juſt conquered. His motion was received with great applauſe by the meaner ſort of people, and three ſenators, *viz. T. Quinctius* the conſul, *A. Virginius*, and *P. Furius*, were immediately
f appointed to make the diſtribution of the lands; but when the plebeians were to give in their names to thoſe triumvirs, few of them appeared; nay, they began to change their ſtyle and complain of the ſenate, who, they ſaid, were ſending brave men out of their country, becauſe they oppoſed their oppreſſions; the greater part therefore choſe rather to ſtay at *Rome*, than leave it to take poſſeſſion of the lands, for which they had raiſed ſo many diſturbances. The games, the ſhews, the public aſſemblies, the hurry of buſineſs, and the ſhare they had in the government, contributed to tie them to their old abode, and, notwithſtanding their poverty, made them look upon a colony as an honourable baniſhment. The triumvirs, finding the people unwilling to quit *Rome*, were forced to admit of ſtrangers to make up the number appointed for the colony. However, one advantage accrued from the refuſal of the

The Sabines, *the* Æqui, *and the* Volſci *defeated.*

Fabius *finds out an expedient to ſtop the complaints of the people.*

people, which was, that thoſe, who would not give in their names, were ever after ashamed to meddle in the affair of the partition of the lands [s].

The Æqui subdued.

Rome enjoying now a profound tranquility, *Fabius* took the field againſt the *Æqui*, and obliged them to ſue for a peace; which was granted them, on condition of their being ſubject to the republic. However, in the following conſulate of *Sp. Poſthumius* and *Q. Servilius*, now a ſecond time conſul, they began to ſtir again; and the next year, when *T. Quinctius*, a third time, and *Q. Fabius*, a ſecond time, were conſuls, they renewed the war, and continued it under the conſuls *A. Poſthumius* and *Sp. Furius*. The latter, who was but a very indifferent commander, having engaged raſhly with the enemy, was defeated, and ſo cloſely beſieged in his camp, that not a man could go out to give notice at *Rome* of his danger. However, the ſenate had advice of it, and, in ſo great a diſtreſs, reſolved upon an expedient, never uſed but in great extremity; which was, to give up the government abſolutely into the conſuls hands, by theſe words, *Videat conſul, ne quid reſpublica detrimenti capiat, Let the conſul take care, that the republic ſuffer no detriment.* *Poſthumius*, who received this commiſſion, made all take arms who were able, and gave *T. Quinctius* the command of the army, with the title of proconſul. As ſoon as *Quinctius* came within ſight of the inveſted camp, the *Æqui* retired; but *Furius* had before made a ſally, in which his brother *L. Furius* and two cohorts had been ſurrounded by the enemy and cut in pieces. The conſul now acted upon the offenſive, and obliged the enemy to withdraw into their own country. *Poſthumius* attacked a great body of their freebooters, loaden with ſpoil, and made a great ſlaughter of them. By theſe ſucceſſes *Rome* was reſtored to its former tranquillity. In the following conſulate of *P. Servilius Priſcus* and *Ælius Elva*, a dreadful plague broke out in *Rome*, and ſwept away almoſt all the flower of the youth who were able to bear arms, the fourth part of the ſenators, the greateſt part of the tribunes, and both the conſuls. Upon the news of ſo general a mortality among the *Romans*, the *Æqui* and *Volſci* renewed their old deſign of deſtroying the haughty republic. They began the campaign with committing hoſtilities in the territories of the *Latins* and *Hernici*, who immediately applied to the *Roman* ſenate for ſuccours; but all the *Romans* could do was, to give leave to their allies to arm and defend themſelves, and to promiſe them aſſiſtance in better times. Hereupon the *Latins* ſhut themſelves up in their cities, leaving their country open to the ravages of the enemy. The *Hernici* took the field, and even ventured an engagement, in which they loſt a great many men, and were, on that account, tho' the ſucceſs of the battle was pretty equal, forced to confine themſelves to their cities; ſo that the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, having now no enemy to oppoſe them in the field, entered the *Roman* territory, and appeared unexpectedly before *Rome*. The two conſuls being dead, and the few tribunes who were ſtill alive unable, on account of their bad ſtate of health, to aſſiſt the republic either with their hands or their advice, the ædiles took upon them to repreſent the dignity, and perform the functions, of the conſuls. Notwithſtanding ſo many calamities, the *Romans* ſeemed to have loſt nothing of their ancient ſteadineſs. They crept to the ramparts, and put the beſt face they could on their affairs. The ſenators themſelves mounted the guard and ſtood centinels; and, the city being well fortified on all ſides, the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, more expert at plundering than carrying on a ſiege, laid aſide all thoughts of making themſelves maſters of *Rome*, and marched their forces towards *Tuſculum*. In the mean time, the plague continued to rage in the city. The two augurs, *Virginius* and *Valerius*, died of it, as well as *Sulpicius* the chief of the *curiones*, that is, the prieſts of each curia. The dead were ſo numerous, that they were thrown into the *Tiber* without burial; ſo that the calamity becoming now greater than ever, the people turned their thoughts intirely to divine aſſiſtance; all made their vows upon the altars, and the matrons ſwept the temples with their hair, and continued proſtrate in the preſence of the gods, till at length a more wholeſome ſeaſon put an end to the diſtemper, and delivered *Rome* from a calamity which threatened her with utter deſtruction. Several patricians had governed one after another during the inter-regnum, which had laſted from the death of the conſuls; and now *Valerius Poplicola*, being inter-rex, aſſembled the centuries for the election of new ones, when *Lucretius Tricipitinus* and *T. Veturius Geminus* were choſen. In the beginning of their conſulate, the tribunes, forgetting the miſeries the city had ſuffered, undertook to renew the old quarrel about the diviſion of the lands; but the people, without

Quinctius obliges them to retire into their own country.

The Æqui and Volſci appear before Rome.

[s] Dio. Hal. p. 611. Liv. l. ii. c. 62.

without hearkening to them, turned all their thoughts upon revenging the insults *Rome* had received from the *Æqui* and *Volsci* the year before. Even those citizens, whom the laws exempted from going to war, inlisted themselves for the service; so that two consular armies were immediately raised. It fell to *Lucretius*'s lot to march against the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, who had united their forces; but were overthrown in a pitched battle, with the loss of both their generals and of thirteen thousand four hundred and sixty men, the most dreadful defeat they had ever received. So memorable an action made *Rome* forget the misfortunes she had suffered the last year [t].

The Æqui and Volsci intirely defeated.

While the two consuls were thus employed in the field, a tribune of the people, named *C. Terentius Arsa*, took the opportunity of their absence to weaken the consular authority, exclaiming in a full assembly of the people against the exorbitant power of the consuls, and demanding, that bounds might be set to it with regard to public affairs, and that invariable laws might be established, for the consuls to be governed by in deciding the contests that arose between man and man. We must observe here, that the people referred all their differences to the judgment of the consuls, who regulated their sentences, either by the principles of natural equity, or by ancient usages, or by the laws of *Romulus* and his successors, some remains of which were still to be found in the sacred books that were lodged with the pontifices, who, together with the patricians, made a mystery to the people of those first elements of their science of law. *Terentius* therefore, or, as *Livy* calls him, *Terentillus*, represented to the people, that the patrician magistrates were absolute masters of each man's fortune, and that the consuls, having no rule to go by in deciding causes, but their caprice or laws unknown to the plebeians, might strip them, when they pleased, of all their effects, and at the same time make them believe, that they acted therein agreeable to the laws. To prevent this inconvenience, insupportable in a free city, he moved for an immediate establishment of laws, known by every body, to serve for a rule to the magistrates in their sentences, and to the litigants for proofs of the justice or injustice of their cause. He urged at the same time with great vehemence, that the consuls had all the despotic power of kings, and only wanted the name; and therefore demanded, that a choice should be made of five of the best men in the republic, who should be authorized to restrain within due bounds a power so excessive; so that the consuls for the future might have no other authority over their fellow-citizens, but what those very citizens should think fit to intrust them with. The senators were all surprized at such bold proposals. *Q. Fabius*, who then governed the city in the absence of the consuls, immediately dispatched messengers to them, acquainting them with what had happened, and conjuring them to hasten back to *Rome*. He then convened the senate, and, after having enumerated the fatal consequences of such an innovation, prevailed upon the tribunes to desist from seconding *Terentius* in his first demand, concerning the limitation of the consular power; but as for the second, they still persisted in demanding a choice to be made from among the senators and plebeians, of proper persons, to form a body of laws for determining suits among the citizens; however, overcome by the entreaties of *Fabius*, they consented to suspend the prosecution of this affair till the arrival of the consuls. Thus the city continued some time quiet; for the tribunes did not so much as mention the *Terentian* law, till the new consuls, *P. Volumnius* and *S. Sulpicius*, were chosen; and then the whole college renewed their efforts to get the law passed. The people were often assembled to hear the harangues of the tribunes on this subject; and the senate as often to concert measures to oppose their designs. The factions and blind zeal on both sides increased to such a degree, that there was just reason to apprehend a civil war. The alarms, which these dissentions gave, were increased by the dread, which some pretended prodigies occasioned in the city. At the same time, the *Hernici*, who were in alliance with *Rome*, gave notice to the senate, that the *Æqui* and *Volsci* were secretly arming, and that the new colony of *Antium* was entered into that confederacy. This news authorized the consuls to raise an army of citizens as usual, whose absence would lessen the strength of the tribunes; but these magistrates of the people, pretending that this war was nothing but a trick of the senate to get the citizens out of *Rome*, opposed the levies, and revived the demand of *Terentius* for the compiling a body of laws. The contest ran high, and occasioned great disturbances. Every thing was carried by mere violence. The consuls having caused a plebeian to be arrested, because

The tribune Terentius Arsa proposes the establishment of fixed laws.

Great contests on this head.

[t] Dio. Hal. p. 625. Liv. l. iii. c. 8.

cauſe he refuſed to give in his name, the tribunes reſcued him out of the lictor's hands and ſet him at liberty. On the other hand, the young patricians made great diſturbances in the comitia, diſperſed the people by violence, and, with their clamours, hindered the reading of the law, which was drawn up in theſe words: *Let the people, in lawful comitia, elect ten men of a mature age, conſummate wiſdom, and unſpotted reputation, to draw up a body of laws, as well for the public adminiſtration, as for the determination of public affairs; let theſe laws be fixed up in the forum; and let the annual magiſtrate, as well as other judges, be obliged to conform to them in their deciſions of the controverſies, which may ariſe in* Rome. At length the tribunes gained their point of having this law propoſed to the people; but when the day came for the comitia by tribes to determine the affair, the young ſenators and patricians, having *Quinctius Cæſo*, the ſon of *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, at their head, ruſhed into the crowd, knocked down all who ſtood in their way, and diſperſed the aſſembly, in ſpite of all that the tribunes could do to keep them together. *Cæſo* was a young man, tall, well-ſhaped, of an extraordinary ſtrength of body, and had ſignalized himſelf by actions of uncommon bravery in ſeveral battles. His eloquence was not inferior to his ſtrength and valour; for no patrician was heard with greater applauſe, or ſpoke with more dignity. He was always the firſt to anſwer the ſeditious harangues of the tribunes with great freedom. Theſe magiſtrates therefore, inraged to meet with ſo much oppoſition from one ſingle man, conſpired his ruin; and, having agreed among themſelves upon articles of impeachment, *Virginius*, the moſt zealous of the tribunes, cauſed him to be ſummoned before the aſſembly of the people. This made *Cæſo* more violent in his oppoſition to the *Terentian* law; he reviled the plebeians, and inveighed with great bitterneſs againſt the tribunes. In the mean time, *Virginius* ſtill went on propoſing the law, not ſo much out of any hopes that it would meet with a ready acceptance, as purely to increaſe the fury of *Cæſo*, and render him, by his violent and raſh behaviour, more odious to the multitude. Accordingly the inconſiderate youth, being ſupported by the ſenate, who flattered his vanity with their applauſes, gave the tribunes new matter of complaint, and made, we may ſay, open war with them and their party. At length the day came, which was appointed for his trial; and then his courage all on a ſudden failed him. He did not imitate the conſtancy of *Coriolanus*, but condeſcended to mean intreaties, and endeavoured to ſave his life by low and unworthy ſolicitations. He put on mourning, and, with a countenance full of ſorrow and humiliation, went about begging the favour of the meaneſt plebeians. The tribune *Virginius* opened his accuſation, and, in his diſcourſe, enumerated the ſeveral violences of the young patrician, and produced thoſe to be witneſſes againſt him, who had been themſelves ill-uſed by him; but the chief crime laid to his charge was, his having hindered by violence the meeting of ſome judicial aſſemblies legally called. When the accuſation was ended, the accuſed was called upon to plead; but *Cæſo* refuſed to own the juriſdiction of the aſſembly, offering at the ſame time to ſubmit himſelf to the judgment of the conſuls, his only lawful judges. This ſet the people yet more againſt him; ſo that his father, *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, a man highly eſteemed and reſpected of the republic, was obliged to undertake his defence. He denied the capital points in the charge; and, as to haſty words or blows, he excuſed them as the indiſcretions of youth, which rather deſerved pity, than reſentment. Then *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, who had been thrice conſul, *Sp. Furius*, and *Lucretius*, all appeared to witneſs his bravery in ſeveral engagements, and his other good qualities. *Neither the* Quinctian *family*, ſaid *Quinctius Capitolinus*, *nor the city of* Rome, *ever produced a young patrician of greater expectation. He made his firſt campaign under me, and I was witneſs of his glorious exploits.* Nor did *Sp. Furius* give a leſs advantagious teſtimony to young *Cæſo*; The conſul *Quinctius*, ſaid he, often ſent him to my relief, when I was in great danger; and no-body contributed more than he to the advantages we gained over the enemy. *Lucretius* likewiſe, who had been honoured with a triumph the year before, did juſtice to the valour of the accuſed: *On this occaſion*, ſaid he, *I think myſelf obliged to ſhare my glory with the brave* Cæſo. *No-body ſignalized himſelf more, both in ſingle combats, and the general action, in which I was conqueror. What city is there, to which this gallant youth will not be an ornament, if we drive him from ours? As to the natural impetuoſity he is reproached with, age and prudence will by degrees correct it; and when his virtue is arrived at its maturity, his defects will be worn away. How great a man will* Cæſo *be, when years ſhall have tempered the ardour, which now tranſports him?* The ſuffrages of ſo many illuſtrious

The contending parties come to blows.

Quinctius Cæſo *cited before the people.*

His mean behaviour.

His father, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, *undertakes his defence.*

illuſtrious men, and the entreaties of the father, made a ſenſible impreſſion on the multitude; but *Virginius*, who was bent upon *Cæſo*'s deſtruction, fruſtrated the hopes of the patricians. He roſe up, and addreſſing himſelf to *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *The public*, ſaid he, *does juſtice to your virtues and the affection you have for the people; but alas! how different is your ſon from you! His proud temper and tyrannical conduct make him unworthy of pardon. The education he has received, under the eye of a modeſt and popular father, has not been able to abate his pride.* Romans, *what have you to expect from him for the future? What a pernicious example has he given to the youth, who follow and admire him? If you,* Quinctius, *were ignorant of it before, yet being to-day better informed of it, you ought to join your indignation to ours. If you was acquainted* b *with his conduct and did not correct him, you are not worthy of the favour you aſk. But what am I ſaying? your ſon's tranſports were certainly concealed from you; nor have you had any ſhare in his attempts upon the authority of the* Roman *people: No,* Quinctius, *you are not to be blamed for any thing, but being a better father than a commonwealth's man; but, in order to efface in your heart thoſe remains of tenderneſs which the people ſhare with you, I beg, that my collegue,* M. Volſcius, *may be heard in what he has to offer, by way of private complaint againſt your ſon. I hope the people will not leave unrevenged one of their own magiſtrates, who has been ſo great a ſufferer by him.* Then *Volſcius* aſcending the roſtra, to act the part that had been concerted between them, directed his ſpeech to the people thus: *As I was returning one night with my brother,* Cæſo *is falſly* c *from a friend's houſe where we had ſupped, we met, hard-by the public ſtews,* Cæſo, *ac-accuſed of mur-companied, according to his cuſtom, by ſeveral young patricians of the ſame character with der.* *himſelf, who, I ſuppoſe, had been making a debauch together in thoſe infamous houſes. They at firſt attacked us with abuſive language, which I indeed was for taking no notice of; but my brother, leſs patient than myſelf, returned injuries for injuries. Then* Cæſo, *full of anger and reſentment, fell upon him, and, notwithſtanding my prayers and entreaties, ſo beat and bruiſed him, that he expired upon the ſpot. This happened the year the plague made ſuch havock among us. I deſigned to carry my complaints to the conſuls; but death took them from us ſoon after.* L. Lucretius *and* T. Veturius, *their ſucceſſors, took the field in a hurry, and* Cæſo *followed them. At their return I prepared to bring my action;* c *but* Cæſo, *hearing of my deſign, waited for me one night in a by-place, and falling upon me, repeated his blows ſo thick, that, to avoid my brother's fate, I was forced to promiſe never to mention what had befallen either of us.*

The people were ſo exaſperated at this ſtory, that, without examining into the truth of the facts, they were ready to tear young *Cæſo* in pieces; but *Virginius*, to give ſome appearance of juſtice to his villainous proſecution, interpoſed, and moved, that *Cæſo* ſhould be ſecured and impriſoned, till his crime could be fully proved, ſince *Volſcius* had not his witneſſes at hand. This occaſioned great debates; *T. Quinctius* repreſenting to the aſſembly, that it was a thing unheard-of in the republic, that, upon a bare accuſation, a citizen ſhould be arreſted and carried to jail. On the other hand, *Virginius* maintained, that ſuch a precaution was neceſſary to prevent ſuch an offender from eſcaping the juſtice of the people. After the queſtion had been long debated, with great warmth and liberty of ſpeech on both ſides, the tribunes took a middle way between *Virginius*'s pretenſions and thoſe of the contrary party, which was, that *Cæſo* ſhould be ſet at liberty, provided he gave ſecurity for his appearance before the people on the day appointed. This raiſed a new debate about the ſum, in which the ſecurities were to be bound; but the ſenate at laſt fixed the ſum to three thouſand aſſes of braſs, that is, about nine pounds thirteen ſhillings and nine pence of our money; and left it to the tribunes to declare how many citizens ſhould be ſecurity for it, in caſe of his eſcape. They were content with ten ſecuri- f ties, who bound themſelves to produce *Cæſo* on the day he was to be tried, or to pay the fine. And this is the firſt time we read of bail given for appearance in public and capital caſes. *Cæſo* was no ſooner at liberty than he left *Rome*, and retired into *He-* Cæſo *retires* *truria*; but the tribunes knew nothing of his eſcape, till he was again cited to appear, *into baniſh-* when his friends endeavoured to prove to the people, that he had executed juſtice on *ment.* himſelf, and anticipated their ſentence of baniſhment, by baniſhing himſelf; but the tribunes, ſeeing plainly that this was only an evaſion to avoid the payment of the fine, exacted it with more rigor; ſo that *Quinctius*, the father of *Cæſo*, having ſold the beſt part of his eſtate on that account, was forced to retire to a poor cottage on the

other ſide of the *Tiber*, where he cultivated, with his own hands, five or ſix acres of land, which were all he had to live upon [u]. a

The patricians continue ſteady in their oppoſition to the Terentian *law.*

The tribunes, believing that the baniſhment of *Cæſo* would keep the young patricians in awe, called an aſſembly of the people, in order to propoſe the *Terentian* law, and get it approved by the tribes; but it was no ſooner mentioned, than there ſprung up as it were a thouſand *Cæſos*, all oppoſing it with the ſame intrepidity. Hereupon the tribunes ordered all the patricians to be driven away from the aſſembly; but the nobility, uniting themſelves more cloſely together after the proſecution of *Cæſo*, oppoſed force by force; and, being attended by a great number of their clients, made the tribunes feel the evil conſequences of the ſedition they had begun. The people were diſperſed anew, and the tribunes obliged to ſave themſelves, by taking refuge b in their own houſes. Thus the law was hindered from paſſing this year. The following year, the ſenate and patricians in conjunction raiſed to the conſulate *Caius Claudius*, brother to *Appius Claudius*, who killed himſelf, and *P. Valerius*, a ſecond time. The tribunes, ſeeing the whole body of the nobility united againſt them, and deſpairing to carry their point by a fair open conteſt, combined together to deſtroy at one ſtroke the better part of the ſenate, and ſuch of the patricians as were obnoxious to them. In order to put in execution ſo deteſtable a project, in the firſt place, by many falſe reports ſpread abroad among the people, they filled the whole city with inquietude and diſtruſt, as if ſome great deſign was ſecretly hatching againſt the public liberty. Then, to give the people ſtrong ſuſpicions of the whole body of the c nobility, they cauſed a letter to be delivered to themſelves in public. While they were ſitting in their tribunal, a ſtranger came, and having, in the ſight of all the people, put into their hands a letter, diſappeared in an inſtant, and was never afterwards ſeen. The tribunes read the letter to themſelves, and, in reading it, put on an air of terror and ſurprize, in order to excite the curioſity of the people and make them more uneaſy. Then, riſing from their ſeats and cauſing ſilence to be proclaimed by the crier, *Virginius*, with looks full of conſternation, addreſſing himſelf to the aſſembly, ſpoke thus: Romans, *you are threatened with the greateſt dangers. If the gods, who are the protectors of innocence, had not diſcovered the wicked deſigns of your enemies, you had been all loſt. But you muſt give us leave to acquaint the ſenate with the* d *affair before it be divulged.* *Virginius* having thus ſpoke, the tribunes went all in a body to the conſuls houſes, and the ſenate being immediately aſſembled, the tribunes were admitted into it. In the mean time, the emiſſaries of the tribunes ſpread a thouſand falſe reports among the people about the contents of the letter. Some ſaid, that *Cæſo* was advancing towards *Rome*, where he had correſpondents, at the head of an army of *Volſci*; others, that the patricians had conſpired to call him back, and, with his aſſiſtance, to deſtroy the tribunate; others confined the enterprize to the young patricians, and maintained, that *Cæſo* was ſtill in *Rome*, and would ſoon appear at the head of a numerous body, compoſed of patricians and their clients, *&c.* Thus the people's prejudices were kept up, and their hatred to the patricians increaſed. e

The tribunes being admitted into the ſenate, *Virginius* addreſſed himſelf to the conſuls and ſenators in the following words: "Our diſcretion, conſcript fathers, "made us keep ſilence, while the misfortunes, with which we are now threatened, "were yet uncertain. To act upon bare conjectures againſt ſeditious men not yet "diſcovered, is often only giving a handle to factious ſpirits to raiſe inſurrections; "however, we have not been unactive upon our firſt ſuſpicions, and our private in- "quiries have been effectual. We have been faithfully ſerved by thoſe foreigners, "with whom we live in hoſpitality and friendſhip. Their letters will convince "you, that the gods watch over the republic for its preſervation. The ſymptoms, "we find at home, agree with the accounts, we receive from abroad. *Rome* is be- "trayed. Some of the moſt illuſtrious families in this city, and ſome even of the "ſenate itſelf, are turned conſpirators, and have ſworn her deſtruction. Among the "*Roman* knights there are aſſaſſins, who are ready to murder us. They wait only "for the opportunity of a dark night to break into our houſes, and maſſacre us, and "all thoſe among the people, who ſhew any zeal for the public liberty. They take "it for granted, that, after this barbarous execution, they ſhall eaſily obtain of you "the abolition of the tribunate. *Cæſo*, that *Cæſo*, whom they reſcued from his juſt "puniſhment, is the inſtrument of their fury. He is to appear within the walls, "attended

[u] Dio. Hal. l. x. p. 627,—632. Liv. l. iii. c. 11,—13.

" attended by numerous troops of *Æqui* and *Volſci*, who are to be brought hither,
a " privately and in ſmall parties. The tribunes are to fall the firſt victims to his
" reſentment; and ſuch of the people, as ſhall dare to make any reſiſtance, are to
" be ſacrificed without mercy. Theſe are our dangers; this is the crime of your
" patricians. What then is now to be done? O! ye immortal gods, who unite us
" in the ſame religious worſhip, inſpire the ſenate with ſentiments of equity; efface
" out of their minds all regard to rank, birth, and party-intereſt. We conjure you,
" conſcript fathers, not to give us up to the rage of theſe aſſaſſins. In order to pre-
" vent their evil deſigns, we hope you will not refuſe us a decree, impowering us to
" make further inquiries into this conſpiracy, and to ſecure the chief authors of it.
" Thoſe, who are moſt in danger, are moſt nearly concerned to avoid it, and will
b " be moſt active in making diſcoveries. Time preſſes us, and our aſſaſſins are at the
" gates. The leaſt delay were dangerous. Who knows, but this very night may
" be pitched upon for the execution of the bloody deſign? They muſt be conſpira-
" tors themſelves, who are againſt inquiring into the conſpiracy."

THE demand of the tribunes much embaraſſed the ſenate. The more timorous were apprehenſive, that a refuſal would irritate the people and raiſe a ſedition; but thoſe who had more firmneſs of mind repreſented, how dangerous it was to give the tribunes an unbounded power in an affair of a capital nature. But the conſul *Claudius*, addreſſing himſelf to the tribunes, replied thus: " I take upon me to anſwer
" you, tribunes, becauſe none of you can have the confidence to ſay, that I am con-
c " cerned in the conſpiracy, with which you charge the patricians. My conduct puts
" me out of your reach. However, my deſign in ſpeaking is not to diſſuade the
" ſenators from ſuffering informations to be taken of ſuch a cruel attempt, or to hin-
" der them from giving you this commiſſion. Were the accuſation true, too much
" precaution could not be uſed to ſecure your lives and the public liberty; but let
" us ſearch the matter to the bottom. The tribunes laſt year could not get their
" law paſſed: hence their air of conſternation; hence their continual deliberations,
" their aſſemblies, and their conferences. And what reſolutions have they taken in
" them? No doubt, to invent the chimerical conſpiracy they now bring to light.
" Let us accuſe the patricians, ſaid they, of having conſpired againſt our lives;
d " and then demand of the ſenate a power to take cognizance of the conſpiracy. If
" they refuſe it, we ſhall then inſpire the populace with new rage againſt them. If
" they grant it, we will give then full ſcope to our reſentment, and intimidate the
" oppoſers of the *Terentian* law. This is the tribunes ſcheme; theſe are the ſnares
" they have laid for us. Speak, *Virginius*, tell us, whence came theſe letters, which
" have ſo much alarmed you? Who are theſe gueſts, and theſe faithful allies?
" How came they acquainted with the misfortunes which threaten you? Where is
" the bearer of this foul accuſation? Why has he diſappeared? Let us know who
" are the ſenators and knights named in the letter you produce? Surely we have
" time enough to hear the names of thoſe great criminals. Shall we wait till you
" are made maſters of our lives by a decree of the ſenate, and have it in your power
" to convict us of treaſon by falſe evidence? You ſay, the ſymptoms at home agree
" with the informations from abroad; why don't you then ſhew us theſe ſymptoms?
" Why don't you produce the accuſers? Could you poſſibly imagine, that the ſe-
" nate would deliver up our moſt illuſtrious citizens to your fury, upon a bare accu-
" ſation by letter, without any kind of proof? To you, conſcript fathers, to your
" indulgence the bold attempts of the tribunes are to be aſcribed. You were too
" eaſy in delivering up the brave *Cæſo* to the rage of his perſecutors. The tribunes
" ſucceſs againſt him encourages them to attempt every thing againſt us. To con-
f " clude, my opinion is, that, if the ſtate be in any danger, it is only from theſe
" ſeducers of the people, who, while they ſet up for the defenders of the public
" liberty, are indeed its greateſt enemies." This ſpeech quite ſtunned the tribunes. They withdrew with no leſs ſhame than fury; and repairing to the aſſembly of the people, who waited for them, began there to inveigh moſt bitterly againſt both ſenate and conſuls; but *Appius* following them, aſcended the roſtra, and ſpoke to the people with ſo much ſtrength and eloquence, that the better ſort were fully convinced, that the pretended conſpiracy was only an artifice of the tribunes to have it in their power to deſtroy their enemies; but the undiſtinguiſhing rabble continued in their firſt per-

perſuaſion ; and the tribunes took great care to maintain the belief of an error, which gave them an opportunity of raiſing new diſturbances in the ſtate [w].

Herdonius, *a* Sabine, *attempts the reduction of* Rome.

The inteſtine broils of the republic encouraged a private man in *Sabinia*, named *Appius Herdonius*, to attempt the reduction of *Rome*. He was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, and, having a great number of ſlaves and clients, he flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able, with their aſſiſtance, to reduce the *Roman* republic under his obedience, and make himſelf king of *Rome*. This bold deſign he imparted to his friends, repreſenting to them, that it was not impracticable to ſurprize the city during the diviſion between the people and the ſenate. Some of his friends, no leſs enterpriſing than himſelf, approving his undertaking, ſoon got together about four thouſand men, conſiſting partly of their own clients, but chiefly of ſlaves, outlaws, and men of deſperate fortunes. This was indeed a ſmall number for ſo great an enterprize ; but *Herdonius* took it for granted, that a great number of *Roman* exiles, the *Roman* populace, who were greedy of plunder, ſuch citizens as were enemies to the patricians, the ſlaves, and alſo the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, would not fail to come to his aſſiſtance, upon the firſt news of his attempt. With theſe hopes he embarqued his troops on the *Tiber* by night, brought them down the river, and landed them before break of day by the ſide of the capitol. He got up the hill without being perceived, and, under cover of the darkneſs, poſſeſſed himſelf of the temple of *Jupiter* and the fortreſs adjoining to it. Thence he threw himſelf into the neighbouring houſes, and put all thoſe to the ſword, who refuſed to join him. Some, who had the good luck to ſave themſelves before the *Sabines* entered their houſes, raiſed with their noiſe an alarm in all the quarters of the city. Nothing was heard but confuſed voices of people, crying out, *To arms, the enemy is in the heart of the city*. The conſuls, awakened by the noiſe, knew not whether this tumult aroſe from a domeſtic faction, or foreign enemy, and were therefore equally afraid to arm the people, or leave them diſarmed. They therefore contented themſelves with giving arms to ſome, on whom they could depend, and placing them in the forum and at the gates of the city. The night was ſpent in doubts and uneaſineſs, neither the conſuls nor the people knowing how many, or what, enemies they were to contend with. At length the return of light diſcovered who was at the head of ſo daring an enterprize. The conſuls immediately repaired to the forum, and ſummoned all the citizens to take arms and follow them ; but the tribunes, mounting their tribunal, with their unſeaſonable harangues, cooled the ardor of the people. We don't pretend, ſaid they, to obſtruct the public good ; but after all, *Romans*, this is the time for turning the ſervice you are going to do your country to your own advantage. Before you take arms, inſiſt upon the conſuls not oppoſing the *Terentian* law ; and don't expoſe your lives to evident dangers, till they have promiſed upon oath, that as ſoon as you have re-taken the capitol, they will ſuffer the *Terentian* law to paſs. Why ſhould you venture your lives, when you can draw no advantage from your bravery ? Theſe words made ſuch an impreſſion upon the minds of the multitude, that neither the commands of the conſuls, nor the danger with which they were threatened, could prevail upon them to take arms. The conſul *Claudius*, full of indignation, was for having the patricians attack the citadel themſelves. The people, ſaid he, would ſell you their ſervices too dear. The patricians, attended by their clients, and a few voluntiers, are ſufficient to drive away the raſh *Herdonius* ; beſides, we may borrow ſuccours of the *Latins* and *Hernici* : our ſlaves, if we ſet them at liberty, will lend us their aſſiſtance. In ſhort, any ſoldiers are better than refractory citizens, who refuſe to relieve their country in its utmoſt danger. But *Valerius*, who was more moderate and popular than his collegue, was of opinion, that, in the preſent circumſtances, the ſenate ought not to refuſe the multitude any thing, that could induce them to take up arms immediately. The beſt part of the ſenators being of his mind, he advanced into the midſt of the people, and promiſed them, that, as ſoon as the capitol was re-taken, he would not hinder the tribunes from propoſing the law. The people, charmed with this promiſe, took arms, and ſolemnly ſwore never to lay them down without the conſuls leave. Then the conſuls drew lots for the conduct of the attack, which fell to *Valerius*. *Claudius* was appointed to cover the city, and prevent any ſuccours from joining *Herdonius*. *Valerius*, having drawn up his men in the forum, marched to the attack with them and a legion of *Tuſculans*, which *L. Manilius*, the ſupreme

Valerius *prevails upon the people to take arms in defence of their country.*

[w] Dio. Hal. ibid. p. 635,—637. Liv. ibid. c. 15.

a ſupreme magiſtrate of *Tuſculum*, had ſent of his own accord to the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*. *Herdonius* ſuſtained the aſſault with ſuch courage and reſolution, that the day was far ſpent before the *Romans* had gained any advantage over him. The conſul *Valerius*, encouraging his men by the example to advance boldly, notwithſtanding the ſhowers of darts which were inceſſantly diſcharged upon them, was ſlain at the head of the legionaries. *P. Volumnius*, who ſaw him fall, ordered his body to be covered, in order to conceal his death. He then took his place, and led on the *Romans* with ſo much bravery and reſolution, that they carried the place before they miſſed their commander. *Herdonius* fought like a man in deſpair, who was reſolved to ſell his life very dear. As he was a man of a tall ſtature and great ſtrength, he b made a terrible ſlaughter of the *Romans*, diſputing the ground inch by inch, till he was at length ſlain, after having loſt the greateſt part of his followers. Thoſe, who outlived the loſs of their general, either ſtabbed themſelves, or threw themſelves headlong from the top of the capitol. And thus ended this raſh enterprize, in the deſtruction of *Herdonius* and all thoſe who were concerned in it [x].

The conſul Valerius *is killed; and the* Sabines *driven from the capitol.*

THE city was no ſooner recovered from its fright, but the tribunes called upon *Claudius*, the ſurviving conſul, to perform his collegue's promiſe; but he put it off, under various pretences, and at length refuſed to do any thing in the affair, till a new conſul was elected in the room of *Valerius*. The day for the election being appointed, the ſenate and the whole body of patricians reſolved to chuſe ſome ſenator of great c merit, who ſhould be capable of defeating the tribunes deſign, and keeping the people in awe with his authority. They caſt their eyes upon *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, the father of *Cæſo*, who was accordingly elected by the firſt claſs, conſiſting of eighteen centuries of cavalry and fourſcore of infantry; ſo that there was no occaſion for the inferior claſſes to give their ſuffrages. When the deputies, ſent by the ſenate to acquaint *Quinctius* with his promotion, preſented him with the decree of his election, the venerable old man, wholly free from ambition, was in ſome doubt what reſolution to take. He had retired, after his ſon's diſgrace, into the country, and was ſo taken with the ſweets of a rural life, that he preferred them to all the pomp of the conſular dignity. However, the love of his country getting the better of his private ſatisfaction, he left d the plough, which he was driving when the deputies arrived, and conſented to go with them to the city; but he firſt took leave of his wife, and recommending to her the care of his domeſtic affairs, I fear, ſaid he, my dear *Racilia*, that our fields will be but ill manured this year. He no ſooner entered upon his office, but he turned his thoughts upon reforming the ſenate, and reſtraining the inſolence of the people and their tribunes. In the firſt ſpeech he made, he reprimanded both the ſenate and people with equal ſeverity, without declaring himſelf for either party. He reproached the ſenate for feeding, with their continual compliance, the rebellious ſpirit of the people; and the tribunes for raiſing continual diſturbances, and promoting an unbridled licentiouſneſs among the populace. Some ſeditious men, ſaid he, reign in *Rome*, with more inſolence and tyranny than ever did the *Tarquins*; but I ſhall take e care to carry the people out of the way of thoſe ſeducers. Know then, ye *Roman* people, that my collegue and I have reſolved to make war upon the *Æqui* and *Volſci*. We declare too, that our intention is to paſs the winter in the field, without ever returning, during our conſulate, into a city ſo full of ſedition. We command all thoſe, who have taken the military oath, to appear to-morrow with their arms at the lake *Regillus*. The tribunes anſwered, that they would not ſuffer any levies to be made; and that if *Quinctius* was determined to take the field, he might chance to go to war only with his collegue. The brave conſul replied, That there was no occaſion for new levies, ſince the oaths the people had taken to *Valerius*, whoſe place he f ſupplied, were ſtill binding. The tribunes, to elude that engagement, cried out, That by the oath the people had taken to *Valerius*, they had not laid themſelves under any obligation to *Quinctius*, who was then but a private man. But the anſwers of the tribunes ſeeming even to thoſe, who were moſt nearly concerned, more ſubtle than ſolid, every one began to take arms, tho' very unwillingly. What ſtill increaſed their uneaſineſs was, a report ſpread abroad, that the conſuls deſigned to hold a general aſſembly on the banks of the lake *Regillus*, and there to annul whatever had been done in former aſſemblies for the advantage of the people, the authority of the tribunes being confined to the city. *Quinctius* further gave out, that, on his return, he

Quinctius Cincinnatus *conſul.*

[x] DIO. HAL. p. 642, LIV. ibid. c. 18.

Quinctius makes the tribunes desist from their profecution of the Terentian law.

he would name a dictator, whose authority could not be curbed by the opposition of a the tribunes. These reports, artfully spread abroad, struck both the people and the tribunes with terror. The women and children, all in tears, conjured the principal men in the senate to intercede for them with *Quinctius*, and to prevail upon him to suffer their husbands and fathers to return to their homes at the end of the campaign. *Quinctius* seemed inflexible; and the people, struck with consternation at the very mention of spending the winter in the camp, became very submissive. At length a kind of treaty was made between *Quinctius* and the tribunes: the former promised not to force the troops to winter in the field, nor even to march out of the city; and the latter, on their parts, bound themselves to make no proposal to the people of new laws. To these two articles was added a third, *viz.* that, for the future, neither b consuls nor tribunes should be continued in their offices beyond the year. *Quinctius*, having thus restored tranquillity to the city, applied himself to hear and determine private causes, and pronounced such equitable judgments, that the people, charmed with his conduct, seemed to have forgot there were any such officers as tribunes in the republic [y].

Notwithstanding the late agreement between *Quinctius* and the tribunes, the latter got themselves continued in their employments. Hereupon the patricians were for continuing *Quinctius* in the consulship; but he warmly opposed it, upbraiding the senators with their contemptible levity in being so ready to violate their own laws, and thereby countenancing the breach of them in the people. Before he retired c to his farm, he presided at the comitia, when *Fabius Vibulanus*, a third time, and *L. Cornelius Maluginensis* were named consuls for the ensuing year. They had scarce entered upon their office, when news was brought to *Rome*, that *Antium* had revolted to the *Volsci*, who, together with the *Æqui*, had taken the field. It fell to *Fabius*'s lot to march against the *Volsci*; and he gained considerable advantages over them,

The Æqui and Volsci defeated

while his collegue was attended with equal success against the *Æqui*, who, after having been defeated in the field with great slaughter, shut themselves up in the city of *Antium*. *Cornelius* laid close siege to the place, took it by storm, and ordered the chief authors of the revolt to be first whipped in the market-place, and then beheaded. The *Æqui*, being disheartened at their repeated losses, had recourse to the clemency d of the senate, who granted them peace, upon the same conditions on which it had been formerly granted to the *Latins*. They were to continue in possession of their cities, lands, and laws, but under the dominion of *Rome*.

Volscius prosecuted.

While the consuls were thus employed in the field, *A. Cornelius* and *Q. Servilius*, both quæstors this year, being men of great probity, began a prosecution against *M. Volscius*, for having bore false witness against *Cæso*. In virtue of the power annexed to their office, they convened an assembly of the people, and produced their evidences, of whom some deposed, that they had seen *Cæso* in the army, on the very day when *Volscius* pretended he killed his brother at *Rome*. Others gave testimony, that *Volscius*'s brother died of a languishing distemper; and that he never stirred out of his e house after he was seized with it. These facts, and many others, were attested by so many persons of unquestionable credit, that there was no room left to doubt of *Volscius*'s malice; but the tribunes, who had suborned *Volscius*, put a stop to this prosecution, declaring, that they would not suffer the suffrages of the people to be gathered upon any affair whatsoever, before the *Terentian* law was determined. The senate, in their turn, made use of the like pretence, declaring, that they would not suffer the *Terentian* law to be proposed, till the business of *Volscius* was determined. These contests were spun out till the return of the consuls, who entered *Rome* in triumph, and soon after resigned the fasces to *C. Nautius* and *L. Minucius*, who were obliged to take the field in the very beginning of their year against the *Volsci*, who had revolted F from the *Romans*, and the *Sabines*, who, with a numerous army, committed great devastations in the *Roman* territory. The latter were routed by the consul *Nautius*, and forced to shut themselves up in their strong-holds. But *Minucius*, by a stratagem

The consul Minucius, and his whole army in great danger.

of *Cluilius* commander of the *Æqui*, being led into a valley, was there hemmed in on all sides, and in danger of being starved into a surrender at discretion. Some horsemen, having found means to make their escape in the dead of the night, carried the news to *Rome*. Whereupon *Quintus Fabius*, governor of the city, immediately dispatched a messenger to the other consul, to inform him of the danger his collegue was in.

[y] Dio. Hal. p. 645. Liv. l. iii. c. 21.

a in. *Nautius* repaired to *Rome* in all haſte; and having aſſembled the ſenate, all the fathers were for having recourſe to the remedy made uſe of in their greateſt calamities, which was, to create a dictator. Accordingly the conſul named *Quinctius Cincinnatus* for that high ſtation, and immediately returned to put himſelf at the head of his army. The governor of *Rome* ſent the conſul's decree to *Quinctius*, who was found, as before, cultivating his ſmall inheritance with his own hands. When he ſaw the deputies with a numerous train of attendants, and twenty-four lictors with their faſces advancing to him, he put on his robe, and going to meet them, What tidings, ſaid he, do you bring from *Rome*? Your country, replied the deputies, being in great danger, ſtands in need of a dictator, and has pitched upon you; you b are the only refuge *Rome* has in her diſtreſs. At theſe words he ſighed, and, tho' ſorry to quit his beloved ſolitude, yet obeyed the orders of the ſenate, and, having put on the habit of his new dignity, ſet out for *Rome*. The ſenate, having notice that he drew near, ſent him a boat, in which he croſſed the *Tiber*, his three ſons, his friends, and the chief men of the ſenate, receiving him at his landing, and conducting him in triumph to his houſe, amidſt the loud acclamations of the people. The next day the dictator named for general of the horſe *L. Tarquitius*. He was a patrician of uncommon valour, but, not having wherewithal to keep a horſe, had till then ſerved in the infantry; but the dictator, who had obſerved his gallantry and conduct in the campaign he had made under him, did juſtice to his merit; and, notwithſtanding his c poverty, raiſed him to that high ſtation. The firſt order *Quinctius* made was, that all the ſhops and tribunals ſhould be ſhut up. Then he commanded all the youth in the city and country to be before ſun-ſet in the *campus Martius*, each with twelve ſtakes and proviſions for five days. He then put himſelf at the head of theſe troops; and, before break of day, arriving at the enemy's camp, viewed their intrenchments, as well as the obſcurity of the night would allow him. He made his ſoldiers, by ſeveral loud ſhouts, give the conſul notice of the arrival of ſuccours. Upon this, the conſular army expreſſing as much joy as the *Æqui* did terror, without waiting for day-light, ran to arms, and fell upon the enemy with another ſhout, which was heard by the dictator's army. The *Æqui* firſt turned their arms againſt *Quinctius*, in d order to prevent him from ſurrounding them; but being called back to repulſe the conſul, *Quinctius* laid hold of that opportunity to fortify his entrenchments with a palliſado made of the ſtakes his men had brought from *Rome*. Theſe entrenchments ſerved at the ſame time to ſhut up the enemy's camp; ſo that the general of the *Æqui*, named *Gracchus Duilius*, found himſelf at day-light in the ſame ſituation to which he had reduced the conſul. Early in the morning the dictator and conſul attacked the enemy's camp at the ſame time with ſuch vigor, that *Duilius*, fearing his camp would be won ſword in hand, had recourſe to negotiation. He ſent deputies to the conſul, who, refuſing to hear them, referred them to the dictator. *Quinctius* having heard their propoſals, which were, to quit their camp and retire without bage gage, arms, or cloaths, replied ſternly, That he did not think their death would be of any ſervice to his republic, and therefore was willing to grant them their lives, but upon condition, that they delivered up to him their general and chief officers, and ſubmitted to paſs every man of them under the yoke, to imprint it deeply in their minds, that the *Æqui* were a nation conquered by the *Romans*. If they refuſed to comply with theſe conditions, he threatened to cut them all in pieces. The *Æqui*, being ſurrounded on all ſides and unable to ſuſtain two attacks at the ſame time; ſubmitted to what conditions the victorious enemy was pleaſed to impoſe upon them. Two javelins were therefore fixed in the ground, and a third laid over them; and under this ſort of gate all the ſoldiers paſſed, naked and unarmed. At the ſame time, f they delivered up to the *Romans* their general and chief officers, who were reſerved to adorn the dictator's triumph. *Quinctius* would not allow the troops of the conſul *Minucius* to have any ſhare of the ſpoil. Cowardly troops, ſaid he to the conſular army, you were almoſt become a prey to the enemy; it is not therefore juſt you ſhould have any ſhare of their riches. As for you, *Minucius*, added he, you muſt learn the art of war in an inferior rank, before you pretend again to command in chief. He then obliged him to lay down his office; which the modeſt conſul was ſo far from reſenting, that he and his troops preſented the dictator with a crown of gold of a pound weight, for having ſaved the lives and honour of his fellow-citizens. *Quinctius*, after this victory, returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph, being attended both by his own and *Minucius*'s army, with garlands of flowers on their heads.

Quinctius Cincinnatus *dictator.*

Relieves the conſul, and makes the Æqui *paſs under the yoke.*

He degrades the conſul Minucius.

heads. Before his chariot were led the enemy's general and a great number of officers in chains, who were the chief ornament of that proceſſion. The dictator, having finiſhed his expedition in leſs than a fortnight's time, was for laying down immediately his office, and retiring to his beloved ſolitude; but his friends prevailed upon him to continue in the dictatorſhip, till *Volſcius*, the accuſer of his ſon *Cæſo*, was brought to his trial. Accordingly he aſſembled the curiæ; and the informer, being convicted of calumny and falſe teſtimony, was, according to the law of retaliation, condemned to perpetual baniſhment, and *Cæſo* recalled home. This done, *Quinctius* abdicated the dictatorſhip, the ſixteenth day after his advancement to it, though he might have held that dignity ſix months [z].

The abdication of the dictator was followed by new diſturbances. *Virginius* was continued a fifth year in the tribuneſhip; *Volſcius* was recalled from baniſhment, and reinſtated in his office; the tribunes revived the diſpute about the *Terentian* law; and at the ſame time the *Æqui*, tho' lately ſubdued, together with the *Sabines*, began to make their uſual inroads and lay waſte the *Roman* territory. The two new conſuls, *C. Horatius* and *Q. Minucius*, were ordered by the ſenate to raiſe troops, and march without delay againſt the enemy; but the tribunes, after their old way, proteſted, that they would not ſuffer one plebeian to give in his name, till the commiſſioners for making a body of laws, according to *Terentius*'s propoſal, were named. An extraordinary aſſembly of the ſenate was therefore ſummoned, to deliberate on the preſent troubles, and *Quinctius Cincinnatus* recalled to make head againſt the tribunes. He was of opinion, that the whole ſenate and the body of the patricians, with their friends and clients, ſhould take arms and haſten into the field. His advice was received with applauſe. Even the oldeſt ſenators repaired immediately to their houſes, took arms, and, attended by their clients and friends, appeared in the forum. The people, who flocked thither from all parts, being moved at this new ſight, the conſul *Horatius* exhorted all good citizens to join thoſe illuſtrious ſenators, who choſe rather to expoſe their lives to the utmoſt dangers, than to ſee *Rome* inſulted by her enemies. *Virginius*, in the name of his collegues and the people, anſwered, That the plebeians would not ſerve, till the *Terentian* law was accepted. Hereupon *Horatius* made a reproachful ſpeech to the curiæ, ſhewing them the diſmal effects, which the ſeditious practices of their tribunes muſt at laſt unavoidably produce. His harangue made a deep impreſſion on the minds of the multitude; which *Virginius* perceiving, thought it adviſeable to conform to the preſent conjuncture. Aſſuming therefore a milder behaviour, he told the conſul, That he was ready to give over oppoſing the levies, nay, that he would himſelf exhort the people to take arms, provided the ſenate would grant them one favour, which would be of great ſervice to them, and no-way detrimental to the authority of the conſcript fathers. The conſul deſired him to ſpeak his mind freely, aſſuring him, that he would find the ſenate ready to comply with any reaſonable requeſt in behalf of the people. Then *Virginius*, having firſt conferred with his collegues, replied, All that the people requeſt of you is, that you will ſuffer the number of the tribunes to be increaſed from five to ten. If you give us a refuſal in an affair of ſo ſmall importance, accuſe yourſelves only of the misfortunes the republic may ſuffer. This unexpected requeſt divided the ſenate. *Caius Claudius* oppoſed it with great warmth, being governed by this hereditary maxim, as we may call it, that all the requeſts of the tribunes ought to be ſuſpected. But *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, conſidering this affair in another light, was for granting the tribunes their requeſt. He thought, that the more numerous the tribunes were, the more eaſy it would be to ſow diviſions among them. The opinion of this great man prevailed, and the ſenate paſſed a decree, giving the people leave to chuſe ten tribunes annually, provided they did not continue the ſame man in office above a year. Purſuant to this decree, the tribes were immediately aſſembled, and two tribunes choſen out of each of the firſt five claſſes. The tribunes being ſatisfied, two armies were raiſed without oppoſition. *Minucius* marched againſt the *Sabines*, who fled before him and retired into their own country. *Horatius* led his troops againſt the *Æqui*, retook *Corbio* and *Orteona*, which they had ſeized; and then both conſuls returned to *Rome*, to preſide in the comitia at the election of their ſucceſſors [a].

The tribunes of the people increaſed to ten.
Year of the flood 2547.
Before Chriſt 452.
Of Rome 296

In the following conſulate of *M. Valerius Lactucinus* and *Sp. Virginius Triceſtus*, the tribunes, grown more audacious than ever by their number, propoſed, that mount *Aventine*,

[z] Dio. Hal. p. 651, 652. Liv. l. ii. c. 28, 29. Flor. l. i. c. 11. Oros. l. ii. c. 12. [a] Dio. Hal. p. 653,—657.

Aventine, or at leaſt ſuch parts of it as lay uncultivated, or were not poſſeſſed by lawful owners, might be yielded to the people, who, being now very numerous, began to want habitations. The conſuls looking upon this new demand as a prelude to the revival of the *Agrarian* law, and therefore deferring to convene the ſenate to debate it, *Icilius*, one of the tribunes, ventured upon an attempt never heard of before. He ſent an officer to them, commanding them to aſſemble the ſenate forthwith, and to repair to it themſelves. The meſſenger was, by the conſuls order, ſoundly beat, and ignominiouſly driven away by one of their lictors. Hereupon the tribunes cauſed the lictor to be ſeized, and ſome of them were for putting him immediately to death, for violating the ſacred privileges of the tribuneſhip in the perſon of their officer. The ſenate, to ſave him, had recourſe to entreaties, but without ſucceſs. They were obliged to come to a compoſition with the tribunes. The lictor was ſet at liberty; but mount *Aventine* was, by a decree of the ſenate, yielded to the people. The ſenate ſoon found, that their compliance with the laſt demands of the people ſerved only to put them upon new pretenſions. *Icilius*, the moſt enterpriſing of the tribunes, formed a deſign to bring the conſuls themſelves under ſubjection. In the conſulate of *T. Romilius* and *C. Veturius*, the tribunes made more noiſe than ever about the *Terentian* law; and the conſuls, knowing the republic would never be quiet at home, till ſhe was engaged in a war abroad, reſolved to revenge the inroads, which the *Sabines* and *Æqui* had made the year before; but, in raiſing levies, they uſed ſo much ſeverity, that the people appealed to their tribunes, who, taking the part of the complainants, endeavoured to reſcue out of the hands of the lictors thoſe, whom the conſuls had ordered to be ſeized, for refuſing to anſwer when called upon. The conſuls advanced to ſupport the execution of their orders; but the tribunes, ſupported by the populace, not only repulſed them, but ordered their ædiles to ſeize thoſe ſovereign magiſtrates and carry them to priſon. So daring an attempt provoked the patricians to ſuch a degree, that they fell upon the tribunes, beat them ſoundly, and forced them to fly, with thoſe who ſtood up for them. The next day the tribunes aſſembled the people anew, and ſummoned the conſuls to appear before their tribunal, and there anſwer for what had happened the day before. The conſuls ſcornfully refuſing to obey the ſummons, the tribunes brought their complaints to the ſenate, and threatened to aſſemble the tribes, in order to judge the conſuls, in caſe they did not appear to juſtify their conduct. The conſul *Romilius* haughtily anſwered, That the tribunes had been the aggreſſors and the ſole authors of the tumult; and proteſted, that, if they were ſo daring as to proceed a ſtep further in this affair, he would arm the whole body of patricians againſt them. The ſenate, thinking it equally dangerous to declare either for the conſuls or the tribunes, broke up, without coming to any reſolution. *Icilius*, finding that nothing was to be expected from the ſenate, convened an aſſembly of the people, in order to ſtir them up to ſome vigorous reſolution. Some of the plebeians were for taking arms, and retiring again to the ſacred mount; others for proceeding againſt the conſuls, and inſiſting upon their appearing before the people, or condemning them to death or baniſhment, in caſe they did not appear; but the moſt moderate adviſed the people to defer all proceedings againſt the conſuls, till their conſulate was expired, and, in the mean time, to proſecute, with the utmoſt rigor, thoſe patricians, who had aſſiſted them in the inſult they had committed on the perſons of the tribunes. Of theſe three different opinions the tribunes choſe to follow the ſecond; and accordingly ſummoned the conſuls to appear the third market-day. This project, however, came to nothing; for *Icilius* declared in the aſſembly of the people, that the college of tribunes, at the entreaties of the ſenate, forgave the conſuls the perſonal injuries they had received from them; but could not neglect the intereſts of the people, and would therefore propoſe both the *Agrarian* and *Terentian* laws to their conſideration. This ſaid, he fixed a day for a new aſſembly to deliberate upon thoſe matters.

A bold attempt of the tribunes.

The conſuls cited before the tribunal of the tribunes.

THE time appointed being come, and the people aſſembled, *Icilius* made a long harangue on the reaſonableneſs of the *Agrarian* law, and then declared, that any plebeian might ſpeak his mind freely. Upon this, many plebeians pleaded the right their ſervices gave them to a ſhare of the conquered lands, and made loud complaints of the patricians, who uſurped what the plebeians had gained with their blood. This was the common complaint of the plebeians; but none repreſented it in ſtronger terms than one *Sicinius*, or, as *Livy* calls him, *Siccius Dentatus*. He was a plebeian about threeſcore years of age; but yet in his full ſtrength and vigor, of a handſome

The tribunes renew their purſuit of the Agrarian *law.*

Sicinius Dentatus pleads for it.

ſhape and mein, and not uneloquent for a man of his profeſſion. He enumerated his exploits in war during forty years ſervice; told the multitude, that he had been in a hundred and twenty engagements, that he had received forty-five wounds, and all before, twelve of them in that ſingle action againſt *Herdonius* the *Sabine*; that for the thirty laſt years he had been always in ſome command or other; that fourteen civic crowns had been given him for ſaving the lives of ſo many citizens, three mural crowns for having been the firſt who mounted the breach in towns taken by ſtorm, eight other crowns for different exploits, eighty-three golden collars, ſixty golden bracelets, eighteen lances, twenty-five ſets of furniture for horſes, nine of which he had won from ſo many enemies conquered in ſingle combats. And theſe military toys, added he, are the only rewards I have hitherto received. No lands, no ſhare of the conquered countries. Uſurpers, without any title but that of a patrician extraction, poſſeſs them. Is this to be endured? Shall they alone enjoy the fruits of our conqueſts: the purchaſe of our blood? No, plebeians, let us delay no longer to do ourſelves juſtice. Let us this very day paſs the law propoſed by *Icilius*. If the young patricians oppoſe it, let our tribunes make them feel what is the extent of their authority. *Icilius* beſtowed the higheſt elogiums on *Dentatus*, but affecting to appear a ſtrict obſerver of the laws, he told him, that he could not with juſtice propoſe the law, till he had heard what the patricians alledged againſt it. Accordingly, he adjourned the aſſembly to the next day. In the mean time, the conſuls, having ſpent great part of the night in conſulting with the chief men of the ſenate, about the proper means to fruſtrate the deſigns of the tribunes, came to the following reſolution, *viz.* to employ the whole art of eloquence to win over the people; but if they continued obſtinately bent upon the publication of the law, in that caſe to hinder by main force the collecting of the votes. This reſolution being imparted to the patricians, they all repaired early in the morning to the forum, and diſperſed themſelves among the multitude in ſmall parties. The conſuls being come, the tribunes cauſed proclamation to be made by a herald, that whoever had any ſolid reaſons to offer againſt the publication of the *Agrarian* law, might lay them before the people. Several ſenators preſented themſelves one after another; but they no ſooner began to ſpeak, than the populace ſet up ſuch a clamour, that it was impoſſible to hear what they ſaid. The conſuls proteſted againſt all that ſhould be done in ſo tumultuous an aſſembly; but the tribunes, without hearkening to their remonſtrances, commanded the urns to be opened, and the tablets to be delivered out to the people, in order to vote. Hereupon the young patricians ſtarting up, ſnatched away the urns, and ſcattered about the tablets, on which the votes were written, and throwing themſelves, at the head of their clients and friends, into the croud, by blows and main force hindered the people from dividing into their reſpective tribes. The tribunes, having attempted in vain to oppoſe the patricians, and keep the people together, were at length obliged to retire, and defer the promulgation of the law to another day. Early next morning, the tribunes aſſembled the people, and having demanded and obtained permiſſion of the aſſembly to inquire after the authors of the late diſorder, they reſolved to turn the whole accuſation againſt the youth of the *Poſthumian*, *Sempronian*, and *Clelian* families, who had been the moſt active in the fray. It was then cuſtomary in *Rome* to determine what puniſhment the accuſed deſerved, in caſe he was convicted, before his crime was reported to the people. The tribunes therefore having aſſembled a certain number of the moſt conſiderable citizens, to determine the puniſhment they ſhould inflict upon the ring-leaders of the tumult, ſome voted for death, others for baniſhment; but *Sicinius* was for the leaſt puniſhment the laws enjoined, *viz.* the confiſcation of their effects; and his opinion prevailed. The chief men of the ſenate, having conſulted together on this occaſion, thought it adviſeable not to oppoſe the proſecution, hoping that the multitude, ſatisfied with this revenge, would drop the more important affair of the law. As for the loſs of the ſufferers, they reſolved to repair it at their private charges. Accordingly, when the day came for the trial, the perſons accuſed, not appearing, were condemned in a fine for default, and their goods publicly ſold to pay it. But the ſenate cauſed them to be bought up by private hands, and reſtored to the former proprietors [b].

The patricians oppoſe by force the paſſing of the law.

The Æqui invade the territory of Tuſculum.

During theſe contentions, news was brought, that the *Æqui* had made an irruption into the territory of the *Tuſculans*, who were in alliance with *Rome*. The ſenate immediately

[b] Dio. Hal. p. 662—668. Liv. l. iii. c. 31.

a immediately decreed, that the conſuls ſhould take the field and march to the aſſiſtance of thoſe faithful allies. The tribunes did not fail to lay hold of this opportunity to raiſe new diſturbances about the *Agrarian* law, proteſting, that they would not ſuffer the plebeians to take arms, till the law was paſſed. But herein they were not ſeconded by the people, who, remembering the aſſiſtance they had received from *Tuſculum* againſt *Herdonius*, readily gave in their names; ſo that two armies were immediately raiſed. *Sicinius Dentatus* was one of the firſt who joined the conſuls, at the head of eight hundred veterans as brave as himſelf, who had all ſerved the time preſcribed by law, but yet were willing to make one campaign more under the command of ſo famous a leader. The conſuls marched out of *Rome* in great ſtate; but the

b *Æqui*, on the news of their approach, retired to their own frontiers, and incamped on a ſteep rock. The *Romans* pitched their camp not far from the enemy, and kept cloſe within it to conceal their ſtrength, and by that means encourage the enemy to offer them battle. Accordingly, the *Æqui*, imagining the number of the *Romans* to be very ſmall, went down into the plain, and there challenged the *Romans* to an engagement. The conſul *Romilius*, who commanded that day in chief, ſeeing the enemy thus confirmed in their falſe confidence, reſolved to give them battle in the plain, and at the ſame time to attack their camp on the hill. With this view he ſent for *Sicinius*, and either out of eſteem for ſo valiant a commander, or, what is moſt likely, with a deſign to expoſe him and his veterans, who were all plebeians, to be cut

c in pieces, gave him the charge of attacking the enemy's camp. *Sicinius*, being well appriſed of the danger of ſo deſperate an attempt, gave the conſul this reſpectful anſwer. I never yet declined any dangerous enterpriſe out of fear: but give me leave to repreſent to you, that the execution of what you command, is not ſo eaſy as you ſeem to imagine it. The rock we muſt climb up is very ſteep on all ſides, and not acceſſible, but by a narrow way, which an handful of men may defend againſt a whole army. If you will have me therefore to make this attack, inlarge my troop, and put us in a condition to ſhew our bravery without diſhonouring ourſelves by a raſh attempt. At theſe words, the conſul told him in great anger, that his buſineſs was to obey, and not to act the general; and then added, with a ſcornful ſmile, this then

d is the brave man who has ſignaliſed himſelf in an hundred and twenty battles, who has been forty years in the ſervice, and whoſe whole body is covered over with wounds! He draws back at the ſight of danger, and has no courage, but in words. Go, *Sicinius*, go to the comitia, and fight the patricians with your tongue. What you refuſe to undertake, others ſhall put in execution for you. The brave plebeian, inraged at the general's reproaches, told him boldly, that he found he was reſolved either to deſtroy an old ſoldier, or to ſhame him; that he had been always ready to ſacrifice his life for his honour, and therefore would now march up to the enemy's camp, and either win it, or fall in the attempt, with all the veterans under his command. Then turning to them, my dear fellow-ſoldiers, ſaid he, let us go whitherſoever honour and

e the command of our general call us. You will bear me witneſs after my death, that I was deſtroyed only for having defended with zeal the public liberty. His veterans took their leave of the reſt of the ſoldiers, who looked upon them as men ſent to ſlaughter. But *Sicinius*, who underſtood the art of war better than the conſul, inſtead of following the narrow path, which he had pointed out to him, led his men round about, and at length entered a great wood, that ſeemed to ſtretch along the hills quite to the enemy's camp. There he met with a peaſant, who conducted him to an eminence, which overlooked the enemy's camp, and was not far from it. From thence he had a ſight of the two armies, which were already engaged, and at the ſame time obſerved, that the ſoldiers, who were left to guard the enemy's camp,

f were all gone to that ſide, which were next the plain, to ſee from thence the battle. In this juncture *Sicinius*, with his veterans, entering the intrenchments without oppoſition, ordered his men to give a loud ſhout, and at the ſame time falling upon the *Æqui*, whoſe eyes were turned another way, ſtruck them with ſuch terror, that they abandoned the camp, and fled in the utmoſt confuſion to the main body of their army. *Sicinius* purſued them cloſe, made a great ſlaughter of them by the way, and then falling upon the rear of the main body, which was engaged with the *Romans*, quickly put an end to the conflict. The *Æqui* betook themſelves to flight, and the conſuls, following them, killed above ſeven thouſand men in the purſuit. *Sicinius*, as ſoon as it was dark, retired with his veterans to the camp he had taken from the enemy, and having there put to the ſword all the priſoners, killed the horſes, and ſet fire to the

The gallant behaviour of Sicinius Dentatus.

The Æqui *are routed by the* Romans.

the tents, arms, and baggage, marched with all poſſible expedition to *Rome*, with his victorious cohort, and gave an account to the tribunes of what had paſſed, begging that the honours of a triumph might not be allowed to generals who had abuſed their authority to deſtroy their fellow-citizens. The people, full of indignation, promiſed they would never conſent, that the conſuls ſhould have a triumph, and accordingly, when the generals returned from the campaign, the multitude refuſed to let them enter the city with the uſual pomp on ſuch occaſions. The ſenate, fearing ſome new commotions, did not think proper to eſpouſe the conſuls cauſe, ſo that they returned without honour, and loaded with freſh odium.

THE two conſuls had no ſooner reſigned the faſces to their ſucceſſors, *Sp. Tarpeius* and *A. Æternius*, but they were cited before the aſſembly of the people. *Sicinius*, whom the people had raiſed to the tribuneſhip, took upon him the management of the proſecution againſt his enemy *Romilius*, whilſt *Allienus*, one of the ædiles, accuſed *Veturius*. On the day appointed for their trial, they both appeared, depending on the promiſes the patricians had made them, which were not to ſuffer the ſuffrages of the people to be gathered. But *Sicinius* took ſuch meaſures to prevent the young patricians from raiſing any diſturbances, that they were both regularly tried for having offered violence to the tribunes, and diſturbed them in the execution of their office, and beſides, for abuſing their authority in the army, in order to deſtroy *Sicinius* and the eight hundred veterans of his cohort. The people fined them both, *Romilius* in ten thouſand aſſes, and *Veturius* in fifteen thouſand. Hiſtory has not told us, why the people made this difference in their fines; *Veturius* ſeems to have been leſs guilty than his collegue, and yet his fine was one-third larger. Perhaps *Sicinius*, ſatisfied with humbling his adverſary, did not care to reduce him to poverty.

The laſt year's conſuls tried by the people, and fined.

UNDER this year's conſuls, a law was made, with the conſent of all orders in the ſtate, impowering any magiſtrate to lay a fine upon ſuch as ſhould be wanting in reſpect to his dignity; a prerogative reſerved before to the conſuls only. This new regulation raiſed the authority of the tribunes, and put them almoſt upon a level with the conſuls. However, to prevent any particular magiſtrate from abuſing his authority in this point, it was provided by the ſame law, that the higheſt fine for ſuch crimes ſhould never exceed the value of two oxen and thirty ſheep [c].

THE tribunes, finding they could not by any means bring the conſuls to hear of the *Agrarian* law, returned to the purſuit of the *Terentian*. The ſenate, to put an end to the continual conteſts between them and the people, which they foreſaw would at length make *Rome* become a prey to her enemies, began to hearken to the tribunes propoſal, and declared, that they would not oppoſe the drawing up a body of laws, which ſhould be a guide to the magiſtrates, provided all the legiſlators were choſen out of the nobility. On the other hand, the tribunes were for having them choſen partly out of the nobility, and partly out of the plebeians. On this occaſion, *Romilius*, to the great ſurpriſe of both parties, declared with great warmth for the eſtabliſhment of fixed laws, and at the ſame time propoſed the ſending of deputies to *Athens*, to tranſcribe the laws of *Solon* and of the other law-givers of *Greece*, in order to form thereby a body of *Roman* laws, which ſhould be the rule for magiſtrates in all the parts of their adminiſtration. The opinion of *Romilius* was followed by the two conſuls and a great majority of the ſenators. But before the decree paſſed, the tribune *Sicinius* roſe up and beſtowed great encomiums on *Romilius*, proteſting, that for the future he ſhould ever be his friend. Nay, he went further; and as *Romilius* had not yet paid the fine, the tribune declared, that he remitted it in the name of the people. But as fines, according to the cuſtom of thoſe days, were always applied to religious uſes, *Romilius* rejected this favour, proteſting, that he would not defraud the gods of the money which belonged to them. A decree, conformable to *Romilius*'s propoſal, being paſſed by the ſenate and confirmed by the people, *Sp. Poſthumius*, *S. Sulpicius*, and *A. Manlius*, were appointed to repair to *Greece*, and there collect the beſt laws and inſtitutions of the *Greek* cities, eſpecially of *Athens*. The quæſtors ordered ſome gallies to be fitted out and magnificently adorned, to give the *Greeks* an advantagious opinion of the *Roman* republic, with which they were yet intirely unacquainted. On board theſe gallies the deputies ſet out, leaving *Rome* in the enjoyment of a profound peace, which laſted all this year and the following, when *P. Horatius* and *Sextus Quintilius* were conſuls; but almoſt all *Italy* was afflicted with a plague, which ſwept away great numbers of citizens at *Rome*, amongſt others the conſul

The tribunes reſume the purſuit of the Terentian *law.*

Which at length paſſes.

[c] Idem, p. 674. LIV. l. iii. c. 31.

a consul *Quintilius*, *Sp. Furius*, who had been named to succeed him, *Servius Cornelius*, the high-prieſt of *Jupiter*, the augur *Horatius Pulvillus*, four tribunes of the people, and the beſt part of the ſenators. The next year, *P. Seſtius* and *T. Menenius* being conſuls, the plague ceaſed, and the deputies, who had been ſent into *Greece*, returned home. Upon their return, the people preſſed the nomination of the ten commiſſioners or decemvirs for the great work of drawing up a body of laws. But the conſuls *Seſtius* and *Menenius*, being averſe to the whole deſign, put off the election under various pretences. At firſt they alledged in excuſe of their delay, that their ſucceſſors, in whoſe conſulate this great affair was to be ſettled, ought to be previouſly elected. This haſtened the election of the new conſuls, and *Appius Claudius* and *T. Genucius*,
b were choſen before the uſual time. *Appius* was the ſon of that *Appius* who killed himſelf, and grandſon of the firſt *Appius*. All the patricians gave him their ſuffrages, hoping he would be no leſs zealous for the power of the ſenate than his anceſtors. After this election of magiſtrates for the next year, the tribunes applied themſelves anew to the preſent conſuls for the nomination of the decemvirs. But *Menenius*, pretending to be out of order, kept at home, and *Seſtius* declared, that he would not act in ſo great an affair without his collegue. Hereupon the tribunes applied themſelves to the conſuls elect. It then evidently appeared, that the *Roman* conſtancy, and zeal of the moſt rigid patricians, for the intereſts of their body, was nothing elſe but a refined ambition. For *Appius Claudius*, who had hitherto valued himſelf on his immoveable
c attachment to the party of the nobility, and ſeemed to have derived it with his blood from his anceſtors, changed all at once, and joined with the tribunes, in order to get the decemvirs appointed. His collegue *Genucius* followed his example, but with more moderation. *Appius* publickly undertook the defence of the popular faction, and, at the inſtigation of the tribunes, made an harangue in their favour in a general aſſembly of the people. He there publicly declared, that the nomination of the decemvirs ought to be deferred no longer, and added, that if the election of himſelf and his collegue to the conſulate was thought to be of any hindrance to it, they were both ready to relinquiſh their pretenſions to that dignity. *Appius* had in this his private views; he expected, that, by the favour of the tribunes, he ſhould be placed at the
d head of the decemvirs, and by that means have a more abſolute authority, than if he had continued conſul. The next ſtep was to bring the affair before the ſenate. *Menenius* ſtill pretended ſickneſs and ſtayed at home; but *Seſtius* was at length prevailed upon by *Appius* and *Genucius* to aſſemble the conſcript fathers, and propoſe the nomination of thoſe new magiſtrates, which did not paſs without ſome oppoſition. The patricians did not find their account in eſtabliſhing theſe laws, the authority of the conſuls being much greater, while they continued to determine cauſes in an arbitrary manner. Many therefore among the ſenators were for adhering to the antient cuſtoms, and rejecting all changes in the government of the ſtate. But *Appius*, who had a ſtrong party in the aſſembly, maintained on the contrary, that it was highly reaſonable that
e laws ſhould be eſtabliſhed, equally binding all citizens, and equally favourable to all; adding, that ſuch an eſtabliſhment would put an end to the domeſtic feuds, which had ſo long divided *Rome*, as it were, into two cities. The opinion of *Appius* prevailed, and it was reſolved, that ten men, venerable for their age and wiſdom, ſhould be choſen to compile a body of laws out of thoſe that had been brought from *Greece*. It was likewiſe decreed, that theſe commiſſioners ſhould for one whole year be inveſted with the ſovereign power, that the authority of conſuls, tribunes, ædiles, and quæſtors ſhould ceaſe; that there ſhould be no appeal from the decemvirs; and laſtly, that, during their adminiſtration, they ſhould be the ſole judges of peace and war, and of all matters of juſtice. This is the firſt inſtance of ſuſpending the tribuneſhip,
f which, as the tribunes were not properly magiſtrates, had hitherto been always preſerved even under the dictators. But when the ten commiſſioners came to be choſen, a new difficulty aroſe. The tribunes demanded, as they had done before, that ſome plebeians ſhould be let into the commiſſion; but the ſenate oppoſing with great unanimity this pretenſion, the tribunes, yielded, for fear the nomination of the decemvirs ſhould be dropt intirely; but upon condition, that no alteration ſhould be made by the decemvirs in two laws favourable to the people, *viz.* the *Icilian*, which gave the people ground to build upon on the *Aventine*, and that of the *Mons ſacer*, by which the tribunes were appointed to defend and protect the people againſt the oppreſſions of the patricians. Theſe two articles being agreed upon, a ſolemn aſſembly was held of
g the whole *Roman* people convened by centuries, and the auſpices being taken, they

The conſul Appius Claudius *joins the tribunes.*

proceeded to the election of the decemvirs. *Appius Claudius* and his collegue *T. Genucius* were the firſt named. To them were added *Seſtius* the conſul, who had laid this matter before the ſenate againſt his collegue's will; *Sp. Poſthumius*, *S. Sulpicius*, and *A. Manlius*, who had brought the laws from *Greece*; *T. Romilius*, the firſt who propoſed that deputation; *C. Julius*, *T. Veturius*, and *P. Horatius*, all conſulars and men of great diſtinction. This was almoſt as remarkable a revolution in the government of *Rome*, as that from kings to conſuls. Nothing could be more moderate and gentle than the beginning of this joint reign, as we may ſtyle it, of the decemvirs. They agreed among themſelves, that only one of them at a time ſhould have the faſces and the other conſular ornaments aſſemble the ſenate, confirm decrees, &c. To this honour they were to ſucceed by turns, each enjoying it one whole day, and then reſigning it to another. The reſt who were not actually exerciſing their authority, affected no diſtinction but that of guards, their habits differing very little from thoſe of the other ſenators. They repaired every morning, each in his turn to their tribunal in the forum, and there diſtributed juſtice with ſo much impartiality, that the people charmed with their conduct, ſeemed to have quite forgot their tribunes. *Appius* was the moſt popular of them all. He, who was formerly a ſevere and inflexible magiſtrate, was now all affability and complaiſance. He knew moſt of the citizens by their names, received them with reſpect, and ſaluted them with great marks of affection; inſomuch, that, from being the deteſtation, he became the idol of the people, and was looked upon as a ſecond *Poplicola*. Before the end of the year, each of the decemvirs preſented to the people that part of the laws which he had drawn up. They were aſſiſted by one *Hermodorus*, baniſhed from *Epheſus*, his native city, and then accidentally at *Rome*, in underſtanding the *Greek* tranſcripts brought from *Athens*. We are told, that *Heraclitus*, one of *Hermodorus*'s friends wrote him a congratulatory letter on the pains he had taken in drawing up the *Roman* laws; adding, that in a dream he had ſeen all the nations of the earth bowing down before their laws and worſhipping them after the *Perſian* manner [d]. When the whole work was compleated, the decemvirs aſſembled the people, and harangued them with the following words; May the gods grant, that what we now preſent to you, *Romans*, may be equally agreeable to you, and advantagious to the republic, to you and your remote poſterity! go, read the laws we have drawn up. We have uſed all the care and attention poſſible. But, after all, a whole nation muſt ſee further than any ten perſons. Examine our laws therefore in private, make them the ſubject of your public converſation; conſer upon them among yourſelves, and conſult with one another what ought to be taken from them, and what may be added to them. Nothing that we have drawn up ſhall have the force of a law, till it is received with univerſal conſent. Be you, *Romans*, rather the authors, than barely the approvers, of laws, which are to eſtabliſh order and regularity, and to be the main foundation of the happineſs both of the ſenate and people. A diſcourſe ſo modeſt and candid was heard with great applauſe. Immediately the laws were cut in ten tables of oak, fixed up in the forum, and all who came to ſtart any difficulties about them, well received and readily heard. When all neceſſary corrections and amendments had been made, the ten tables were carried before the ſenate, where they met with no oppoſition; ſo that a decree was paſſed for convening the centuries or their ratification. This aſſembly was ſoon after held, and the auſpices being ſolemnly taken, the laws were firſt confirmed by the unanimous voices of the whole *Roman* people, and then tranſcribed on pillars of braſs, and ranged in order in the forum, as the foundation of all judicial determinations, with regard both to public and private affairs [e].

Decemvirs *created for making new laws.* *Year after the flood* 2553. *Before Chriſt* 446. *Of* Rome 302.

The decemvirs propoſe the ten tables of laws.

As many eminent men in the republic were of opinion, that ſeveral regulations, which would fill two other tables, were neceſſary to be added to the ten already eſtabliſhed, the continuation of the decemviral government for one year more was propoſed in a general aſſembly of the people, and approved of by the ſenate and people, with equal readineſs, but for different reaſons. The ſenators were glad at any rate to get rid of the tribunes; and the people extremely deſirous to keep back the reſtoration of the conſular dignity. Never was any office ſo much ſolicited by the graveſt and wiſeſt ſenators, as the decemvirate at this time. Thoſe patricians, who were formerly the moſt declared enemies of the people, and who ſcorned to canvas for public offices, were now wholly taken up in flattering and courting the meaneſt of

The decemviral government continued for one year more.

[d] Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 3. Strab. l. xiv. [e] Dio. Hal. p. 680—683. Liv. l. iii. c. 33, 34.

a of the citizens. *Appius*, though a decemvir, forgetting his dignity, debaſed himſelf more than any of the candidates. He was perpetually ſeen in public places in company with thoſe who had been formerly tribunes, and whom he knew to be agreeable to the people. By their means he recommended himſelf to the multitude, for they were continually boaſting of him to the populace, as the author of the happineſs they enjoyed under the mild government of the decemvirs. But *Appius* himſelf, when aſked by the patricians, whether he deſired to be continued in his office for the next year, affected to diſlike it, and was continually talking of the uneaſineſs that attends public employments. But his collegues ſaw into his deſigns, and wiſely formed their judgment of him by his actions, and not his words. They obſerved, that he abuſed *The ambitious views of Appius.*

b the regard the people had for him to leſſen the moſt venerable ſenators in the eſteem of the people; that he excluded all men of known merit and ſteadineſs from ſtanding at the approaching election, by artfully defaming them among the multitude; that contrary to the pride of the *Claudian* family, he affected great affability and moderation, &c. All this gave great uneaſineſs to his competitors, and rendered him ſuſpicious to his collegues. Theſe latter therefore formed a deſign to diſappoint him. When the time of the comitia for the creation of the new decemvirs drew near, they appointed *Appius* to preſide in them; for the preſident in theſe aſſemblies propoſed to the people the perſons who ſtood for the office in queſtion, and it had never yet been known, that any one had nominated himſelf. But *Appius*, contrary to all the rules of decency, *Second decemvirate.*

c propoſed himſelf for the firſt decemvir; and the people who were now intirely devoted to him, readily gave him their ſuffrages. The other perſons he named were all men at his devotion, and ſuch as he favoured. The firſt of the number was *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, who had been three times conſul, a patrician indeed of a character hitherto unblameable. After him were choſen five other patricians, viz. *M. Cornelius*, *M. Sergius*, *L. Minucius*. *T. Antonius*, and *M. Rabuleius*, all men little eſteemed in their own body, but in great favour with *Appius*. But what moſt ſurpriſed the ſenate was, that *Appius* out of complaiſance to the people, propoſed three plebeians for the decemviral dignity, viz. *Q. Petilius*, *Cæſo Duilius*, and *Sp. Oppius*. Theſe, though excluded by ther birth, and by a late agreement between the patricians and

d plebeians from this ſupreme magiſtracy, were by a plurality of voices added to the number of the decemvirs. Several men of known probity and moderation had offered themſelves for candidates, only to exclude thoſe, whoſe behaviour gave them cauſe to ſuſpect them of ſome ill deſigns, namely *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *Caius Claudius*, uncle to *Appius*. But theſe *Appius*, who preſided at the election, did not ſo much as name, leſt the people who were well acquainted with their merit, ſhould prefer them to his creatures [1].

And now *Claudius*, ſeeing himſelf once more at the head of the decemvirs, threw off the maſk, and turned his thoughts wholly on making his denomination perpetual. As he governed his collegues with abſolute ſway before they began to exerciſe their office, he inſpired them with his own ſentiments. They had private meetings every day to deliberate about the moſt proper means of perpetuating themſelves in that dignity. Above all things they thought it neceſſary, and agreed to keep up a good underſtanding with one another. *Appius*, at their head, directed all their proceedings, and told them what they were to do. From that time they appeared reſerved and myſterious, ſuffered few perſons to come near them, and had no intercourſe but with thoſe of their own body. This cloſe union and confederacy of ambitious men made the ſenate apprehenſive, that the decemvirs for the enſuing year would behave themſelves very differently from their predeceſſors. When the ides of *May* came, and the new decemvirs made their firſt appearance, the *Romans* were greatly ſurpriſed to ſee each decemvir appear in the forum, early in the morning, with twelve lictors bearing axes among their faſces, like thoſe that were antiently carried before the kings, and afterwards before the dictator; ſo that the forum was filled with an hundred and twenty lictors. This was a dreadful ſight to *Rome*, the people prognoſticating from thence, that this would be a year of tyranny and injuſtice. And they were ſoon made ſenſible, that their fears were not groundleſs. The decemvirs began to reign imperiouſly, and with a deſpotic power. They were always ſurrounded, not only by the numerous train of their lictors, but alſo by a crowd of deſperate men, loaded with debts and guilty of the blackeſt crimes. Many of the young patricians, preferring licentiouſ-

The decemvirs reſolve to perpetuate themſelves in that government.

And reign imperiouſly.

[1] Idem ibid.

licentiouſneſs to liberty, made their court to them in the moſt abject manner, in order a
to ſcreen themſelves from juſtice, and eſcape by their favour the puniſhment due to
their crimes. No man's life or property was any longer ſafe. The young patri-
cians, ſupporters of the ten tyrants were not aſhamed upon the moſt frivolous pre-
tences to take poſſeſſion of their neighbours eſtates; and when application was made to
the decemvirs for redreſs, the complainants were treated with contempt, and their
complaints rejected. An inconſiderate word, or an expreſſion of concern at the remem-
brance of their antient liberty, was a capital crime. Some of the chief citizens were
beaten with rods for complaining of the preſent adminiſtration; others were baniſhed,
and ſome even put to death, and their gods confiſcated. The new tyrants vented
their fury chiefly upon the people, treating them more like ſlaves than *Roman* citizens. b
As for the patricians, moſt of them, dreading the tyranny of the decemvirs, gave way
to the ſtorm, and retired into the country for the remaining part of the year. They
hoped, that the tempeſt would ceaſe with the annual power of the decemvirs. In the
mean time, the ides of *May*, the time fixed for holding the comitia, in order to elect
new magiſtrates, drew near; but the decemvirs inſtead of aſſembling the people,
Two new tables of laws added to the ten. propoſed two new tables of laws, the firſt relating to religion and the worſhip of the
gods, the ſecond to marriages and the right of huſbands. Theſe made up the number
of the twelve tables ſo much ſpoke of, which the *Romans* preſerved ever after as a
ſacred depoſitum. Notwithſtanding the hatred the public bore to the decemvirs,
they found little to object to their laws. The laſt only forbidding patricians and ple- c
beians to intermarry, ſeemed an artful invention of the tyrants to keep the two parties
always divided, that they might reign with more ſecurity. In the mean time, the ides
of *May* paſſed, and not a word of any comitia for an election of new magiſtrates. The
tyrants then ſhewed themſelves bare-faced, and, in ſpite both of the ſenate and people,
retained their power, without any other title but poſſeſſion and violence. All who gave
them the leaſt umbrage were preſcribed; and many worthy citizens, retiring volun-
The tyrannical government of the decemvirs. tarily from their country, took refuge among the *Latins* and *Hernici*. The people,
groaning under ſo cruel a tyranny, caſt their eyes upon the ſenate, as their only refuge.
But the ſenators, inſtead of comforting them, took an ill-natured pleaſure in ſeeing
them oppreſſed, and bearing a great ſhare in the misfortunes they had occaſioned. d
When any plebeian complained to them, they maliciouſly referred him to *Claudius*,
that idol, whom they had ſet up, and preferred to ſo many illuſtrious defenders of their
country. *C. Claudius*, greatly concerned to ſee his nephew become the tyrant of his
country, went ſeveral times to his houſe, with an intention to reprove him, and put him
in mind of the glorious examples left him by his anceſtors. But *Appius*, gueſſing at
the errand he came upon, conſtantly eluded him, having ordered his attendants to
admit none, but the ſupporters and partners of his tyranny.

In the mean time, the *Sabines* and *Æqui*, hearing of the weak condition of the
republic, and diſdaining to live ſubject to a city which had loſt her own liberty, in-
vaded the *Roman* territory, and advanced within a few miles of *Rome*. This unex- e
pected invaſion alarmed the decemvirs. It was neceſſary to make head againſt the
enemy; but the difficulty was how to raiſe an army, when the people were diſſatisfied
with their governors. In this perplexity, the decemvirs reſolved to aſſemble the ſenate,
and endeavour to prevail with the conſcript fathers to interpoſe their authority, and
make a decree for legal levies. The people were ſurpriſed to hear a proclamation made
They convene the ſenate to obtain a decree for the levying of troops. in the forum for the ſenators to meet. We are indebted, ſaid they, to our enemies for
the appearance of this ſingle ſpark of our antient liberty. But when the decemvirs
repaired to the ſenate, they found no-body there but their own creatures. The others
had retired to their country ſeats; and thither the decemvirs ſent meſſengers, ſum- f
moning them to appear on a day appointed. Moſt of them obeyed the ſummons, and
returned to *Rome*, but with views very different from thoſe of the uſurpers. *Appius*,
in a ſtudied harangue, repreſented the danger which threatened the republic from the
Sabines and the *Æqui*, and deſired a decree for levies without delay. He had ſcarce
finiſhed, when *L. Valerius Potitus* roſe up to ſpeak, without waiting till it came to his
turn. He was the grandſon of the famous *Valerius Poplicola*, and ſon of that *Valerius*,
who was ſlain at the head of the *Romans* fighting againſt *Herdonius* the *Sabine*. *Appius*,
apprehending he was going to propoſe ſomething contrary to the intereſt of the decem-
L. Valerius *oppoſes the decemvirs.* virs, ſternly commanded him to ſit down and hold his peace, till ſenators, older than
himſelf and more conſiderable in the republic, had declared their opinions. But the
brave *Valerius*, deſpiſing his command, complained of his pride and inſolence, in 3
preſuming

a presuming to impose silence upon a senator standing up for the liberty of the commonwealth, laid open the conspiracy they had all formed against the republic; and lastly, called upon *Fabius*, one of the decemvirs, as a man of justice and probity, to undertake the defence of his oppressed country, telling him, that on him chiefly the senate turned its eyes. *Fabius*, overwhelmed with shame and confusion, did not answer. But *Appius* and the other decemvirs, starting up from their seats in a great rage, surrounded *Valerius*, and obliged him to hold his peace. Such an extraordinary proceeding raised a tumult in the assembly, most of the senators being highly provoked at the haughty behaviour of the decemvirs, but no body more than *M. Horatius Barbatus*, the grandson of that *Horatius* who had been consul with *Poplicola*. As he was b an intimate friend of *Valerius*, and animated with the same zeal for liberty, he could no longer bear the insolence of *Appius* and his collegues; but, standing up, called them the *Tarquins* and *tyrants* of their country. What hinders us, said he, from immediately executing the same vengeance on the new *Tarquins*, which our ancestors did on the former *tyrants?* To restore liberty to *Rome* is an hereditary honour in the families of the *Valerii* and *Horatii*. It is not the name of king that makes a tyrant, *&c.* He was going on, when the decemvirs, surrounding him, drowned his voice with their clamours, threatning to have him thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock, if he did not instantly hold his peace. But when they perceived, that the senate in general expressed an uncommon resentment at their tyrannical proceedings, they repented of c having imposed silence upon those who had a mind to speak. *Appius* their chief, as soon as the tumult was appeased, declared to the assembly, that it was not the intention of the decemvirs to hinder by any violence the conscript fathers from delivering their opinions; but that it was necessary to conform to the ordinary method, which was, that every one should speak in his turn, and confine himself to the matter in hand. He added, that whatever *Horatius* might imagine to the contrary, the commission of the decemvirs was limited to no period but that of the establishment of the laws; that they would not lay down their office till the twelve tables were settled in due form, and that then they would give an account of their administration. But, till that be done, continued he, we will steadily maintain and execute the offices of d consuls and tribunes, which are united in us. Then turning to his uncle *C. Claudius*, he desired him to speak his mind with freedom concerning the levies. But he, without confining himself to that subject, in a long harangue imputed all the misfortunes of the state to the usurpation and tyranny of the decemvirs, exhorted the senators to insist on their being deposed, and in a very pathetic strain urged his nephew to abdicate an authority, which was become intolerable to a free people. *Appius* disdained to give his uncle an answer; but *M. Cornelius*, one of his collegues, spoke for him, and applying himself directly to *C. Claudius*, We don't want your advice, said he, to direct our conduct; if you want to give particular counsels to your nephew, go to his house: the only affair in question here is the war with the *Sabines* and *Æqui*: tell us e in plain terms your opinion concerning the levies. *Claudius* rose up a second time, and, turning to the senate, since my nephew, said he, will not condescend to speak to me, either in his own house or in full senate, and I am so unhappy as to see the tyrant of my country arise out of my own family, I declare, conscript fathers, that I am resolved to retire to *Regillus*. I banish myself from *Rome*, and make an oath never to enter it again, but with our liberty. However, to fulfil the obligation I lie under of giving my opinion with relation to the present business, I am for coming to no determination concerning the levies, till consuls are chosen to lead them. His opinion was followed by *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *L. Lucretius*, all consular persons, and by the chief men in the senate. When it came to *L. Cornelius*'s turn to f speak, he, in a harangue, which he had concerted before-hand with his brother *M. Cornelius*, one of the decemvirs, imputed the enmity of the old senators against the decemvirate to envy and private resentment, for having been themselves disappointed in the pursuit of that office; urged the unreasonableness of losing time in disputes about new magistrates, when the enemy was almost at the gates of *Rome*, and represented, that it was impossible to come to a new election in less time than twenty-seven days, during which time the city might be besieged and reduced to the utmost extremity. His speech was highly applauded by the creatures of the decemvirs; and even some of the oldest senators were for granting levies, hoping, that when the war was finished, the abdication of the decemvirs would quietly follow of course, and the g government return naturally into the hands of the consuls. *Appius*, seeing with great

And is seconded by M. Horatius Barbatus.

Claudius *uncle to the decemvir* Appius *retires from* Rome.

The decemvirs are allowed to raiſe levies.

pleaſure that the majority were for granting him and his collegues a power to raiſe levies, aſked, for form ſake, the opinion of *Valerius*, on whom he had impoſed ſilence in the beginning of the aſſembly. *Valerius*, riſing up, propoſed the creating a dictator, an expedient which had been ſo ſucceſsfully practiſed on many occaſions. All the ſenators who ſpoke after *Valerius*, declared for this motion, as did alſo many of thoſe who had before voted for the continuation of the decemvirate. A warm diſpute hereupon aroſe with much clamour and tumult. *Appius*, taking advantage of the diſorder, ſtept forth into the midſt of the aſſembly, and cried out aloud, that the ſuffrages had been gathered, and that the opinion of *Cornelius* had prevailed. He then ordered the decree of the ſenate, which he had brought with him ready drawn up, and which impowered the decemvirs to raiſe troops, to be read in the aſſembly, and immediately diſmiſſing the ſenators withdrew [g]. b

The authority of the decemvirs being now become more formidable than ever, the moſt timorous among the citizens became as ſubmiſſive and complying as the tyrants could wiſh; others ſought an aſylum in the country, or among the neighbouring nations. *Appius*, inraged to ſee the beſt men in the republic abandon the city out of hatred to his government, placed guards at all the gates to prevent their eſcape. But, finding that this precaution only increaſed the number of the malecontents, and fearing a general revolt, he removed the guard, and left every one free to retire. But to be revenged on thoſe who withdrew; he confiſcated their effects, or beſtowed them on his ruffians and partiſans. As for *Valerius* and *Horatius*, they ſtaid at *Rome*, c and, having gathered together in their houſes a great number of their clients and friends, to ſecure them againſt the violence of the decemvirs, held private aſſemblies to concert meaſures for reſtoring liberty to the commonwealth. In the mean time, the decemvirs raiſed ten legions, the people, deſtitute of their tribunes, being forced to liſt themſelves. *Q. Fabius*, with two other decemvirs, *Q. Petilius* and *M. Rabuleius*, marched againſt the *Sabines* at the head of three legions, *M. Cornelius*, *L. Minucius*, *M. Sergius*, *T. Antonius*, and *C. Duilius*, all decemvirs, led five legions againſt the *Æqui*. *Appius* and *Oppius* remained with two legions in the city to keep in awe the domeſtic enemy, more formidable to him than the *Sabines* and *Æqui*. The people of whom the

The Roman *ſoldiers ſuffer the* Æqui *to gain great advantages over them.*

legions were compoſed, regretting the loſs of their liberty, would not conquer, but d ſuffered the enemy to gain great advantages over them, and at laſt, feigning a ſudden fright, diſperſed in the night and returned into the *Roman* territory. *Appius* did not fail to ſend recruits and proviſions to his collegues, exhorting them to keep the ſoldiers in awe by the terror of puniſhments, or in caſe that was dangerous, to deſtroy by private ways the moſt mutinous, and he himſelf ſet them an example. The famous *Sicinius Dentatus*, of whom we have ſpoke above, being returned from the camp, filled the city with his complaints againſt the decemvirs, exaggerating the faults they had committed in the management of the war. *Appius*, to get him out of *Rome*, ſent for him, diſcourſed with him ſeveral times, and, deſiring him to ſpeak with freedom, examined him concerning the conduct of the decemvirs. *Sicinius*, e without reſerve or circumſpection, blamed the proceedings of *Fabius* and the other generals. *Appius*, pretending to admire his wiſdom, prevailed upon him to go and aſſiſt *Fabius* with his advice; and, to deceive him the more effectually, he dignified him with the character of *envoy* or *legate*, which not only gave him the authority of a general, but made his perſon ſacred and inviolable. As true valour is a ſtranger to jealouſy and diſtruſt, the brave *Sicinius* willingly embraced the opportunity of ſerving his country, and repaired to the camp with all ſpeed, where the decemvirs, inſtructed by *Appius*, received him with outward marks of great joy, and conſulted him, ſoon after his arrival, about the operations of the campaign. *Sicinius* adviſed them

Sicinus Dentatus *treacherouſly murdered.*

to remove their camp into the enemy's country, for many reaſons which he laid before f them. This was what *Fabius* wanted, and accordingly he commiſſioned him to go and view the ſituation of the country, and mark out the ground for a new incampment. He appointed him a hundred choſen men light armed to be his guard; but this guard conſiſted only of the decemvirs ruffians, who had ſecret orders to diſpatch him. *Sicinius*, not ſuſpecting the leaſt treachery, led them into the narrow paſſes between the mountains, and there they took the opportunity of falling upon him when he could not make his eſcape. The brave veteran no ſooner perceived their baſe deſign, but, drawing his ſword, he ſet his back againſt a rock, that he might not be attacked

[g] Dio. Hal. l. xi. p. 69. Liv. l. iii. c. 4.

a attacked behind, and, then ſummoning all his valour, he laid fifteen of the aſſailants dead at his feet, and wounded above thirty more. The baſe aſſaſſins, not daring now to venture near him, ſtood at a diſtance and diſcharged their darts at him, which he avoiding with great dexterity, ſome of them climbing up to the top of the rock, from thence overwhelmed him with ſtones. They then went back to the camp, where they gave out, that they had been attacked by the enemy, and that *Sicinius* had been killed in the action. But when the ſoldiers, who marched out under arms to fetch the body of *Sicinius*, came to the place of the pretended battle, they obſerved, that the ſlain were all *Romans*, and that they lay unſtripped, with their faces towards him. This made them ſuſpect that *Sicinius* had been murdered by his guard, and raiſed loud b complaints and a general diſcontent throughout the camp. The whole army, in the greateſt fury and rage, demanded that the aſſaſſins might be brought to juſtice; but the decemvirs helped them to make their eſcape, and cauſed the body of *Sicinius* to be honourably interred, leſt the ſoldiers ſhould convey it to *Rome*, and there raiſe new diſturbances. The diſcontent, which ſo odious a treachery raiſed in the army, came to ſuch a height, that the greater part of the ſoldiers began to think in earneſt of throwing off the yoke, and reſtoring their country to its antient liberty, which they ſoon found an opportunity to effect.

Appius, as we have obſerved above, remained at home with a body of troops to keep the city in awe, while his collegues marched againſt the *Sabines* and *Æqui*. As c he was one day going to his tribunal, he obſerved a young virgin of extraordinary beauty, and though he ſeemed dead to all ſoft paſſions, yet he was taken with her charms. It was then cuſtomary at *Rome* for young perſons of both ſexes to purſue ſuch ſtudies, as were proper for them, in public ſchools erected in the forum; and in one of theſe it was, that *Appius* firſt ſaw this beautiful young woman, and was charmed no leſs with her intent application to her book, than with her graceful mein and engaging behaviour. As his office obliged him to appear frequently in the forum, this ſevere magiſtrate and grave law-giver was obſerved to ſtop when he paſſed by the ſchool of the young virgins, and there to behold with great ſatisfaction ſome plea- ſing object. The perſon, who thus drew his attention, was the daughter of one *L.* d *Virginius*, a man famous in the city for his probity, and in the army for his valour. Though he was a plebeian, he made a conſiderable figure in the troops, and had led ſeveral detachments in the preſent war with the *Æqui*, as commander in chief. His daughter's name was *Virginia*. Her mother *Numitoria* being dead, her father *Virginius*, upon his departure for the war, had committed her to the care of an uncle by her mother's ſide, who ſhewed for her all the affection and concern of a father. She was now marriageable; and *Virginius* had already promiſed her to *Icilius*, who had been tribune of the people, and was to marry her at the end of the campaign. But, in the mean time, the decemvir, conceiving a violent paſſion for her, reſolved at all adventures to ſatisfy it. He would willingly have married her; but he had a wife e already, and though divorces were allowed by law, yet there had never been any inſtance of one. Poligamy was ſtrictly forbidden, and beſides, the decemvir himſelf had juſt paſt a law prohibiting all marriages between patricians and plebeians; ſo that he had no room to hope the accompliſhing of his wiſhes, but by the ſcandalous means of debauching the young maid; and theſe he began to purſue, by endeavouring to corrupt, with large preſents and great offers, *Virginia*'s nurſe or governeſs. But ſhe, equally faithful and prudent, inſtead of making a private market of the beauty and charms of young *Virginia*, rejected his offers with the utmoſt indignation, and kept a more watchful eye over her charge than ever. The amorous tyrant, finding he could neither corrupt nor deceive the truſty and watchful nurſe, had recourſe to f another ſtratagem, the execution of which he intruſted to *M. Claudius*, one of his clients, an infamous wretch and fit for any villainous enterprize. This miniſter of the decemvir's paſſion, taking with him a band of profligate fellows, entered the ſchool, where *Virginia* was, and ſeizing her by the arm, declared that ſhe was the daughter of one of his ſlaves, and therefore belonged to him. As he was carrying her to his houſe, with all the authority which the law gave to a maſter over his fugitive ſlave, the people flocked about him, and being touched with ſo moving a ſight, obliged him to ſet her at liberty. *Claudius*, finding he could not execute his firſt deſign, cited her to appear before the decemvir; and ſhe by the new laws was obliged to follow him to the tribunal. *Appius*, who was alone upon the bench, was juſt ready g to adjudge her to the claimant, as his lawful ſlave, when the people, full of indignation,

Appius Claudius *the decemvir falls in love with* Virginia.

He contrives a ſtratagem to get her into his power.

nation, cried out with one voice, that *Virginia*'s relations ought firſt to be heard. a
Appius, abſolute as he was, dared not refuſe to ſuſpend the ſentence, till ſome of the priſoner's relations appeared. The firſt who came was *Numitorius*, the uncle of the young woman, attended by a great number of his friends and relations. Upon his arrival, ſilence being made, *Claudius* renewed his claim, founded on a lie concerted between him and the judge; he pretended, that *Virginia* was born in his houſe of a ſlave belonging to him; that her mother had given her to *Numitoria*, the wife of *Virginius*, and that *Numitoria* had impoſed the child upon her huſband, and made *Virginia* paſs for his daughter. He added, that he would ſoon produce undeniable teſtimonies of what he advanced; that, in the mean time, it was but juſt, that a ſlave ſhould go with her maſter, and that he would give ſecurity to produce the young b
woman again in court, when *Virginius*, her pretended father, returned from the war. *Numitorius* repreſented, that it was highly unjuſt to diſpute a citizen's right to his very children, when he was not preſent to aſſert it, adding, that *Virginius*, who was ſerving his country in the camp, would not fail to be at *Rome* in two days, and that it was reaſonable her uncle, who had the care of her perſon, ſhould, in the mean time, be the guardian of her honour. This, he ſaid, was conformable to the laws, which ordained, that, during a law-ſuit and before a definitive ſentence, the plantiff ſhould not diſturb the defendant in his poſſeſſion. But this law *Appius* eluded, by artfully obſerving, that in the preſent diſpute there were two circumſtances, which altered the caſe. Here, ſaid he, there are two perſons claiming; one as a father, the other as c
a maſter; if the pretended father were preſent, he indeed ought to be allowed the poſſeſſion; but being abſent, the perſon, who claims her as his ſlave, ought to be preferred to any other, provided he gives good ſecurity to produce her again, at the return of the perſon, who is called her father. Having thus ſpoke, he ordered *Virginia* to be put into *Claudius*'s hands. The iniquity of the judgment incenſed all who were preſent. The women who ſurrounded *Virginia*, made ſuch outcries, that they were heard at a great diſtance. They kept her in the middle of them, and ſeemed reſolute to defend her. At that inſtant, *Icilius*, to whom ſhe had been pro-miſed in marriage, arrived, and, breaking through the croud, forced his way to the tribunal to defend his dear *Virginia*. A lictor endeavoured to oppoſe his paſſage, d
crying to him, that ſentence was already paſſed. But nothing could ſtop the inraged lover; he took *Virginia* in his arms, and addreſſing himſelf to *Appius*; No, *Appius*, he cried, nothing but death ſhall ſeparate me from *Virginia*. Add my murder to the many crimes with which thou art already polluted. Aſſemble all thy lictors, and thoſe of thy collegues too, I will defend her honour to my laſt breath. Have you deprived us of the protection of our tribunes, only to ſubject our wives and our daugh-ters to your lewdneſs? Go on to exerciſe your rage upon our eſtates and lives; but ſpare the chaſtity of our virgins. If any attempt be made upon the honour of *Virginia*, I call the gods to witneſs that it ſhall not go unrevenged. What will not *Virginius* be able to do in the army, and *Icilius* among the people, when the one is to revenge the e
cauſe of an injured wife, and the other of a diſhonoured daughter? He was going on, when the lictors were ordered to drive him away and to ſeize *Virginia*. But the people, moved with his misfortune and his courage, fell upon the officers of the decemvir, diſperſed them, and obliged *Claudius* to take refuge under the tribunal. *Appius*, ſeeing the people incenſed againſt him beyond meaſure, called his client to him, whiſpered in his ear, and then, having cauſed ſilence to be made, It is not, ſaid he, the fury of the violent *Icilius*, which makes me comply, but the intreaties of *Claudius* my client. He is willing to give up the right he has to carry home his ſlave, and to commit her to the ſame hands in which ſhe was before. At his requeſt I will wait for *Virginia*'s return till to-morrow. Let his friends take care to give f
him notice. If *Virginius* does not appear at the time appointed, I would have *Icilius* know, that I ſhall not want any aſſiſtance from my collegues to put my decree in execution. When he had done ſpeaking, *Claudius* deſired, that *Icilius* might give ſecurity for producing *Virginia* the next day, which he did accordingly, all the people then preſent offering eagerly to be his ſecurity. *Icilius* and *Numitorius* immediately diſpatched, the firſt his brother, the ſecond his ſon, to bring *Virginius* from the camp. *Appius* at the ſame time ſent a courier with orders to the generals to put him under arreſt. But the other meſſengers were more expeditious; and *Virginius*, upon the firſt notice of his daughter's danger, had left the army, and was ſo fortunate as to eſcape two parties, which were ſent, one from the camp, and the other from the city to ſtop g
him.

him. He appeared the next morning in the forum, leading his daughter in deep mourning, attended by a great number of matrons of diſtinction. He addreſſed himſelf to his fellow-citizens as he paſſed, and uttered his complaints with an air of dignity, which ſeemed rather to demand, than implore, aſſiſtance. *Icilius* broke into the throng, inveighed loudly againſt *Appius*, and endeavoured to transfuſe his own reſentment into every breaſt. But the ſilent tears of the women, who attended *Virginia*, affected the multitude more than any words. *Appius* was greatly ſurpriſed to hear that *Virginius* was in the forum. Full of rage, he repaired thither, and, though informed of the diſpoſition of the people, he aſcended his tribunal, being ſurrounded by a numerous croud of his dependants and creatures. *Claudius* ſpoke the firſt, renewed his claim, and produced the ſlave, whom he had ſuborned to declare that ſhe was the mother of *Virginia*, and that ſhe had ſold her to the wife of *Virginius*. Several other witneſſes appeared to atteſt the ſame thing, all gained with great promiſes by *Appius* and his client *Claudius*. The friends and relations of *Virginia*, to deſtroy this impoſture, urged the little probability of *Numitoria*'s impoſing a child upon her huſband. He had married her, when ſhe was very young, and was almoſt of the ſame age with her. *Virginia* was born ſoon after their marriage. Where was the neceſſity then, ſaid they, for *Numitoria*'s practiſing ſuch a fraud as is pretended. Beſides, if ſhe had proved barren, and had deſigned to introduce a ſtranger into her family, why ſhould ſhe have choſen the child of a ſlave, rather than of a free woman? Why a girl, when ſhe might as eaſily have had a boy? Beſides, was it probable, that a contrivance carried on by ſo many perſons ſhould continue ſo long a ſecret? Would not the ſlave have made her court to her maſter, as ſoon as *Numitoria* was dead, by diſcovering a ſecret to him, which would have put him in poſſeſſion of a young woman, well educated and of extraordinary beauty? Why was this myſtery kept undiſcovered till *Appius* was decemvir, ſince the ſlave for a long time paſt could have no intereſt in concealing it? To theſe preſumptions *Virginius* added undeniable proofs, and brought ſome of the moſt conſiderable women in *Rome*, who depoſed, ſome that they had ſeen *Numitoria* when ſhe was big with child, others, that they had aſſiſted at her labour, and ſome, that they had ſeen her ſuckle young *Virginia*, which ſhe could not have done, had ſhe been barren, as *Claudius* pretended. *Appius*, obſerving that theſe unanſwerable proofs made a great impreſſion upon the multitude, interrupted the evidence, and commanding ſilence, ſignified, that he himſelf had ſomething to ſay. All the people liſtened with attention, being anxious to know what he could object againſt ſo many witneſſes of unqueſtionable credit. He then ſpoke thus: *Virginius*, ſaid he, I muſt acquaint you and all who are preſent, that this is not the firſt time I have heard of this affair. *Claudius*'s father revealed the ſecret to me at his death, when he made me his ſon's guardian. Afterwards, I examined into the matter, and found it to be true. However, I did not think it became me to meddle in an affair of this nature, and therefore left it to my pupil to recover his right, or to agree with the parties concerned when he ſhould come of age. But now that the cauſe is brought before me in judgment, being obliged to give ſentence, according to my own perſonal knowledge, I declare both as judge and witneſs, that the young woman belongs to *Claudius*, and my ſentence is, that ſhe be delivered up to him as his property. *Virginius*, provoked to the higheſt degree at ſo unjuſt and cruel a ſentence, was no longer maſter of himſelf. He trembled with rage, and, accompanying his words with a threatening geſture, infamous wretch, ſaid he, I never deſigned my daughter for thee. I educated her for a lawful huſband, and not to be a prey to a luſtful ravager. Muſt then brutal paſſions among us take the place of honourable marriages! How the citizens here will bear with theſe things I know not; but I truſt that the army will revenge my wrongs. At theſe words the people ſet up a loud cry full of indignation, as if they were determined to oppoſe the execution of *Appius*'s decree. But the decemvir, having firſt caſt his eyes on all ſides, to obſerve his ſtrength and how his friends were poſted, told the multitude with a threatening voice, that he was not unacquainted with the plots that had been laid to cauſe an inſurrection, but that he neither wanted power nor reſolution to inflict exemplary puniſhments on ſuch, as ſhould offer to diſturb the public peace. Let every one therefore, ſaid he, retire to his own houſe, and none preſume to give law to a ſupreme magiſtrate. As for you, *Claudius*, added he, ſeize your ſlave, and make uſe of my guard to diſperſe the croud. At theſe words, uttered with an imperious tone, the multitude gave back, and left *Virginia* ſtanding by herſelf, a helpleſs prey to injuſtice. The unfortunate father, ſeeing there was no other remedy, drew

Virginius the father of Virginia arrives at Rome.

The impoſture of Claudius made manifeſt.

Appius *decrees* Virginia *to his client.*

drew near *Appius*, and in a ſuppliant manner addreſſed him thus: Pardon, *Appius*, a
the unguarded words, which have eſcaped me in my firſt tranſports of grief, and allow
me to aſk in the young woman's preſence ſome queſtions of her nurſe, that I may
carry home at leaſt the comfort of being ſet right in this matter. *Appius* readily granted
him his requeſt, and *Virginius* taking his daughter in his arms, and wiping the tears
in which ſhe was all bathed, drew near to ſome ſhops, which were in the forum.
There he ſnatched up a butcher's knife, and turning to *Virginia*, My dear daughter,
ſaid he, this is the only way to ſave thy liberty and thy honour; go, *Virginia*, go
to thy anceſtors, whilſt thou art yet a free woman, pure and undefiled. With theſe
words he plunged the knife into her heart, and then drawing it out again all ſmoak-
ing with her blood, and turning to *Appius*; by this blood, he cried, I devote thy b
head to the infernal gods. The decemvir immediately ordered him to be ſeized;
but he with the knife in his hand made his way through the croud, got out of the
city, and, mounting his horſe, took the road to the camp. In the mean time, *Numitorius* and *Icilius*, ſtaying by the dead body of *Virginia*, and ſhewing it the people,
raiſed a great commotion in the city. As for *Appius*, he ſeemed to have quite loſt his
reaſon; inſtead of endeavouring to pacify the multitude, he retired to his own houſe,
and from thence ſent his lictors to ſeize *Icilius*, and carry away the dead body. But
the people oppoſed the execution of his orders, and falling upon the lictors, broke
their faſces, and drove them out of the forum. Hereupon the decemvir had the bold-
neſs to come in perſon, attended by a choſen company of young patricians, to ſupport c
his authority. But *Valerius* and *Horatius*, thoſe ſworn enemies of the decemvirs, putting
themſelves at the head of their friends and clients, obliged the decemvir to retire. In
this perplexity, *Appius* haſtened to the temple of *Vulcan*, and there pretending to act the
part of a tribune of the people, demanded that *Valerius* and *Horatius* ſhould be thrown
head-long from the *Tarpeian* rock, as diſturbers of the public tranquillity. But his
harangue was often interrupted with hiſſes; and, in the mean time, *Valerius*, having
cauſed the body of *Virginia* to be carried to the top of a flight of ſteps, whence it might
be ſeen by the people, was from the ſame eminence inveighing againſt *Appius*. So that
there were two aſſemblies and two orators in different parts of the forum, declaiming
againſt each other at the ſame time. But *Appius*'s auditors ſoon left him to go to d
Valerius: and *Appius*, terrified at the deſertion of many of his creatures, privately
withdrew, and, hiding his face with his robe, took refuge in a neighbouring houſe.
At that juncture *Oppius*, the plebeian decemvir, ruſhed into the forum to defend his
collegue; bnt finding that the party of *Horatius* and *Valerius* was by far the ſtrongeſt,
he judged, that the wiſeſt method in the preſent exigence was to convene the ſenate;
and this immediately quieted the multitude, for they hoped, that the decemvirate
would by that means be aboliſhed. But the ſenators then in *Rome* being all friends
to the decemvirs, only ordered the people to behave themſelves peaceably, and com-
miſſioned ſome young members of their body to go to the camp near mount *Algidus*,
and prevent the ſedition which *Virginius* might raiſe there [h]. e

He had entered the camp, attended by four hundred citizens, and holding the fatal
knife in his hand. The ſoldiers, at this ſtrange ſight, flocked to him from all quar-
ters, when he, ſtanding on an eminence, with his face drowned in tears, related to
them the plot laid by *Appius* againſt his daughter's honour and liberty, and the cruel
method he had been forced to take for the preſervation of her chaſtity. The centu-
rions and ſoldiers, full of indignation againſt *Appius*, aſſured him, that they were
determined to ſtand by him in whatever he ſhould undertake againſt ſo wicked a
tyrant. The decemvirs, who commanded the army, being informed of *Virginius*'s
return and the diſpoſition of the ſoldiers, attempted to ſeize the former, and appeaſe
the latter. But the ſoldiers, refuſing to pay any obedience to the orders of men, f
whom they looked upon as uſurpers and tyrants, flew to their arms, ſnatched up their
enſigns, and took the way to *Rome*, which they reached about evening, and entered
without making the leaſt diſturbance. They marched quietly through the city to
mount *Aventine*, and there intrenched themſelves, declaring, that they would not lay
down their arms, till the decemvirate was aboliſhed, and the tribuneſhip reſtored.
Hereupon *Oppius* convened the ſenate, for *Appius* was afraid to appear in public, and
the conſcript fathers agreed to ſend three of their body to the army, to aſk, why they
had left the camp without their generals orders, and what their intent was in poſ-
ſeſſing

Virginius, *to ſave the honour of his daughter, ſtabs her.*

The decemvir obliged to retire.

The ſoldiers revolt from their generals, and encamp on mount Aventine.

[h] Dio. Hal. p. 709—719. Liv. l. iii. c. 42—49.

a ſelling themſelves of mount *Aventine?* As they had not yet choſen a head, they all cried out with one voice, let *Valerius* and *Horatius* be ſent to us, we will return no anſwer to the ſenate, but by them. As ſoon as the three commiſſioners were gone, *Virginius* adviſed the troops to chuſe chiefs to govern them, and manage for them. Agreeable to his advice, ten perſons were elected under the name of *military tribunes.* The army was deſirous to have *Virginius* at the head of them; but he declined the honour. My daughter, ſaid he, is dead, and I have not yet revenged her death. No kind of honour will become me, till her manes are appeaſed. Beſides, what prudent or moderate counſels can you expect from me, who am ſo incenſed againſt the tyrants? I ſhall be of more ſervice to the common cauſe by acting in it as a

Ten military tribunes elected.

b private man.

In the mean time, the three legions ſent againſt the *Sabines*, being ſtirred up by *Numitorius* and *Icilius*, abandoned their generals, and having, after the example of the other army, choſen themſelves ten military tribunes, marched through the city, and joined the legions on the *Aventine*. The two armies thus united, commiſſioned their twenty tribunes to elect two out of their number to be ſupreme over all, and the choice fell upon *M. Oppius* and *Sextus Manilius*. In the mean time, the ſenate aſſembled every day, but ſpent the whole time in debates, without coming to any reſolution. At length it was carried by a majority of voices, that *Valerius* and *Horatius* ſhould be ſent to the revolted army. But they proteſted, that they would not move a ſtep, ſo long as the

c decemvirs were maſters of the government. The two armies, tired out with theſe delays, removed their camp to the *ſacred mount*, intrenched themſelves there, and obſerved the ſame good diſcipline as their anceſtors had formerly done. In this decampment they were followed by ſuch numbers of citizens, with their wives and children, that *Rome* was in a manner deſerted. The ſenators, ſurpriſed to ſee the ſtreets ſo thin of people, reſolved at length to aboliſh the decemvirate, to reſtore to the people their tribunes, and to the ſenate its conſuls. The decemvirs, finding they could not retain their authority any longer, only deſired, that they might not be ſacrificed to the hatred of their enemies, offering to reſign the power with which they were inveſted, whenever the ſenate ſhould think fit to create new conſuls. Upon this *Valerius* and

The ſenate reſolves to aboliſh the decemvirate.

d *Horatius* repaired to the army, where they were received with inexpreſſible joy. *Icilius*, whom the army choſe for their ſpeaker, after having returned the deputies thanks for the zeal they had ſhewn all along in behalf of the people, demanded, in the name of all who had retired to the *Mons ſacer*, 1. The re-eſtabliſhment of the tribunes of the people, with a right of appeal to them from the deciſions of the conſuls. 2. An amneſty for all who had left the camp, without permiſſion from their generals. 3. That the decemvirs ſhould be delivered into their hands, that they might be burnt alive. But the prudent deputies made a great difference between the two firſt articles and the laſt. Your two firſt demands, ſaid they, are agreeable to reaſon; but the third is the effect of paſſion. You are offered a ſhield; do not pretend to take a ſword too.

e The ſenate has not yet declared you innocent, and will you already take upon you to give law to it? The people, being ſatisfied that no tribunes whatſoever could have their intereſts more at heart, than thoſe two ſenators, impowered them to make what terms for them they ſhould think fit. *Horatius* and *Valerius* returned immediately to the ſenate, and gave them an account of the demands of the people, but omitted their threats againſt the decemvirs, who, hearing no mention made of their puniſhment, readily conſented to all that was aſked. Only *Appius* ſeemed unwilling to part with his power: *To re-eſtabliſh the tribuneſhip*, ſaid he, *is only to put arms into the hands of the inraged multitude. I find my life muſt be ſacrificed to the public hatred. But ſince it muſt be ſo, I will not any longer oppoſe the rage of the populace. I am ready to reſign*

f *the decemvirate, and care not how ſoon I do it.* Accordingly, a decree was paſſed, aboliſhing the decemvirate and reſtoring the tribunes. Then the decemvirs, repairing to the forum, there laid down their authority to the great joy of the city. When the news of their reſignation was carried to the camp, the army, leaving the ſacred mount, incamped a ſecond time on mount *Aventine*, and there choſe their tribunes, the pontifex *Maximus* preſiding at the election. *Virginius*, *Icilius*, and *Numitorius*, were firſt named. *C. Sicinius*, *M. Duilius*, *M. Titinius*, *M. Pomponius*, *C. Aproinius*, *P. Villius*, and *C. Oppius*, were appointed their collegues. An inter-rex was afterwards created, who held an aſſembly of the people by centuries, in which *L. Valerius* and *M. Horatius* were raiſed to the conſulate. Theſe conſuls, being both

A decree paſſed aboliſhing the decemvirate.

g very popular, got ſeveral laws paſſed, which give the people a ſuperiority over the ſenate.

L. Valerius *and* M. Horatius *raiſed to the conſulate.*

ſenate. Formerly the decrees of the people, convened by tribes, obliged only the plebeians; but now it was enacted, that all decrees made in the comitia by tribes, ſhould have the force of laws with relation to all citizens. That the tribunes might be maintained in perpetual poſſeſſion of their right of judging cauſes brought before them by appeal, it was likewiſe enacted, that for the future no magiſtrates of any kind ſhould be inveſted with authority, without appeal to the aſſembly of the people, and that it ſhould be lawful for any one to kill the man, who ſhould attempt the creation of ſuch a magiſtrate. The ceremonies were likewiſe renewed, whereby the perſons of the tribunes were made ſacred. To theſe regulations another was added, *viz.* that the decrees of the ſenate ſhould for the future be carried to the ædiles, and kept in the temple of *Ceres*. This was done, leſt the ſucceeding conſuls ſhould ſuppreſs the decrees now made, and by that means render them uſeleſs. b

Appius impeached by Virginius,

The power of the tribunes being now firmly eſtabliſhed, they reſolved to proſecute the decemvirs, and begin with *Appius*, who was accordingly cited to appear. *Virginius*, who was appointed to be his accuſer, without enumerating all his crimes, inſiſted only on his having, contrary to law, refuſed a young woman, who was in poſſeſſion of her liberty, the right of enjoying it, till the ſuit was determined. If you do not inſtantly clear yourſelf from this breach of the law, I will order you, ſaid *Virginius*, to be carried to priſon. *Appius* kept ſilence; but when the tribunes officers offered to ſeize him, he cried out, *I appeal*; and having enumerated the ſervices done to the republic by his family, and reminded the people of his own zeal c for the common good, in promoting and compiling the body of laws contained in the twelve tables, he claimed the protection of the laws juſt made in favour of appeals. *Virginius* anſwered, that ſuch a monſter as *Appius* ought not to partake of the common benefits of ſociety, nor be allowed to eſcape impriſonment on giving ſecurity, ſince he had refuſed that privilege to *Virginia*. He added, that it was but reaſonable, that ſo profligate a wretch ſhould be carried to that priſon, which he himſelf had built, and inſolently named *the habitation of the people of* Rome. Accordingly, he

And carried to priſon,

was led, notwithſtanding his appeal, to priſon; but his trial was put off to the third market-day. In this interval *Claudius*, the uncle of *Appius*, who had ſo much diſapproved of his nephew's conduct, and had always been againſt the decemvirs, yet, d upon hearing of the danger of *Appius*, haſtened to *Rome*, and appeared in the forum, with all his friends and relations in habits of mourning. He went from citizen to citizen, beſeeching them not to fix ſuch an ignominy on the *Claudian* family; but to no purpoſe; *Virginius* on the other hand begging them to ſhew compaſſion for him and his daughter, and not for the *Claudian* family, which had tyrannized over them.

And dies there.

But, before the day appointed for the trial, *Appius* died in priſon. *Dionyſius* tells us, that the tribunes gave out he had ſtrangled himſelf; but that it was much ſuſpected he had been diſpatched by their orders. *Livy* barely relates, that *Appius*, to avoid the infamy of a public puniſhment, laid violent hands on himſelf in priſon [i]. e

Oppius, *another of the decemvirs, thrown into priſon where he dies.*

The proſecution of *Oppius*, one of the plebeian decemvirs, followed next. He was accuſed by *Numitorius*, *Virginia*'s uncle, as an accomplice with *Appius*, whoſe injuſtice in her affair he had not oppoſed, though at that time in *Rome*. Nor was this the only crime laid to his charge. A veteran, who had ſerved twenty-ſeven years in the army, and had been eight times honoured with military rewards, uncovering his ſhoulders, expoſed to the multitude the marks of the rods, with which he had been beaten by *Oppius*'s orders, and offered to undergo the ſame treatment again, if the decemvir could aſſign any good reaſon for his cruelty. The accuſed was by the unanimous ſuffrages of the people thrown into priſon, where he died the ſame day. The other eight decemvirs, terrified with theſe impriſonments, which were followed f

The others retire of their own accord into baniſhment.

by ſudden deaths, retired into baniſhment of their own accord. Upon their flight their effects were confiſcated and ſold, and the money ariſing from them carried by the quæſtors into the public treaſury. As for *M. Claudius*, the client, who had been ſuborned to ſerve the pleaſures, and carry on the iniquity, of his patron, he was condemned to death. But *Virginius*, pitying a wretch, who had offended at the inſtigation of a powerful magiſtrate, and a ſovereign, from whom he had no appeal, changed the ſentence of death into that of perpetual baniſhment, upon his confeſſing that he had been ſuborned. After this, *Duilius*, one of the tribunes, adviſed his colleagues

[i] Idem, p. 726. Liv. l. iii. c. 56—58.

a legues to carry vengeance no farther; and accordingly a general amneſty was granted, and the ſtate enjoyed a profound tranquillity at home, the remaining part of the year.

AFFAIRS being thus ſettled, the two conſuls took the field againſt the *Æqui*, *Volſci*, and *Sabines*, who, during the late inteſtine diviſions, had pillaged the *Roman* territory. *Valerius* defeated the two former, and *Horatius* the latter. But the ſenate, diſſatisfied with their too popular adminiſtration, and moved by a ſpeech of *C. Claudius*, who inveighed bitterly againſt them, refuſed them a triumph. But this oppoſition ſerved only to gain the people a new prerogative, the right of decreeing triumphs. For the conſuls applied to them, and, the tribunes eſpouſing their cauſe, *Icilius* de-

b clared, in the name of the people of *Rome*, that the conſuls ſhould, in ſpite of the ſenate, have the honour of a triumph, which was thought ſo legal a one, that it had a place in the *Faſti Capitolini*. The tribunes did not ſtop here, but formed a deſign of getting themſelves continued in the tribuneſhip after the expiration of their year. This was a conſpiracy not unlike that of the decemvirs; but to prevent any ſuſpicion, that their aim was to make themſelves ſole maſters of the government, they were for having the people continue *Valerius* and *Horatius* in the conſulate. *Duilius*, one of their college, a man of great moderation and very zealous for the public liberty, oppoſed this project, and made it abortive, by prevailing upon the conſuls to declare publicly, that they would not hold the conſulate after their year was expired, though the people

c ſhould deſire it. After this *Duilius* held the aſſembly for electing tribunes, and by his influence got five new ones choſen, in ſpite of the cabals of the old tribunes. However, the latter prevailed ſo far by their intrigues, as to hinder any other of the candidates from having the neceſſary number of voices. Hereupon the nomination of the five tribunes, yet wanting was referred to the five actually choſen, according to the direction of a law, which expreſly provided, that *if upon a day of election the full number of tribunes could not be choſen, thoſe who were elected ſhould have power to name their collegues.* Agreeable to this law the new tribunes no ſooner entered upon their office, but they named their collegues, and among them, to the great ſurprize of all, *S. Tarpeius* and *A. Æternius*, both patricians, old ſenators, and even conſulars. *The patricians choſen tribunes of the people.*

d Some writers are of opinion, that theſe patricians had got themſelves adopted into plebeian families; but this is a groundleſs conjecture; for *Livy* tells us, that the five firſt tribunes were directed by the ſenate in the choice of their collegues, whence it is more likely, that the ſenators privately joined with *Duilius*, who acted all along in concert with them, to get ſome of their body into the tribuneſhip, in order to counterbalance the power of the plebeian tribunes. The election of the conſuls followed that of the tribunes, when *Lartius Herminius* and *T. Virginius* were choſen without any diſturbance. In their conſulate, *L. Trebonius*, one of the tribunes, diſſatisfied to ſee two patricians in that college, gave himſelf intirely up to croſs the ſenate in every thing, whence he acquired the ſurname of *Aſper*, or *The Crabbed.* In order to ex-

e clude patricians for the future, he got a law paſſed, which from his name was called *Lex Trebonia*, by which it was ordained, that *whoſoever ſhould for the future hold the comitia, for electing tribunes of the people, ſhould not diſmiſs the aſſembly, till the number of ten tribunes was completed by the votes of the people.* This law took from the tribunes, who were firſt choſen, the right of naming their collegues, which the *Romans* called *Cooptatio* [k]. *Lex Trebonia.*

THE following conſulate of *M. Geganius* and *C. Julius* produced nothing remarkable. But the ſucceeding conſuls, *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, a fourth time, and *Agrippa Furius*, found the people highly exaſperated againſt the nobility, on account of ſome inſults they had offered the plebeians. The aggreſſors were cited to appear before

f the people, which occaſioned great contentions. Upon the news of theſe freſh domeſtic broils, the *Æqui* and *Volſci* entered the *Roman* territory, and ravaged the country to the very gates of *Rome*, the tribunes oppoſing the neceſſary levies to repulſe them. Hereupon the conſul *Quinctius*, a man illuſtrious for ſeveral victories, and greatly reſpected for the purity of his manners and the wiſdom of his counſels, having convened a general aſſembly of the people, made an harangue to them, with which they were ſo affected, that they concurred unanimouſly in taking arms. All the youth offered themſelves in crouds to be inliſted; inſomuch, that on the ſame day the levies were raiſed, and the army marched ten miles on its way. The next day, the conſuls came in ſight of the enemy, and the day following gave them battle, and gained a complete

[k] Liv. l. iii. c. 65.

The Romans *gain a complete victory over the* Æqui *and* Volſci.

plete victory. However, the conſuls, as *Livy* obſerves, did not demand a triumph, a
nor did the ſenate offer them one. He conjectures, that the conſuls were aſhamed to
aſk an honour for one victory, which the fathers had refuſed to *Valerius* and *Horatius*
for two. This would have been a glorious year for the republic, had not the *Roman*
people diſhonoured themſelves by an iniquitous judgment, in a cauſe that was referred

Iniquitous judgment of the people of Rome, *in a cauſe referred to their arbitration.*

to their deciſion. The inhabitants of *Ardea* and *Aricia* choſe them arbitrators in a diſ-
pute concerning a large tract of land, to which they both laid claim. The tribes
being aſſembled and the cauſe heard, the votes were going to be taken, when one
Scaptius, a *Roman* eighty-three years old, deſired to ſpeak. He pretended, that the
diſtrict in queſtion belonged formerly to the city of *Corioli*, and conſequently now to
the *Romans*, who ought therefore to make no ſcruple of ſeizing it. The conſuls uſed b
their utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade the people from taking a ſtep, which muſt caſt
a blemiſh on the *Roman* probity. But all their efforts were to no purpoſe; the people,
in ſpite of their remonſtrances, adjudged the territory to themſelves [1].

New pretenſions of the tribunes.

In the following conſulate of *M. Geſucius Augurinus* and *C. Curtius Philo*, the tri-
bunes carried their pretenſions farther than ever. For they not only demanded, that
the law, prohibiting patricians and plebeians to intermarry, might be repealed, but
likewiſe, that plebeians might be admitted to the conſulate. *Canuleius*, the moſt
active of the tribunes, declared to the ſenate, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he
would conſtantly oppoſe all levies of troops, let the want of them be never ſo preſ-
ſing, till theſe conceſſions were made to the people. The conſuls and patricians de- c
clared with great warmth againſt theſe new claims of the incroaching tribunes; but,
the *Ardeates*, the *Æqui*, the *Veientes*, and the *Volſci* invading at the ſame time the
Roman territory, the ſenate found it neceſſary to let the law concerning marriages paſs,
hoping, that this conceſſion would induce the tribunes to give over intirely the pur-
ſuit of the law relating to the conſulſhip, or at leaſt to ſuſpend it till the concluſion of
the war. But their hopes proved vain; for the tribunes, though the alarm from
abroad daily increaſed, ſtill oppoſed the levies, and puſhed their point with the ſame
zeal as before. Nay, at the inſtigation of *Canuleius*, they all bound themſelves by a
ſolemn oath not to deſiſt from their enterprize, till the ſenate had granted them their
demand. *C. Claudius*, in a private aſſembly of the oldeſt ſenators, moved to have d
recourſe to arms and violence, rather than yield to the people the dignity of the con-
ſulſhip. But *T. Quinctius* and the majority of the aſſembly thought it better to com-
ply, than come to a rupture with the people. Hereupon *Claudius*, to prevent the
debaſing of the conſular dignity, made a new propoſal, *viz.* that, inſtead of conſuls,
a certain number of military tribunes ſhould be choſen, partly out of the ſenate and
partly from among the plebeians, and that theſe new magiſtrates ſhould be inveſted
with conſular power. This project being approved, the ſenate was aſſembled, and
the tribunes called to it to give their reaſons in behalf of the new laws in queſtion.
After they had ſpoke, *Claudius*'s ſcheme was propoſed, and received with great

Military tribunes created with conſular power; but ſoon after abdicated.

applauſe both by the patricians and plebeians. A decree was immediately paſſed for e
this fourth revolution in the *Roman* government, and the comitia were held without
delay. But when the people came to vote, they refuſed to give their votes to any
but patricians, ſo that only three military tribunes were choſen, *A. Sempronius Atra-
tinus*, *L. Attilius*, and *S. Cecilius*, or, as ſome ſtyle him, *Clelius*. But they did not
long continue in office. *Curtius*, the late conſul, who had preſided at the election,
declared three months after, that the auguries preceding it had been inauſpicious,
which made their promotion void. This was probably an artful contrivance of the
nobility to reſtore the antient form of government. However that be, the three new
magiſtrates readily reſigned their office, and an inter-rex was named, that the com-
monwealth might not remain without a head. *T. Quinctius* the inter-rex aſſembled f
the people, to determine whether the conſular government ſhould be reſtored, or that
of the military tribunes continued? The ſenate were for the former; the tribunes for
the latter; but the people, being reſolved to confer the ſupreme dignity only on
patricians, were indifferent whether it ſhould be called *conſulſhip* or *tribuneſhip*. At
length all agreed to reſtore the old form of government, and *L. Papirius Mugillanus*
and *L. Sempronius Atratinus*, brother to one of thoſe patricians, who had laid down
the military tribuneſhip, were appointed conſuls for the remaining part of the year.
Under the ſucceeding adminiſtration of *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, a fifth time conſul,
and

[1] Dio. Hal. l. xi. p. 729. Liv. l. iii. c. 71.

and *M. Geganius*, a second time, the *Censorship* was established. There had been no census for seventeen years, which occasioned great disorders. These the new consuls undertook to remedy; but, as they had many civil and military affairs on their hands, they desired the senate to discharge them of the care of numbering the people, and to lay it upon two magistrates created for that purpose, who, with the title of *Censors*, should, every five years, take a general review of the whole *Roman* people, and an account of their effects. The senate approved the motion; and the tribunes, tho' always upon their guard against every thing offered by the senate, thought the employment of too little importance to oppose it. They did not even demand, that the plebeians should be allowed a share in it, not foreseeing to what a pitch of power and grandeur the office of censor would in time arrive. As men generally study how to inlarge their authority, the censorship was no sooner made a distinct magistracy, than the censors began to take upon them the reformation of manners, and by that means subject to their tribunal the senators and knights, as much as the meanest of the people. *Papirius* and *Sempronius*, the consuls of the preceding year, were the first censors, this dignity being unanimously conferred upon them, to make them amends for the short duration of their consulate [m].

The censorship established. *Year of the flood* 2561. *Before Christ.* 438. *Of* Rome 310

WHILE the consuls were thus easing themselves of the burden annexed to their office, a neighbouring city found them employment enough abroad. The *Ardeates*, who had lately renewed their alliance with *Rome*, were unhappily involved in a civil war, which arose from a very slight cause. Two citizens of *Ardea*, one of a noble family, the other of a plebeian, had fallen in love with the same young woman. As she was a plebeian, her guardians were for giving her a man of her own rank; but her mother, an ambitious woman, was fond of matching her with a man of quality. The dispute about this marriage engaged all *Ardea*, the nobility declaring for one of the suitors, and the people for the other. At length the cause between the mother and the guardians was tried, and sentence pronounced by the judges in favour of the former, who, they said, had a right to dispose of her child to whom she pleased; but the latter, refusing to stand to this determination, had recourse to violence, gathered together some plebeians, and entering the widow's house, carried away her daughter. The nobility, on the other hand, taking the mother's part, ran to arms, fell upon the plebeians, and, having killed several of them, brought the young woman back to her mother's house. Hereupon the plebeians, leaving the city in great numbers, encamped on a neighbouring hill, and from thence sent out parties to lay waste the lands of the nobility. The mutineers, being joined by the *Volsci*, chose themselves a commander, named *Cluilius*, and laid siege to *Ardea*. In this distress the nobility applied to the *Romans*, and the senate sent immediately an army to their relief, under the command of the consul *Geganius*, who invested the besiegers, obliged them to surrender their arms, and made them pass under the yoke. After this, the consul returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph, with uncommon pomp and solemnity [n].

A civil war among the Ardeates.

The Romans *assist the nobility of* Ardea.

THE succeeding consuls, *M. Fabius* and *Posthumius Ebutius*, made the *Ardeates* some amends for the wrongs the *Romans* had done them, on occasion of their contest with the *Aricians*; for they sent a colony to re-people their city, much depopulated by the civil war, and privately agreed, that no lands, except those formerly in dispute, should be divided among the new colony, and even of those only a small part; and that the rest should be restored to their antient proprietors. As this was disannulling the judgment of the people, *Agrippa Menenius*, *T. Clælius*, and *M. Ebutius*, who had put the decree in execution, were cited to appear before the people; but these three patricians, to avoid the prosecution, declared themselves citizens of *Ardea*, and continued there. The following year, when the government was in the hands of *C. Furius* and *M. Papirius*, proved a year of peace. But, in the succeeding consulate of *Proculus Geganius* and *L. Menenius*, great disturbances arose, occasioned by a *Roman* knight, named *Sp. Mælius*, who had the confidence to aspire to the sovereign power. A dreadful famine happening in *Rome*, the people, to prevent the evil consequences of it, created, with the consent of the senate, an extraordinary magistrate, with the title of *Superintendant of provisions*. The person, they named for this office, was one *L. Minucius*, an active and prudent man, who immediately sent his agents into the neighbouring countries to buy corn, but with little success, *Sp. Mælius*

Sp. Mælius *aspires to the sovereign power.*

[m] Liv. l. iv. c. 9. Cic. de leg. l. iii.

[n] Liv. ibid.

Mælius, who was one of the richeſt men in *Rome*, having been before-hand with him at the markets. The corn *Mælius* bought was, by his order, diſtributed among the meaner people; ſo that his houſe quickly became the place of refuge for the poor, the idle, and thoſe who had undone themſelves by debauchery. *Minucius*, who was continued in his office under the new conſuls, *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, the ſixth time, and *Agrippa Menenius*, found out, that *Mælius*, under cover of an extraordinary liberality, formed aſſemblies at his houſe, and that great quantities of arms had been conveyed thither by night. Upon this intelligence, he inquired further into the matter, and at length diſcovered, that a conſpiracy was formed to ſubvert the preſent government; that *Mælius* aſpired to the ſovereign power; that the people were to take arms in his favour; and that even ſome of the tribunes had conſented to ſell the public liberty. *Minucius*, without loſs of time, gave an account of his diſcoveries to the ſenate; and the ſenate, following the advice of *Quinctius Capitolinus*, impowered him to name his brother *Quinctius Cincinnatus* dictator. It was thought neceſſary to take this ſtep in ſo critical a juncture, to prevent *Mælius* from eſcaping the puniſhment due to his wicked attempt. He might have appealed from the conſuls to the people, who, as they were intirely devoted to him, would have ſaved him; but from the dictator there was no appeal. *Cincinnatus*, being then paſt fourſcore, would have declined the office; but, the conſuls and the whole ſenate inſiſting upon his charging himſelf with the care of the commonwealth, he at length acquieſced, and named *Servilius Ahala* to be his general of the horſe, and the next day placed guards in all the quarters of the city. This precaution ſurprized thoſe who knew nothing of the conſpiracy; but *Mælius* and his aſſociates being well appriſed, that the power of the ſupreme magiſtrate was wholly bent againſt them, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to engage the multitude in their favour. Hereupon the dictator, having cauſed his tribunal to be carried into the forum, ſent his maſter of the horſe to cite *Mælius* to appear before him. *Mælius*, inſtead of obeying the ſummons, attempted to make his eſcape. Whereupon *Servilius* commanded a lictor to ſeize him; and his orders were put in execution: but the multitude having reſcued him out of the lictor's hands, he was very near making his eſcape, when *Servilius*, throwing himſelf into the crowd, overtook him, and killed him on the ſpot. This action pleaſed the dictator, who, on ſeeing his maſter of the horſe all ſprinkled with the blood of the criminal, told him, that to him *Rome* was indebted for her liberty. He then convened a general aſſembly of the people, and, having acquainted them with the conſpiracy, declared, that *Mælius* had been juſtly ſlain. His houſe was, by the dictator's orders, razed to the ground, and the prodigious quantities of corn found in it, ſold to the people at low rates. As for *Minucius*, a ſtatue was erected to him without the gate *Trigemina*, as a reward of his vigilance; but three of the tribunes, provoked at the murder of *Mælius*, made loud complaints in the aſſembly of the people, and obſtinately oppoſed the election of the conſuls; inſomuch, that the patricians, to avoid a tumult, were forced to conſent, that military tribunes ſhould be choſen for the next year. The tribunes hoped, that the people would now divide the government between the patricians and the plebeians; but they choſe only three patricians, *viz. Mamercus Æmilius*, *L. Quinctius*, the ſon of the dictator, and *Julius Julus*[a]. During their adminiſtration, the city of *Fidenæ* not only revolted from *Rome*, but, putting themſelves under the protection of *Tolumnius* king of the *Veientes*, murdered four embaſſadors ſent by the ſenate to aſk the reaſon of their conduct. As a war was unavoidable, it was thought more proper to chuſe conſuls than military tribunes for the next year; and accordingly *M. Geganius*, a third time, and *L. Sergius* were elected. It fell to the latter to make war upon the *Veientes*; but, though he gained ſome advantages over them, he loſt a great number of men; which determined the ſenate to remove him from the command of the army, and to create a dictator in his room. The conſuls named *Mamercus Æmilius* for that dignity, who choſe young *Quinctius Cincinnatus* for his general of the horſe, and appointed *Quinctius Capitolinus* and *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, two great commanders, his lieutenant generals. He ſoon after took the field, came to an engagement with the united forces of the *Falisci*, *Fidenates*, and *Veientes*, and gave them a total overthrow. *Tolumnius* himſelf was ſlain in the battle by *Cornelius Coſſus*, a legionary tribune, who ſtripped him of his armour and royal robes, and carried theſe ſpoils, called *ſpolia opima*, on his ſhoulders in

Quinctius Cincinnatus *dictator.*

Mælius *is ſlain.*

Fidenæ *revolts from the* Romans.

Mamercus Æmilius *dictator.*

The ſecond ſpolia opima.

[a] Liv. l. iv. c. 17. Val. Max. l. v. c. 3.

a in the dictator's triumph. When the triumph was over, he depoſited them in the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, they being the ſecond of the ſort known in *Rome*. In the following conſulate of *M. Cornelius* and *L. Papirius*, one *Sp. Mælius*, a tribune of the people, and a near relation of the famous *Mælius*, cited *Minucius* and *Servilius Abala* to anſwer for his death. Some hiſtorians tell us, that theſe proſecutions ſerved only to bring the tribune into contempt; but the greater part ſay, that *Servilius* was condemned to baniſhment, and afterwards recalled. As for *Minucius*, we do not find any puniſhment inflicted upon him.

THE *Veientes* and *Fidenates* renewed the war, in the following conſulate of *Julius Julus*, the ſecond time, and *L. Virginius*, while the *Romans* were greatly diſtreſſed by a plague; but *Q. Servilius Priſcus*, being created dictator, gave them battle near *No-*
b *mentum*, routed them, and took the city of *Fidenæ*. This ſucceſs was followed by a cenſus of the *Roman* people, which, after the eſtabliſhment of the cenſors, never failed to be renewed every five years. The following year *Mamercus Æmilius* was named to the dictatorſhip a ſecond time, upon a report, that all *Hetruria* was preparing for war; but theſe fears proving vain, *Æmilius*, who had no hopes of gaining glory abroad, reſolved to do ſomething remarkable at home, and propoſed to the people the ſhortening the duration of the cenſorſhip, and reducing it from five years to eighteen months. This motion was received with applauſe, and paſſed into a law. Then *Æmilius*, to ſhew the diſlike he had to magiſtracies of long continuance, reſigned his own, and retired to his houſe, amidſt the loud acclamations of the multitude. However, this wiſe law coſt him dear; the cenſors, who were the inſpectors of the manners of the people, ſtruck him out of the roll of his tribe, took from him the privilege of voting, deprived him of all the rights of a *Roman* citizen, and loaded him with a tribute eight times greater than he uſed to pay; but this perſecution gave him a new luſtre, and ſtirred up the people againſt his perſecutors, *Furius* and *Geganius*, to ſuch a degree, that they would have tore them in pieces, if *Æmilius* had not been ſo generous, as to uſe his intereſt with the multitude to ſave them. The tribunes of the people, by renewing their ordinary harangues againſt the electing of conſuls, prevailed to have military tribunes choſen for the next year. However, the people raiſed to that dignity only three patricians, *M. Fabius*, *M. Fauſtius*, and *L. Sergius*. Nothing memorable happened during their adminiſtration, but a plague, which ceaſed in the following year, when the republic was again governed by three military tribunes, all patricians, *viz. L. Pinarius*, *L. Furius*, and *Sp. Poſthumius*. Hereupon the rich plebeians complained of the poorer ſort, for not chuſing any but patricians to that magiſtracy, notwithſtanding the law, which allowed three plebeians to be elected. They met at the houſes of the tribunes of the people to conſult upon this matter, and there reſolved to propoſe a law, forbidding any pretenders to the ſuperior offices to go about, in garments of an extraordinary whiteneſs, to ſolicit the votes of the people. It was cuſtomary for thoſe, who aſpired to any office, to ſhew themſelves to the people on market-days, in a habit of an extraordinary whiteneſs, and, in that dreſs, to court the meaneſt of the citizens, to call them by their names, to ſhake hands with them, *&c.* From this habit they were called *candidati*, or *candidates*, a word derived from the *Latin candidus*, ſignifying *white*. As this way of canvaſſing for offices was uſed only by the nobility, the principal plebeians undertook the aboliſhing of ſuch a cuſtom, hoping thereby to put an end to the various arts uſed by the patricians to gain the favour of the people. The law prohibiting the uſe of white garments paſſed, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the patricians, who, ſeeing the people highly incenſed againſt the nobility, began to fear, that they would no longer refuſe their voices to the chief plebeians for the military tribuneſhip; wherefore, to avert this danger, they turned their thoughts on getting conſuls choſen for the next year, the formidable preparations which the *Æqui* and *Volſci* were making at this time for war favouring their deſign. As no plebeians had ever commanded armies, the people were quite indifferent, whether conſuls or military tribunes were choſen; for they were determined to give their ſuffrages to none but old captains, and conſequently to patricians. Thus the election being left to the ſenate, the conſulſhip was reſtored, and *T. Quinctius*, the ſon of *Lucius*, and *C. Julius Mento* were promoted to that dignity. They were both officers of great experience and courage; but a miſunderſtanding ariſing between them, they were defeated by the enemy near mount *Algidus*. Hereupon the ſenate thought it neceſſary to name a dictator; but the conſuls obſtinately refuſing to comply with their deſire in this particular, as being piqued

Fidenæ *taken by the* Romans.

A law prohibiting the uſe of white garments.

at the diffidence they ſhewed of their abilities, the ſenators had recourſe to the tribunes of the people, exhorting them to interpoſe their authority, and oblige the conſuls to name a dictator. The tribunes, who were then in the ſenate, charmed with a motion which tended to increaſe their authority, having withdrawn a while to conſult, returned with this declaration, that it was the pleaſure of the tribunes, that the conſuls ſhould obey the ſenate, or be led to priſon, if they perſiſted in their diſobedience. Hereupon the conſuls ſubmitted; but juſtly reproached the ſenators with betraying the intereſts of their own body, and ſubjecting the conſular authority to the tribunitian power. Another difficulty ſtill remained: the conſuls could not agree about the perſon who ſhould be dictator; ſo that they were obliged to draw lots for the privilege of nominating. It fell to *Quinctius*, and he named his father-in-law *Poſthumius Tubertus*, who appointed *L. Julius Vopiſcus* to be his general of the horſe. The dictator ſoon raiſed an army, with which he marched againſt the enemy, and having defeated them in a bloody battle, returned in triumph to *Rome*, and laid down his employment [p].

Poſthumius Tubertus *dictator defeats the* Æqui *and* Volſci.

The next year, when *C. Papirius* and *L. Julius Vopiſcus* were conſuls, the *Æqui* deſired to enter into an alliance with the *Romans*, on the ſame foot with the *Latins* and *Hernici*; but all they could obtain was a truce for eight years. Nothing remarkable happened at *Rome* during the preſent conſulſhip, but the making a law to ſettle the value of oxen and ſheep paid by way of fines for diſobedience to magiſtrates. The fines were ordered to be paid in money for the future, each ox being valued at an hundred aſſes of braſs, and each ſheep at ten. The tribunes were the firſt projectors of this new law; but the conſuls, having notice of their deſign, propoſed the new regulation themſelves, and by that means gained the favour of the people. The next year the republic enjoyed a profound peace, under the adminiſtration of *L. Sergius*, a ſecond time conſul, and *Hoſtus Lucretius*, which was not diſturbed even by the tribunes. The next year, when *T. Quinctius*, a ſecond time, and *Cornelius Coſſus* were raiſed to the conſulate, was remarkable for nothing but an extraordinary drought, which occaſioned a famine, that was followed by a dreadful plague. On this occaſion the *Romans* had recourſe to deities unknown, and introduced new ſuperſtitions; but the ſenate, appriſed of the danger of innovations in religion, ordered the ædiles to take care, that no gods were worſhipped, but thoſe of the country; and by this means a ſtop was put to all foreign ſuperſtitions. The *Veientes* had obtained a truce for eight years, after their defeat near *Nomentum*, as we have related above; but, before the time was expired, had ravaged the lands of the republic. The ſenate, therefore, in the conſulate of *L. Papirius*, a ſecond time, and *Servilius Ahala*, reſolved to puniſh them; but, a diſpute ariſing between the people and the ſenate concerning the right of declaring war, thoſe enemies of the republic eſcaped vengeance this year. The next the tribunes inſiſted upon having the government placed in the hands of military tribunes; and accordingly four patricians were choſen, *T. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *C. Furius*, *M. Poſthumius*, and *A. Cornelius Coſſus*. The latter ſtaid at *Rome*, and the other three marched againſt the *Veientes*; but, as they did not act in concert, they were routed, and obliged to keep within their camp. The people, upon the news of their defeat, inſiſted upon their being depoſed, and a dictator appointed in their room; but, as there were then no conſuls, whoſe prerogative it was to nominate a dictator, recourſe was had to the augurs, who declared, that *Coſſus*, who had had no ſhare in the late ſhameful diſaſter, might nominate a dictator. Accordingly he named *Mamercus Æmilius*, who had been in the ſame poſt twice before, and whom the cenſors had degraded. The new dictator appointed *Coſſus* his general of the horſe, and ſoon after took the field againſt the *Veientes*, whom the *Fidenates* had joined, after having maſſacred the *Roman* colony in their city. The dictator, coming up with them near the city of *Fidenæ*, gained a complete victory over their united forces, and made himſelf maſter both of the city of *Fidenæ* and of the camp of the *Veientes*. We are told, that the left wing of the *Roman* army was at firſt greatly terrified, and put into confuſion by the enemy's new manner of fighting; for the *Fidenates*, having all on a ſudden opened one of the gates of their city, ſent out ſome ſoldiers, with lighted torches in their hands and dreſſed like furies. Theſe, running through the *Roman* battalions, and threatening them with fire and ſword at the ſame time, occaſioned no ſmall diſorder; but the dictator upbraiding his men with cowardice, What, ſaid

The Romans *defeated by the* Veientes.

The Veientes *and* Fidenates *defeated by* Mamercus Æmilius *dictator.*

[p] Liv. l. iv. c. 26.

a said he, are you as much afraid of ſmoke, as a ſwarm of bees? Make uſe of your ſwords to wreſt the torches out of the enemies hands, and then go and ſet fire to their city with them. Theſe words inſpired the *Romans* with new courage; and *Coſſus* falling upon the enemy at the ſame time with his cavalry, the latter were intirely defeated. This glorious expedition being finiſhed in ſixteen days, *Æmilius* led back his troops to *Rome*, had the honours of a triumph, and then laid down his employment [q].

NOTWITHSTANDING the ill conduct of the laſt military tribunes, the tribunes of the people prevailed ſo far, as to have the ſame government continued the two following years; but had ſtill the mortification to ſee patricians only elected. Theſe
b were, the firſt year, *A. Sempronius*, *L. Furius*, *L. Quinctius*, and *L. Horatius*; the ſecond, *Ap. Claudius*, *Sp. Nautius*, *L. Sergius*, *and Sex. Julus*. The tribunes of the people uſed their utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade them from this preference of the patricians to them in the elections. The richeſt and moſt eminent men among the plebeians gave out, that if they could once be choſen, they would not fail to get the public lands divided among the poor citizens. This made no ſmall impreſſion upon the multitude; but the patricians, who were then in poſſeſſion of the military tribuneſhip, to avoid the ſhame of having plebeians for their ſucceſſors, agreed among themſelves to lead out of *Rome* thoſe who aſpired to that dignity, under pretence of making an incurſion into the territory of the *Volſci*. In their abſence, *Appius Caudius*, ſon of the
c decemvir, and one of the military tribunes, held an aſſembly for electing conſuls, when *C. Sempronius Atratinus* and *C. Fabius Vibulanus* were choſen. They had ſcarce entered upon their office, when news was brought to *Rome*, that the *Volſci* had taken the field with a very numerous army, and were advancing towards the frontiers, with a deſign to lay waſte the lands of the republic. The conſul *Sempronius*, a man of greater courage than conduct, was ſent againſt them; but he, deſpiſing an enemy whom the *Romans* had ſo often vanquiſhed, and attacking them with the infantry alone, was ſurrounded on all ſides, and would have been cut off with all his men, if one *Tempanius*, an old officer of the horſe, had not taken upon him the command of the cavalry. This brave officer, obſerving the danger the legions were in,
d leaped from his horſe, and addreſſing himſelf to his companions, Follow my lance, ſaid he, as if it were a ſtandard, and let us ſhew the enemy, that we can fight on foot as well as on horſe-back. At theſe words the whole body of horſe diſmounted, and, following their leader, fell upon the enemy with incredible fury. The general of the *Volſci* ordered his men to retire in good order to a neighbouring hill; but *Tempanius*, after having reſcued the legions from the danger they were in, continued to preſs the enemy with ſuch vigor, that they could no longer withſtand him. Then the *Volſcian* commander, who was a man of great experience in war, ſent orders to his troops to open their ranks, and give paſſage to the troops *Tempanius* led, and then to cloſe again, in order to ſeparate them from the reſt of the *Roman* army. His
e orders were obeyed, and *Tempanius*, ruſhing ſtill forwards, found himſelf at laſt cut off from the *Roman* main body. He did his utmoſt to force his way through the enemy's ranks; but not being able to break their order, he retired to an eminence, and there drawing up his men in a circle, defended himſelf with incredible bravery, till night coming on put an end to the conflict. The brave *Roman* did not doubt but the enemy would renew the attack as ſoon as the darkneſs was diſpelled, and therefore encouraged his men to behave like *Romans*, and, ſince they muſt periſh, to ſell their lives dear; but he was much ſurprized, when at day-break he ſaw neither friends nor enemies. He could not imagine what was become of the two great armies, which, a few hours before, had covered the plain. He went down with a few of his men
f to take a view, firſt of the *Volſcian*, and afterwards of the *Roman*, camp. Not a man was to be ſeen in either, except ſuch of the wounded as had not been able to follow the main body of their reſpective armies. Both the *Romans* and *Volſcians* had fought till night, and being equally afraid to renew the fight the next morning, had quitted their camps, leaving many of their wounded, and a great part of their baggage, behind them, and retired to the neareſt mountains. *Tempanius*, not knowing to what place the conſul was retired with his troops, took up the wounded *Romans* and marched ſtreight to *Rome*, where he found the people actually aſſembled. Some runaways, having got to the city before him, had given out, that the conſul was defeated

A bloody battle between the Romans *and the* Volſci.

[q] Liv. l. iv. c. 31.—33. Flor. l. i. c. 12.

defeated, and the whole body of cavalry cut in pieces. The tribunes of the people, thinking this to be a favourable opportunity of humbling a conful, obliged *Tempanius* to appear in the aſſembly, before he ſet foot in his own houſe, and aſked him aloud ſeveral queſtions concerning the conduct of *Sempronius*. *Tempanius* anſwered, That it did not become a private officer to judge of the capacity and behaviour of his general; that he had ſeen him fight at the head of his legions with great bravery; and that, by what appeared to him upon a view of the field of battle, he could affirm them, that the *Volſci* had loſt at leaſt as many men as the *Romans*. Notwithſtanding this favourable teſtimony of *Tempanius*, *L. Hortenſius*, one of the tribunes of the people, cited *Sempronius*, as ſoon as the year of his conſulate was expired, to anſwer for his conduct in the late battle; but when he appeared upon his trial, *Tempanius*, who had been choſen tribune of the people, with three other officers of the horſe, in reward of their ſervices, generouſly made themſelves his advocates, and aſked their collegue, why he proſecuted a brave general, whom he could reproach with nothing but bad fortune? *Sempronius*, ſaid they, was our general and our father; and therefore, like true children, we will appear in the habit of criminals as well as he, and, as we have ſhared his fortune, partake of his diſgrace, if any befals him. No, replied *Hortenſius*, that ſhall never be; the *Roman* people ſhall never ſee their tribunes in mourning. I have done; I have nothing further to ſay againſt a general, who underſtood ſo well how to gain the affection of his ſoldiers: and thus he dropped his accuſation[r]. *Sempronius* and his collegue *Fabius* had been ſucceeded by military tribunes, *L. Manlius*, *Q. Antonius*, *L. Papirius*, and *L. Servilius*; but this year *Rome*, having ſuch moderate tribunes of the people, returned to her antient form of government, and choſe, without any diſturbance, *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, ſon of the famous *Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *Numerius Fabius* conſuls.

Sempronius cited to anſwer for his conduct in the battle.

The accuſation is dropped

New diſturbances about the quæſtorſhip.

The peace, which continued this year, gave the new tribunes an opportunity of raiſing diſturbances about the quæſtorſhip. Hitherto there had been only two quæſtors, and thoſe choſen annually from among the patricians. Their office was to collect the taxes, defray the expences of the war, and to keep exact accounts of the receipts and diſburſements of the public money, for which they were accountable. To this time they had never ſtirred out of *Rome*; the conſuls therefore propoſed, that two new quæſtors ſhould be added, to attend the generals in the field, take account of the ſpoils, ſell the booty, and, above all, provide for the ſubſiſtence of the army. This motion was received with great applauſe both by the ſenate and people; but, when it came to be paſſed into a law, the tribunes demanded, that two of thoſe magiſtrates ſhould always indiſpenſibly be plebeians. The ſenate was willing, that, in the election of quæſtors, as in that of military tribunes, the people ſhould, if they thought fit, chuſe as many plebeians as patricians; but the tribunes obſtinately requiring, that the people ſhould not be left at liberty to chuſe plebeians or patricians, the ſenate thought it adviſeable, rather than ſubmit to this, to drop the motion. The tribunes, by way of revenge, proteſted againſt holding the comitia for electing conſuls, and inſiſted on having military tribunes for the next year. The obſtinacy of the two parties threw the republic into a kind of anarchy, the tribunes oppoſing even the ſenate's meeting to name an inter-rex. After warm diſputes, the tribunes agreed to the naming of an inter-rex; and the ſenate choſe for that office *L. Papirius Magellanus*, who, by expoſtulations and ſoft perſuaſions, brought the contending parties to this compromiſe, that the ſenate ſhould ſuffer the people to chuſe military tribunes inſtead of conſuls; and that the tribunes of the people ſhould allow the tribes to beſtow the quæſtorſhip on patricians or plebeians, as they thought fit. Notwithſtanding all the cabals and ſeditious harangues of the tribunes of the people, not only the military tribunes, but the quæſtors too, were choſen out of the patricians only, though one of the tribunes had propoſed his brother, and the other his ſon. The tribunes, inraged at this preference, were for accuſing *A. Sempronius*, who had preſided at the election, of ſome unfair dealing in taking the votes; but, as he was a man of known probity, and then one of the military tribunes, they turned all their fury againſt *C. Sempronius* his couſin-german, who had not been acquitted on his former trial, tho' the proſecution had been dropped at the requeſt of *Tempanius*. He was again cited to appear at the end of twenty-ſeven days, during which time he conſtantly attended the ſenate, and zealouſly oppoſed the requeſt of the tribunes concerning the diſtribution of

An inter-rex choſen.

C Sempronius is again cited, and condemned in a fine

[r] Liv. ibid. c. 42. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 5.

of lands. With the ſame ſteadineſs he behaved on his trial, and pleaded his cauſe with great eloquence. But, notwithſtanding all the ſolicitations of the ſenate in his favour, and the favourable teſtimonies of many officers, who had ſerved under him, he was fined fifteen thouſand aſſes of braſs. Soon after a veſtal, who, by her levity and too free airs, had brought herſelf under a ſuſpicion of incontinency, was tried before the pontifices and acquitted; but the *pontifex maximus* admoniſhed her to be more reſerved for the future. In the following military tribuneſhip of *Agrippa Menenius*, *Sp. Nautius*, *P. Lucretius*, and *C. Servilius*, a plot was formed by the ſlaves to ſet fire to the city and ſeize the capitol; but the ſecret being diſcovered by ſome of the conſpirators, the evil conſequences of it were prevented. The next year, when the republic was governed by three military tribunes only, *M. Papirius*, *C. Servilius*, and *L. Sergius*, *Labicum*, a city of *Latium* about fifteen miles diſtance from *Rome*, revolted, and entered into an alliance with the *Æqui*, who, after having pillaged the territory of *Tuſculum*, encamped at the foot of mount *Algidus*. Hereupon two of the military tribunes were ordered to take the field, and the third to remain in *Rome*; but each of the three, thinking himſelf the moſt capable of commanding the army, deſpiſed the leſs glorious employment of governing the city. The ſenate was highly offended to ſee three magiſtrates, whoſe duty it was to take care of the intereſt of the public, ſacrifice it to their private ambition; but no one of that body had weight enough to put an end to the diſpute. At length *Q. Servilius*, who had been formerly dictator, interpoſing his paternal authority, commanded his ſon *C. Servilius* to ſtay at home; and *Caius*, tho' very deſirous of commanding the army, and raiſed above his father by the office he then bore in the republic, obeyed, without ſhewing the leaſt reluctance, and remained in *Rome*. But the two generals agreeing no better in the field than they had done in the city, the army under their command was drawn into an ambuſh, and entirely defeated. Hereupon the ſenate ordered a dictator to be created; and young *Servilius* nominated his father, who appointed him his general of the horſe. The father and ſon, leaving *Rome* at the head of a new army, encamped within two miles of the enemy, and, a few days after, attacked them, put their army to flight, took *Labicum* their place of refuge by ſtorm, and returning to *Rome* eight days after he had left it, laid down his office. The republic enjoyed a profound peace both at home and abroad under the ſucceeding military tribunes, *P. Lucretius*, *L. Servilius*, *Agrippa Menenius*, and *Sp. Veturius*. But the next year, when *A. Sempronius*, *M. Papirius*, *Q. Fabius*, and *Sp. Nautius* governed the republic, the tribunes of the people revived the old quarrel about the diſtribution of lands. *Sp. Mæcilius*, and *Sp. Metilius*, who were at the head of the factious, pretended, that the patricians had uſurped the lands they enjoyed, and therefore propoſed a new diviſion of them between the nobility and the plebeians. The ſenate met frequently to concert meaſures for defeating this propoſal; *Appius Claudius* propoſed gaining over ſome of the college of the tribunes, as the only remedy againſt their tyranny. His advice was received with great applauſe, and put in execution with ſucceſs; for the fathers applying themſelves to the tribunes, by entreaties and remonſtrances, won over ſix of the ten to oppoſe the promulgation of the law; ſo that *Mæcilius* and *Metilius* were obliged to drop their petition. The ſame good underſtanding was maintained the next year between the ſenate and ſome of the tribunes, when *Cornelius Coſſus*, *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *Valerius Voluſus*, and *Fabius Vibulanus* were military tribunes. But in the military tribuneſhip of *Q. Fabius*, *Cn. Cornelius*, *P. Poſthumius*, and *L. Valerius*, the affair of the *Agrarian* law was revived. The *Æqui* having retaken *Bola*, a little town which the *Romans* had lately ſeized, *P. Poſthumius*, one of the military tribunes, was ſent with an army to recover it. After ſome ſkirmiſhes with the enemy in the field, he ſat down before the place, and, to encourage his men, promiſed to diſtribute the plunder among them, if they took the town. The place was ſoon after carried by aſſault; but the general, who hated the plebeians, of whom the greateſt part of his army conſiſted, breaking his word, put all the ſpoil into the hands of the quæſtors, and thereby alienated the hearts of the army from him. In the mean time *Sextius*, one of the tribunes of the people, having brought on anew the affair of the *Agrarian* law, *Poſthumius* was ſent for to *Rome*, to aſſiſt his collegues in oppoſing the tribunes. As he was an obſtinate wrong-headed man, on his arrival, he let many inconſiderate expreſſions drop in the preſence of the curiæ. One day *Sextius* having propoſed a decree for dividing the city of *Bola* and its territory, among the ſoldiers then in the field who had made that conqueſt, *Poſthumius*, in a violent paſſion, cried out, Wo

Labicum revolts.

The Roman army defeated by the Æqui.

The old quarrel about the diſtribution of lands revived.

be to my men, if any ſuch thing be done. *Sextius*, perceiving by this the haſty temper of the general, took pleaſure in exaſperating him, and making him ſay many things offenſive to the people and ſoldiers. Then the crafty tribune, turning to the people, upbraided them for thinking ſuch a brute more worthy of the military tribuneſhip than their own tribunes, whoſe whole buſineſs was to procure them lands, houſes, and a comfortable retreat in their old age. His artful diſcourſe much leſſened the partiality of the people for the nobility in the elections; but when the threats of *Poſthumius* were related in the camp, the ſoldiers began to mutiny; and becauſe *P. Sylius*, one of the quæſtors, ordered a lictor to ſeize a ſoldier, who was more mutinous than the reſt, his companions not only reſcued him, but one of them wounded the quæſtor with a ſtone. *Poſthumius*, informed of this tumult, haſtened to the camp; but, inſtead of appeaſing the ſedition, increaſed it by his unſeaſonable ſeverity. He commanded the moſt guilty of the mutineers to be thrown into a ſhallow water, to be there covered with hurdles, and then preſſed to death, by heaping ſtones upon them. As this was a ſlow kind of death, which made the criminals cry out in an affecting manner, the ſoldiers flocked about them, and reſcued them out of the hands of the executioners. Hereupon the general, in a tranſport of rage, came down from his tribunal, broke through the crowd, and, being attended by his lictors, endeavoured to diſperſe the multitude; but the ſoldiers, forgetting their duty, oppoſed force with force, and, being worked up to fury, threw ſtones at their general, and killed him on the ſpot. This was the firſt inſtance of a commander killed by his troops from the foundation of *Rome* [s].

The ſoldiers mutiny in the camp.

And kill their general.

The ſenate, fearing leſt the people, in order to ſcreen the murderers, ſhould chuſe military tribunes for the next year out of the plebeians, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to get conſuls elected, and, after warm debates, prevailed. *A. Cornelius Coſſus* and *L. Furius Medullinus* were raiſed to that dignity. As they were both men of great prudence and moderation, they were unanimouſly named, by the ſenate, people, and army, to proſecute the ſoldiers who had murdered their general; which they did with ſuch circumſpection, for fear of driving the army to an open revolt, that thoſe few who died, fell by their own hands, and not by the axes of the lictors. Nothing remarkable, except a plague and famine, happened in the three following conſulates of *Q. Fabius* and *C. Furius*, of *M. Papirius* and *C. Nautius*, of *M. Æmilius* and *C. Valerius*. But in the conſulate of *Cn. Cornelius* and *L. Furius*, a ſecond time, the tribunes of the people, eſpecially three of the *Icilian* family, who were more active than the reſt, prevailed upon the people to make uſe of the liberty allowed them by the laws, and to chuſe three plebeians into the quæſtorſhip. The *Icilii* having carried this point, encouraged the plebeians to oppoſe the election of conſuls, hoping, that ſome of their body might be raiſed to the military tribuneſhip, as they had been to the quæſtorſhip. The diſputes on this head grew warm, when news was brought, that the *Æqui* and *Volſci* were again in motion, and had retaken *Carventum*. It was therefore neceſſary to raiſe forces, in order to ſtop their further progreſs; but the tribunes obſtinately oppoſed the levies, till the ſenate conſented to the election of military tribunes; but, to diſappoint the *Icilii*, they added this clauſe to their decree, that none of the tribunes of the people ſhould either be choſen military tribunes, or continued in their office the next year. As the tribunes could not object to this, without diſcovering their ambition, troops were raiſed without oppoſition; and tho' *Carventum* was not recovered, the city of *Verrugo* was taken from the *Volſci*, and ſome other advantages gained over them. In the mean time, the election of the military tribunes coming on, the patricians engaged ſome plebeians of no merit or weight to ſtand candidates. The plebeians, diſguſted with their meanneſs and aſhamed to ſee them ſtand in competition with ſenators and conſulars of the firſt rank, gave all their ſuffrages to the nobles, and choſe three patricians, *C. Julius Julus*, *P. Cornelius Coſſus*, and *C. Servilius Ahala*. During their adminiſtration, the *Volſci* renewed the war, and, having engaged ſome of the new allies of the republic to join them, encamped near *Antium*. The ſenate, apprehending the republic to be in great danger, ordered a dictator to be nominated; but as the three military tribunes had already drawn lots for the command of the army, which had fallen to *Julius* and *Cornelius*, thoſe two generals, offended at the diſtruſt the fathers had ſhewed of their conduct, refuſed to name a dictator. Hereupon the ſenate complained to the tribunes of the people, as they had done before upon

Of the four quæſtors three are choſen out of the plebeians.

The Volſci renew the war.

[s] Liv. l. iv. c. 49. Zonar. annal. l. vii.

upon the like occaſion, and deſired them to interpoſe their authority: but they gave them a ſcornful anſwer; Who are we, ſaid they, but contemptible plebeians, ſcarce to be reckoned in the number of men, much leſs of *Roman* citizens? When the honours and dignities of the republic ſhall be made common to us with the patricians, we ſhall take care, that no proud magiſtrate diſobeys the decrees of the ſenate. Till then you muſt expect nothing from us, but do your own buſineſs the beſt you can. This refuſal greatly perplexed the ſenate; but at length *C. Servilius*, the third military tribune, extricated them out of the preſent difficulty, by taking upon him to act alone and to name a dictator. The perſon he raiſed to that high ſtation was *P. Cornelius Rutilus*, who appointed him to be general of the horſe. The dictator took the field, gained a complete victory over the *Volſci*, and returning to *Rome* laid down his office. Upon his reſignation, the military tribunes reſumed the functions of their employment, and to be revenged on the ſenate for the treatment they had met with, without conſulting the fathers, ordered the centuries to aſſemble for the election of military tribunes againſt the enſuing year. The patricians, alarmed at this ſtep, had recourſe to a new artifice, to prevent the government from falling into the hands of the plebeians. They obliged the moſt illuſtrious members of their own body to ſtand candidates; ſo that, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the tribunes, four patricians of diſtinguiſhed merit were choſen, *viz. C. Valerius*, *C. Servilius*, *Lucius Furius*, and *Fabius Vibulanus* [t].

P. Cornelius Rutilus *dictator gains a complete victory over the* Volſci.

The truce with the *Veientes* being at this time ended, the *Romans* ſent feciales to demand ſatisfaction for the injuries they had formerly done the republic; but the feciales meeting on the road envoys from *Veii*, at their requeſt proceeded no farther. Theſe envoys, being admitted into the ſenate, repreſented, that their city, being at preſent diſturbed by domeſtic broils, was not in a condition to give the *Romans* ſatisfaction. Theſe diſſentions gave the *Romans* a favourable opportunity of falling upon their old enemies; but they had too much generoſity, as *Livy* obſerves, to take advantage of the misfortunes of a rival ſtate, and therefore did not diſturb them this year. The *Volſci* retook *Verrugo* from the *Romans* the ſame year, and put the garriſon to the ſword; but the military tribunes having ſurprized the *Volſci*, while they were diſperſed about the country in queſt of booty, cut them all to pieces. In the following tribuneſhip of *C. Cornelius*, *L. Valerius*, *Cn. Cornelius*, and *Fabius Ambuſtus*, all patricians, the *Veientes* having inſulted the *Roman* embaſſadors and driven them out of their city with contempt, the ſenate ordered a declaration of war againſt them to be immediately propoſed to the people; but the tribunes oppoſed the levies, making the old affair of the *Agrarian* law their pretence. However, it was agreed, that three of the military tribunes ſhould lead an army againſt the *Volſci*, who, at the approach of the legions, betook themſelves to flight, and left the country open to be pillaged. Hereupon the *Roman* generals, having divided their army into three bodies, made incurſions into it on three different ſides. *Fabius* laid ſiege to *Anxur*, and having taken it by ſtorm, divided the ſpoil equally among the ſoldiers of all the three armies. This piece of generoſity paved the way for a reconciliation between the nobility and the people, which was intirely completed by a decree of the ſenate, that for the future the *Roman* infantry ſhould be maintained in the field at the public expence. Hitherto all the citizens had been obliged to ſerve in war at their own coſt and charges, which was an exorbitant burden on the poorer plebeians, and frequently ruined their families. The ſenate therefore, pitying their condition, and reflecting on the many diſorders which were occaſioned by their refuſing to liſt themſelves, even for the moſt neceſſary wars, of their own accord decreed, that the foot ſhould have pay out of the public money; and that, to furniſh this expence, a new tax ſhould be raiſed, from which no citizen whatſoever ſhould be exempt. What pay was given at this time to each ſoldier, we find no-where recorded; but in *Polybius*'s time, that is, in the time of the ſecond *Carthaginian* war, each foot-ſoldier was allowed two *oboli* a day, a centurion double that pay, and a horſeman treble. Two *oboli* were about the third part of an *Attic* drachma, which was worth ſeven pence three farthings of our money [u]. Upon the firſt news of this decree, the people, tranſported with joy, ran in crowds from all parts to the ſenate-houſe, and kiſſing the ſenators hands, called them the true fathers of the people, proteſting at the ſame time, that they would ſpill the laſt drop of their blood for their country, which they now

The Veientes *inſult the* Roman *embaſſadors.*

The Roman *infantry begin to receive pay.*

[t] Liv. ibid. c. 58. [u] Vide præfat. præfix. Vol. I.

now looked upon as a tender mother; but the tribunes of the people, not liking the union of the two orders, which hindered them from making a figure in the ſtate, endeavoured to leſſen the value of the favour. They inſinuated to the people, that this pay was to come out of their own pockets; that it was not juſt to make thoſe citizens, who had completed the time of their ſervice at their own charge, contribute to the ſupport of the new ſoldiers; that they would protect all thoſe who ſhould refuſe to pay the tax, *&c.* However, as the ſenators began by laying great ſums on themſelves, which they paid readily, according to the real value of their eſtates, the common people followed their example, without ſhewing the leaſt uneaſineſs [w].

The Romans *inveſt* Veii.

And now the ſenate, finding themſelves in a condition to maintain an army abroad as long as they pleaſed, began to form great deſigns. All oppoſition to the levies being over, they reſolved to beſiege *Veii* itſelf, one of the ſtrongeſt places of *Italy*, in hopes of making themſelves maſters of a new city and territory larger than their own. Before they embarqued in this great undertaking, the people being aſſembled, all voted for a war, and choſe for the firſt time ſix military tribunes, all patricians, *viz. C. Julius Julus*, *C. Æmilius Mamercinus*, *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, *L. Furius Medullinus*, *Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, and *A. Manlius Vulſo Capitolinus*. Some of theſe remained at home, while others took the field againſt the *Veientes*, who, declining a battle, ſhut themſelves up in their city. The *Romans* inveſted it; but there was little action this year, and leſs the following, when *P. Cornelius Malugenenſis*, *Sp. Nautius Rutilius*, *Cn. Cornelius Coſſus*, *C. Valerius Potitus*, *C. Fabius Ambuſtus*, and *M. Sergius Fidenas* were military tribunes. Theſe were obliged to divide their army into two bodies; one of which continued before *Veii*, and the other marched againſt the *Volſci*, defeated them, took and razed the city of *Artena*, and then rejoined the forces that were at the ſiege. The ſucceeding military tribunes, *M. Æmilius*, *M. Furius*, *Ap. Claudius*, grandſon of the decemvir, *L. Julius*, *M. Quinctius*, and *L. Valerius* puſhed on the ſiege with great vigour. In the mean time the *Veientes*, changing their form of government, choſe themſelves a king; which ſo diſpleaſed the other ſtates of *Hetruria*, that they refuſed to ſend them any ſuccours. It was at this ſiege that the *Romans* are thought to have firſt invented lines of circumvallation and contravallation; at leaſt, this is the firſt time we find them mentioned in hiſtory. They fortified their camp both on the ſide of the city they inveſted, to prevent ſallies, and on the ſide of the country, to guard themſelves againſt any ſuccours, which the *Hetrurians* might ſend to the beſieged. The military tribunes, conſidering likewiſe that *Veii* could not be taken but after a long ſiege, and then not ſo much by force as by famine, reſolved, as the troops were now more at their command, to keep the army in the field all winter in wooden barracks covered with ſkins. To this deſign the ſoldiers made no oppoſition, chuſing rather to live in the camp at the expence of the public, than in *Rome* at their own; but the tribunes of the people, diſliking a project which kept great numbers of their adherents out of *Rome*, and conſequently leſſened the ſtrength of their party in the comitia, aſſembled the tribes, and inveighed bitterly againſt the military tribunes, accuſing them of ambitious deſigns and cruelty, in keeping the troops all winter in the field. *Appius*, whom the other military tribunes had left at *Rome*, in a long ſpeech, which he made to the people, expoſed the ſeditious and unreaſonable conduct of the tribunes. The people gave no great heed to *Appius*'s remonſtrances; but a loſs, which the beſiegers ſuſtained before the place, animated the plebeians, more than his prudent diſcourſe, to purſue the ſiege with vigour. The *Veientes* in a ſally ſurprized the *Romans*, ſlew a great number of them, ſet fire to their machines, and ruined in a few hours the work of many days. This misfortune, inſtead of ſinking the ſpirits of the *Romans*, inſpired them with new courage. The citizens, who had wealth enough to be placed in the firſt claſs among the knights, but had not yet received horſes from the republic, which ceremony was neceſſary to make a man a knight, went in a body to the ſenate, and offered to mount themſelves at their own expence and ſerve at the ſiege of *Veii*. The fathers accepted the offer; and the people, following the example of the new knights, declared themſelves ready to ſerve and ſupply the places of the ſoldiers who had been killed. The ſenate ordered the ſame pay to be given to the voluntiers as to the reſt of the army, and decreed at the ſame time, that for the future the cavalry likewiſe ſhould receive pay out of the public treaſury [x].

The Roman army kept in the field all winter.

The cavalry receive pay.

The

[w] Liv. ibid. c. 61. Zonar. l. vii. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3. [x] Liv. l. v. c. 7.

The election of new military tribunes furnished the army with new generals. The six chosen were *C. Servilius*, *Q. Sulpicius*, *Q. Servilius*, *A. Manlius*, *L. Virginius*, and *Manius Sergius*. The siege of *Veii* was carried on by the two latter; but as these two generals could not agree, each of them had a body of troops under his command, and, as it were, a separate army. *Sergius* commanded the attack, and *Virginius* covered the siege. While the army was thus divided, the *Falisci* and *Capenates* fell upon *Sergius*, and at the same time the besieged sallying out attacked him on the other side. The *Romans* under his command, thinking they had all the forces of *Hetruria* to deal with, began to lose courage, and retire. *Virginius* could have saved his collegue's troops; for his forces were ranged in order of battle at a small distance: but *Sergius* was too proud to send to him for succour; and *Virginius*, tho' well apprised of his danger, resolved not to send him any, unless he asked it. Thus the public good was sacrificed to a private pique. The enemy made a dreadful slaughter of the *Romans* in their lines; but *Sergius* himself, having the good luck to escape, fled to *Rome*, not so much to justify his own conduct, as to complain of that of his collegue's. Hereupon *Virginius* was recalled, and both commanders ordered to give an account of their conduct to the senate, where they inveighed against each other with great acrimony. The conscript fathers, to quiet the matter, thought it advisable to make a decree, that all the military tribunes of that year should lay down their dignity, and the people immediately proceed to a new election. The four, who had been guilty of no fault, made no opposition to the decree; but the two, on whose account it had been made, protested against it, declaring, that they would not resign their authority before the ides of *December*, the due time for its expiration. The tribunes of the people, thinking this a favourable opportunity for them to appear again and make some figure, threatened, with an air of authority, to send the two refractory magistrates to prison, if they did not obey the senate. But *Servilius Ahala*, one of the military tribunes, after having severely reprimanded the tribunes of the people for treating his collegues in so haughty a manner, declared, that, if *Sergius* and *Virginius* continued obstinate, he would name a dictator. Hereupon the two magistrates, finding it fruitless to resist any longer, abdicated their magistracy, and the people chose six new tribunes, *viz. L. Valerius*, *L. Julius*, *M. Æmilius*, *Cn. Cornelius*, *Caeso Fabius*, and *Furius Camillus*. These new magistrates were ordered to begin anew the siege of *Veii*; but when the troops came to be raised, the tribunes of the people kindled fresh broils, by dissuading the old soldiers, left in *Rome* to guard it, from paying the taxes, as if they were exempted from that burden by being inlisted. The disturbances raised on this occasion were so great, that the tribes could not agree in the choice of more than eight new tribunes of the people; however, the majority of these eight named two more, in defiance of the *Trebonian* law, which gave *C. Trebonius*, one of the present tribunes, an opportunity of drawing the hatred of the people upon three of his collegues; but they diverted the hatred of the public from themselves, by turning it against *Sergius* and *Virginius*, the two generals of the last year, who were both cited to appear before the people, and condemned to pay a great fine for misconduct. This prosecution had the designed effect; for the people were so intent upon it, that they forgot the *Trebonian* law and their quarrel with the three tribunes [y].

The Romans routed before Veii.

All the military tribunes of this year forced to abdicate.

The tribunes, encouraged by the success that attended them in the prosecution of *Sergius* and *Virginius*, renewed the domestic broils, and proposed two laws; the first requiring a partition of the lands as formerly; the second excusing the people from any more contributions towards the soldiers pay; and, in fact, they would not suffer them to pay the taxes: so that the legions, being deprived of their subsistence, began to mutiny. But at length all was quieted, by chusing a plebeian into the military tribuneship. His name was *P. Licinius Calvus*. The other five were, *P. Mælius*, *P. Manius*, *Sp. Furius*, *L. Titinius*, and *L. Publilius*. *Licinius*, tho' a plebeian, was an old senator; for some time since the considerable plebeians had begun to be admitted into the senate. The tribunes of the people were so much rejoiced to see a plebeian raised to the supreme magistracy, that they dropped their opposition to the tax; so that the soldiers, receiving their pay again, took new courage, made themselves masters of *Anxur*, which belonged to the *Volsci*, and carried on the siege of *Veii* with great resolution and perseverance, tho' they suffered much from the severe cold of the winter.

A plebeian chosen military tribune.

Licinius

[y] Idem. c. 12.

Licinius having discharged his trust with universal approbation, the centuries chose a

Five plebeians military tribunes.

for the year following five military tribunes out of the plebeians, and only *M. Veturius* out of the patricians. The five were *C. Duilius*, *L. Atinius*, *Cn. Genucius*, *M. Pomponius*, and *Volero Publilius*. Their administration proved very glorious; for they carried on the siege of *Veii* with great vigor, and intirely defeated the confederate forces of the *Falisci* and *Capenates*, who came to the relief of the besieged city; but the extreme cold of the weather, changing of a sudden to excessive heat, occasioned a mortality both among men and cattle. Hereupon the *Sybilline* books being consulted,

The ceremony of the lectisternium.

the *duumviri* pretended to find there a new sort of expiation. Three beds were placed in a temple round a plentiful table, and the statues of *Apollo*, *Latona*, *Diana*, *Hercules*, *Mercury*, and *Neptune* taken down from their niches, laid on the beds, and served b with magnificent repasts for eight days together. These public ceremonies were imitated in private families; every one kept open house for friends, strangers, and even enemies; all law-suits, disputes, and animosities were suspended, and the very prisoners released to partake of the public rejoicings z.

In the mean time the patricians, taking advantage of the present state of affairs to recover the chief offices of the republic, and knowing the superstition of the people, attacked them on that side, and gave out, that the uncommon severity of the winter the last year, and the present year's plague, were punishments from the gods, who were displeased to see all distinctions of families confounded, and plebeians placed in the highest offices. By this means and by proposing only such candidates to the centuries as were of superior merit, they disposed them to favour the nobility; and accordc ingly they restored the military tribuneship to the patrician order, raising to that office *L. Valerius*, *L. Furius*, *M. Valerius*, *Q. Servilius*, *Q. Sulpitius*, and the famous *Camillus*, all patricians. During their administration, *Rome* was astonished with a

The lake of Alba *overflows.*

prodigy. It happened to be a very dry summer; but nevertheless the lake of *Alba* swelled on a sudden to such a height, as to cover the tops of the rocks which surrounded it; whereas it had never before reached to the foot of them. This strange accident was much talked of in the camp before *Veii*; and as in long sieges the soldiers on both sides frequently become acquainted, they talked of the prodigy from their different camps; but an old soldier of the *Veientes* one day, while the others were making d merry with the prodigy, cried out in an enthusiastic manner, *Veii* shall never be taken, till all the water is run out of the lake of *Alba*. A *Roman* centinel, who had great faith in divination, hearing him, asked, who the old man was? and being informed that he was a diviner, made him prisoner by a stratagem, and carried him before the *Roman* general, who sent him to the senate. The old man declared, that what he had said was agreeable to an ancient tradition written in some prophetic books of his country; and that, if the *Romans* could draw the water out of the lake, *Veii* would be taken: but he advised them to take particular care, that the drains, which should be made to carry it off, did not convey it to the sea. Tho' the senate was unwilling to trust the bare word of the diviner, yet they thought the matter of e such consequence, as to send a deputation of three patricians to *Delphos*, to consult the oracle. These returned the next year, while *L. Julius*, *L. Furius*, *L. Sergius*, *A. Posthumius*, *A. Manlius*, and *P. Cornelius*, all patricians, were military tribunes. The answer of the oracle was, to the great surprize of the senate and people, perfectly

Canals are made to drain the lake.

agreeable to the advice and prediction of the old man. The senate therefore immediately sent out pioneers to make a canal, which might carry off the waters of the lake, and convey them all over the fields in trenches. This wonderful work subsists to this day, and the waters of the lake *Albano* run through it a. The election of the present military tribunes being defective with regard to the auguries, they all abdicated, and, after a short inter-regnum, were succeeded by six new ones, all ple- f beians, *viz. L. Atinius*, *P. Mælius*, *L. Titinius*, *P. Mænius*, *Cn. Genucius*, and *P. Licinius*. *Atinius* and *Genucius* marched with some troops to oppose a great body of *Hetrurians*, who were coming to attack the *Roman* entrenchments before *Veii*; but

M. Furius Camillus *dictator.*

the two tribunes falling into an ambush, *Genucius* was killed, and his collegue driven out of the field. The news of this defeat so terrified the senate, that they had recourse, as usual in such cases, to a dictator. *M. Furius Camillus* was accordingly raised to that supreme dignity. He named *P. Cornelius Scipio* for general of the horse, and ordered new troops to be raised. The people strove who should first list themselves under

z Liv. l. v. c. 10. Sigonius & Pighius in fast. Capitol. a Vide Kircher. vet. Lat. l iii.

under the banners of ſo renowned a commander. The *Latins* and *Hernici* of their own accord ſent him a ſtrong ſupply of their choiceſt youth. On his firſt taking the field, he came to a battle with the united forces of the *Faliſci*, *Capenates*, and *Hetru-rians*, and having intirely defeated them, ſat down before *Veii*, and puſhed on the ſiege with incredible vigor; but the beſieged defending themſelves with more cou-rage than ever, *Camillus*, deſpairing to carry by aſſault a place, which had a whole army for its gariſon, had recourſe to mines and ſapping. His pioneers, whom he divided into ſix companies, relieving one another, and the work continually advance-ing without interruption, a paſſage under ground was opened to the very caſtle. The dictator then thinking himſelf ſure of conqueſt, ſent to the ſenate, to know how they would have the ſpoils of the city diſpoſed of. The queſtion was debated with great warmth; *Appius Claudius* was for having the rich plunder of *Veii* made a fund for the payment of the troops; but *Licinius*, thinking that this would give riſe to endleſs murmurs and ſeditions, propoſed, that the ſpoils ſhould be divided between the army and thoſe citizens who ſhould be in the camp when the town was taken. This ad-vice prevailed, and a decree was made, giving leave to all the citizens to go to the camp, and take their ſhare of the booty. Accordingly vaſt numbers flocked thither well armed, and joined the dictator's troops in the attack. The ſignal being given for the aſſault, part of the army ſcaled the walls, while the ſoldiers in the mine ſallied out, and ſpread themſelves in ſeveral bodies through the town. One fell upon thoſe who were defending the walls; another broke down the gates, and the whole *Roman* army entering the city, put all thoſe to the ſword who did not ſurrender their arms. Thus was the rich city of *Veii* taken, like a ſecond *Troy*, after a ten years ſiege. The booty, which was exceeding rich, was divided among the ſoldiers; but the priſoners of free condition were ſold to the beſt bidder, and the money ariſing from thence put into the public treaſury; but, tho' this was the only part of the ſpoil from which the public reaped any benefit, the people murmured at it, and inveighed both againſt the ſenate and the dictator. The diſpleaſure of the multitude was increaſed with regard to *Camillus*, by ſome ſingularities in the pomp of his triumph; for he entered the city in a ſtately chariot, drawn by four horſes all milk-white, and coloured his face with vermilion. White horſes, ſince the expulſion of the kings, had been allowed only to *Jupiter* and the ſun; and the ſtatues of the gods were commonly painted with vermi-lion. The people therefore, in the midſt of the praiſes which they gave the dictator, could not, without a ſecret indignation, behold him affecting a pomp, which, in a manner, put him upon a level with the gods. What ſtill more incenſed the people againſt him was, his demanding back from them a tenth part of the ſpoil of *Veii*, to diſcharge a vow, which he had made to *Apollo* juſt before the aſſault, and afterwards forgot. This contribution at a wrong time irritated the people againſt him, and the tribunes gladly ſeized ſo favourable an occaſion of inveighing againſt him. In the mean time, it was propoſed to buy ſuch a vaſe of gold with the produce of what the ſoldiers returned, as might ſhew *Greece* the magnificence of the *Roman* republic; but there being little gold to be found in the city, the ladies, of their own accord, con-tributed all their toys and ornaments, of which a vaſe with two handles was made, weighing eight talents; and three ſenators were ſent to *Delphos* with it. In return for the ladies generoſity, the republic granted them two favours, 1. That funeral orations ſhould be made for illuſtrious women, as for great men. 2. That they ſhould have leave to ride in chariots at the public games [b].

Veii *taken, after a ten years ſiege. Year after the flood* 2608. *Before Chriſt* 391. *Of Rome* 357.

THE next year, the republic being under the government of ſix military tribunes, *viz. P. Cornelius Coſſus*, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, *M. Valerius*, *Cæſo Fabius*, *L. Furius*, and *Q. Servilius*, all patricians, *Sicinius Dentatus*, a tribune of the people, propoſed, that half of the ſenators, knights, and people of *Rome* ſhould remove to *Veii* and ſettle there. The affair, according to cuſtom, was carried before the ſenate; and the fathers, eſpecially *Camillus*, oppoſed it with great warmth. They feared, that two ſuch cities would, by degrees, become two different ſtates, which, after a deſtruc-tive war with each other, would at length fall a prey to their common enemies. They therefore proteſted, that they would ſooner die than conſent to ſo unreaſonable a law. By this means, *Camillus* and the other ſenators, after much ſtruggle, brought this project to nothing. Notwithſtanding the oppoſition made by *Camillus* to this law, he was choſen one of the ſix military tribunes for the year following. His col-legues

Sicinius Den-tatus *propoſes, that half of the ſenators, knights, &c. ſhould remove to* Veii.

[b] PLUT. in Camillo. LIV. l. v. c. 21,—25.

legues were, *L. Furius*, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, *C. Æmilius*, *Sp. Poſthumius*, and *L. Valerius*. The conduct of the war againſt the *Faliſci* being committed to the care of *Camillus*, he beſieged *Falerii*, their capital city, and ſurrounded it with lines; but at ſo great diſtance from the walls, that there was ſufficient room for the beſieged to take the air without danger. The *Faliſci* had brought from *Greece* the cuſtom of committing all their children to the care of one man, who was to inſtruct them in all the branches of polite literature, to take them out a walking with him, and ſee them perform the exerciſes proper for their age. The children had uſed often to walk with their maſter without the walls of the city before the ſiege; and their fears of an enemy, who kept quiet and at ſuch a diſtance, were not great enough to make them diſcontinue that exerciſe afterwards. But the preſent ſchool-maſter proved a traitor; he at firſt led the youth only along the walls; then he carried them a little farther; and at length, when a favourable opportunity offered, he led them through the guards of the *Roman* camp, quite to the general's tent. As they were the children of the beſt families in the place, their treacherous leader, when he came into *Camillus*'s preſence, addreſſed him thus: With theſe children I deliver the place you beſiege into your hands. They were committed to my care and tuition; but I prefer the friendſhip of *Rome* to my employment at *Falerii*. *Camillus*, ſtruck with horror at the treachery, ordered his lictors to ſtrip the traitor, to tie his hands behind him, and to furniſh the youth with rods to whip him back again into the city. The *Faliſci*, moved by this generous action, immediately ſent a deputation to *Camillus* to treat of a ſurrender, tho' they had a little before proteſted, that they would rather undergo the fate of the *Veientes*, than ſubmit to *Rome*. *Camillus*, out of modeſty, referred the deputies to the ſenate, which they addreſſed in the following manner: *Rome*, conſcript fathers, has juſt now gained a victory over us, which can never be ſhameful to us in the ſight either of gods or men. We ſubmit to you out of a perſuaſion, that we cannot live more happily, than under the laws of a republic, in which juſtice and probity reign. The *Romans* and *Faliſci* are this day giving two great examples to poſterity; you, in preferring juſtice to victory; we, in rather yielding to the charms of virtue, than to the force of arms. We ſurrender ourſelves into your hands. Command the *Faliſci* to lay down their arms, to give you hoſtages, and to receive a *Roman* gariſon, and we will obey and open our gates. We ſhall never repent of ſubjecting ourſelves to your government; nor ſhall you ever have reaſon to complain of our being unfaithful to you. The ſenate heard this diſcourſe with pleaſure; but left to *Camillus* the terms of the peace which was to be made with the *Faliſci*, not as a conquered people, but as with a nation which voluntarily ſubmitted to the dominion of the republic. He therefore entered into an alliance with them, and demanded only the expences of the preſent campaign. He then led back his army to *Rome*, where his ſoldiers increaſed the number of his enemies. They had promiſed themſelves great riches from the plunder of *Falerii*, and thinking *Camillus* had given the *Faliſci* better terms than they deſerved, they looked on their general as an enemy to the people, and as one who was no-ways inclined to promote their intereſt; ſo that the hatred of the multitude to this hero increaſed as faſt as his reputation [e].

The Faliſci, *overcome by the generoſity of* Camillus, *ſubmit to* Rome.

The Æqui defeated.

While *Camillus* was thus employed, two of his collegues, *Æmilius* and *Poſthumius*, having united their forces, defeated the *Æqui* in a pitched battle; but while the arms of the republic proſpered abroad, new diſturbances were raiſed at home. When the time came for electing tribunes of the people, the multitude was for continuing thoſe who had propoſed the law for going to *Veii*; and the patricians were for re-electing thoſe who had oppoſed it; but the former prevailing in the comitia by tribes, the promoters of the law were re-choſen. Hereupon the patricians, in revenge, reſolved, if poſſible, to reſtore the conſular government; and accordingly, in the comitia by centuries, where they had moſt ſway, *L. Lucretius Flavus* and *Severus Sulpitius Camerinus* were choſen conſuls. During their adminiſtration, *Sicinius* the tribune uſed his utmoſt endeavours to get the law paſſed for removing half of the people and ſenate to *Veii*. *A. Virginius* and *Q. Pomponius*, two of the tribunes of the people for the laſt year, who had oppoſed it, were cited to appear before the tribes, and fined ten thouſand aſſes of braſs. The whole ſenate was offended at this ſentence, but eſpecially *Camillus*, who adviſed the conſcript fathers to appear in the comitium, when the tribes aſſembled to determine the affair, as men prepared to defend their temples,

[e] Plut. ibid. Liv. l. v. c. 27.

temples, their houſhold gods, and their country. Accordingly the patricians, by tears, entreaties, and the more powerful arguments drawn from religion, prevailed to have the law rejected, tho' it was only by a majority of one tribe. And now the ſenate was ſo well pleaſed with the people, that the very next morning a decree was paſſed, aſſigning ſix acres of the lands of *Veii*, not only to every father of a family, but to every ſingle perſon of free condition. On the other hand, the people, delighted with this liberality, made no oppoſition to the election of conſuls. *L. Valerius Potitus* and *M. Manlius Capitolinus* were raiſed to the conſulate, and began their year by performing the vow, made by *Camillus* when dictator, to celebrate the *great games*. Of theſe there were two ſorts, the one celebrated every year in the month of *September*, in honour of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*; the other, called votive or extraordinary, had no fixed day, and was celebrated in honour of *Jupiter* only. This year the *Volſinii*, one of the twelve *Hetrurian* nations, alarmed at the fate of *Veii* and *Falerii*, took arms againſt *Rome*, and, being joined by the *Salpinates*, made incurſions into the *Roman* territory; but a contagious diſtemper made the republic ſuſpend her revenge. The two conſuls being ſeized with it, the ſuperſtitious multitude imagined they had been inauſpiciouſly choſen. They were therefore ordered by the ſenate to reſign. Upon their reſignation an inter-regnum enſued, during which the republic was governed by three preſidents, *Valerius Potitus*, (not the conſul) *Camillus*, and *Cornelius Scipio*, who ſucceeded each other for a few days. *Valerius* held an aſſembly for the election of ſix military tribunes, which ſort of government was now re-eſtabliſhed, that, in caſe ſome of the ſupreme magiſtrates were infected with the contagion, there might ſtill be others to take care of the public welfare. By a cenſus taken this year it appeared, that the number of citizens, able to bear arms, amounted to one hundred fifty-two thouſand five hundred and eighty-three. No wonder therefore that numerous armies were often raiſed within the walls of *Rome* itſelf. The troops, ſince their receiving pay, were more obedient than formerly to their commanders, who kept them in the field ſummer and winter. They had never had a more gallant or experienced commander than *Camillus*. The frontiers of the republic were now extended above ſixty miles beyond the *Tiber*; and the people ſeemed to be in a ſettled tranquillity and perfectly reconciled to the ſenate; but this unuſual proſperity was interrupted by the *Gauls*, a memorable event, which almoſt ruined the *Roman* nation.

Conſuls created inſtead of military tribunes.

An inter-regnum.

Military tribunes elected anew.

Several Invaſions of Italy by the Gaul.

Gaul was anciently divided into three parts, *viz. Gallia Belgica*, *Gallia Celtica*, and *Gallia Aquitanica*. The firſt reached from the *Britiſh* ſea to the *Seine*; the ſecond comprehended all the country between the *Seine* and the *Garonne*, quite to the *Alps*; the third contained all that tract of ground which lies between the *Garonne*, the *Pyrenees*, and the weſtern ocean. The *Celtæ*, or the inhabitants of *Gallia Celtica*, were the only *Gauls*, who, at different times, croſſed the *Alps* and ſettled in *Italy*. The firſt invaſion of *Italy* by the *Gauls* happened about the year of *Rome* 160, during the reign of *Tarquinius Priſcus*; when *Ambigatus*, king of the *Celtæ*, finding his dominions overſtocked, ſent away vaſt numbers of his ſubjects to ſeek their fortune, under the command of his two nephews, *Segoveſus* and *Belloveſus*. The former took his way through the *Hircinian* foreſt, and ſettled in a canton of *Germany*, ever ſince called *Bohemia* or *Boïemia*, from the word *Boii*, the greateſt part of his followers being of the *Celtic* nation which was ſo named; but theſe, being afterwards driven from thence by the *Marcomani* or *Sclavonians*, retired into that country, which lies between the *Inn* and the *Iſer*, and which from them took the name of *Boiaria*, or *Bavaria*. As for *Belloveſus*, he croſſed the *Rhone*, and, paſſing the *Alps*, poſſeſſed himſelf of thoſe countries which are at preſent known by the names of *Piedmont* and *Lombardy*, after having driven out the *Hetrurians*, who then held them. A ſecond irruption into *Italy* was made by the *Cænomani*, or thoſe people of *Gallia Celtica* who dwelt between the mouths of the *Seine* and the *Loire*, under the conduct of one *Elitouis*. Theſe new adventurers ſettled in the preſent *Breſciano*, *Cremoneſe*, *Mantuano*, *Carniola*, and the territories now ſubject to the republic of *Venice*. The *Læves*, or *Lævi*, and the *Ananes* made the third irruption into *Italy*; the former ſeized the country of *Novara*, on the north ſide of the *Po*; and the latter that of *Piacenza*, on the ſouth ſide of the ſame river. The fourth tranſmigration of the *Gauls* into *Italy* was, when the *Boii* and *Lingones* paſſed the *Alpes Penninæ*, and ſettled on the ſouth ſide of the *Po*, between *Bologna* and *Ravenna*. Two hundred years after the invaſion by *Belloveſus*, the *Senones*, who poſſeſſed that part of *Gaul* which lies between *Paris* and *Meaux*, made

legues were, *L. Furius*, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, *C. Æmilius*, *Sp. Poſthumius*, and *L. Valerius*. The conduct of the war againſt the *Faliſci* being committed to the care of *Camillus*, he beſieged *Falerii*, their capital city, and ſurrounded it with lines; but at ſo great diſtance from the walls, that there was ſufficient room for the beſieged to take the air without danger. The *Faliſci* had brought from *Greece* the cuſtom of committing all their children to the care of one man, who was to inſtruct them in all the branches of polite literature, to take them out a walking with him, and ſee them perform the exerciſes proper for their age. The children had uſed often to walk with their maſter without the walls of the city before the ſiege; and their fears of an enemy, who kept quiet and at ſuch a diſtance, were not great enough to make them diſcontinue that exerciſe afterwards. But the preſent ſchool-maſter proved a traitor; he at firſt led the youth only along the walls; then he carried them a little farther; and at length, when a favourable opportunity offered, he led them through the guards of the *Roman* camp, quite to the general's tent. As they were the children of the beſt families in the place, their treacherous leader, when he came into *Camillus*'s preſence, addreſſed him thus: With theſe children I deliver the place you beſiege into your hands. They were committed to my care and tuition; but I prefer the friendſhip of *Rome* to my employment at *Falerii*. *Camillus*, ſtruck with horror at the treachery, ordered his lictors to ſtrip the traitor, to tie his hands behind him, and to furniſh the youth with rods to whip him back again into the city. The *Faliſci*, moved by this generous action, immediately ſent a deputation to *Camillus* to treat of a ſurrender, tho' they had a little before proteſted, that they would rather undergo the fate of the *Veientes*, than ſubmit to *Rome*. *Camillus*, out of modeſty, referred the deputies to the ſenate, which they addreſſed in the following manner: *Rome*, conſcript fathers, has juſt now gained a victory over us, which can never be ſhameful to us in the ſight either of gods or men. We ſubmit to you out of a perſuaſion, that we cannot live more happily, than under the laws of a republic, in which juſtice and probity reign. The *Romans* and *Faliſci* are this day giving two great examples to poſterity; you, in preferring juſtice to victory; we, in rather yielding to the charms of virtue, than to the force of arms. We ſurrender ourſelves into your hands. Command the *Faliſci* to lay down their arms, to give you hoſtages, and to receive a *Roman* gariſon, and we will obey and open our gates. We ſhall never repent of ſubjecting ourſelves to your government; nor ſhall you ever have reaſon to complain of our being unfaithful to you. The ſenate heard this diſcourſe with pleaſure; but left to *Camillus* the terms of the peace which was to be made with the *Faliſci*, not as a conquered people, but as with a nation which voluntarily ſubmitted to the dominion of the republic. He therefore entered into an alliance with them, and demanded only the expences of the preſent campaign. He then led back his army to *Rome*, where his ſoldiers increaſed the number of his enemies. They had promiſed themſelves great riches from the plunder of *Falerii*, and thinking *Camillus* had given the *Faliſci* better terms than they deſerved, they looked on their general as an enemy to the people, and as one who was no-ways inclined to promote their intereſt; ſo that the hatred of the multitude to this hero increaſed as faſt as his reputation [e].

The Faliſci, *overcome by the generoſity of* Camillus, *ſubmit to* Rome.

The Æqui defeated.

While *Camillus* was thus employed, two of his collegues, *Æmilius* and *Poſthumius*, having united their forces, defeated the *Æqui* in a pitched battle; but while the arms of the republic proſpered abroad, new diſturbances were raiſed at home. When the time came for electing tribunes of the people, the multitude was for continuing thoſe who had propoſed the law for going to *Veii*; and the patricians were for re-electing thoſe who had oppoſed it; but the former prevailing in the comitia by tribes, the promoters of the law were re-choſen. Hereupon the patricians, in revenge, reſolved, if poſſible, to reſtore the conſular government; and accordingly, in the comitia by centuries, where they had moſt ſway, *L. Lucretius Flavus* and *Severus Sulpitius Camerinus* were choſen conſuls. During their adminiſtration, *Sicinius* the tribune uſed his utmoſt endeavours to get the law paſſed for removing half of the people and ſenate to *Veii*. *A. Virginius* and *Q. Pomponius*, two of the tribunes of the people for the laſt year, who had oppoſed it, were cited to appear before the tribes, and fined ten thouſand aſſes of braſs. The whole ſenate was offended at this ſentence, but eſpecially *Camillus*, who adviſed the conſcript fathers to appear in the comitium, when the tribes aſſembled to determine the affair, as men prepared to defend their temples,

[e] Plut. ibid. Liv. l. v. c. 27

made a fifth irruption in *Italy*; which was occaſioned by the following accident: *Arunx*, one of the chief men of *Cluſium* in *Hetruria*, had been guardian to a young *Leucumo*, or lord of a *leucumony*, and had educated him in his houſe from his infancy. The *Leucumo*, as ſoon as he was of an age to feel the force of a paſſion, fell in love with his guardian's wife, and, upon the firſt diſcovery of their intrigue, conveyed her away, *Arunx* endeavoured to obtain reparation for the injury he had received; but the *Leucumo*, by his intereſt and money, gained over the magiſtrates; ſo that the injured guardian, finding no protectors in *Hetruria*, reſolved to make his application to the *Gauls*. The people, among all the *Celtic* nations, to whom he choſe to addreſs himſelf, were the *Senones*; and, in order to engage them in his quarrel, he acquainted them with the great plenty of *Italy*, and made them taſte of ſome *Italian* wines. Upon this the *Senones* reſolved to follow him; and a numerous army was immediately formed, which paſſing the *Alps*, under the conduct of their *Hetrurian* guide, and leaving the *Celtæ* in *Italy* unmoleſted, fell upon *Umbria*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of all the country from *Ravenna* to *Picenum*. They were about ſix years in ſettling themſelves in their new acquiſitions, while the *Romans* were carrying on the ſiege of *Veii*. At length *Arunx* brought the *Senones* before *Cluſium*, in order to beſiege that place, his wife and her lover having ſhut themſelves up there. The *Romans*, notwithſtanding the daily conqueſts made by the *Gauls*, ſeem to have been under no apprehenſion of any danger from them; for at this time the great *Camillus*, the only general they had capable of making head againſt ſuch formidable neighbours, was accuſed by *Apuleius*, one of the tribunes of the people, of having applied to his own uſe ſome ſpoils taken from the *Hetrurians*, particularly a braſs door brought from *Veii*. His friends, not finding themſelves ſtrong enough to protect him, promiſed to pay the fine which ſhould be laid upon him; but *Camillus*, having too great a ſoul to bear the affront of a public condemnation, retired from *Rome* and went of his own accord into baniſhment. He was no ſooner gone, than envoys arrived from the *Cluſini*, imploring the aſſiſtance of the *Romans* againſt the *Senones*. The ſenate, being unwilling to engage in an open war with a nation which had never offended them, ſent an embaſſy of three young patricians, all brothers and of the *Fabian* family, to bring about an accommodation between the two nations. Theſe embaſſadors, being arrived at the camp of the *Gauls* and conducted into the council, offered the mediation of *Rome*, and demanded of *Brennus*, the leader of the *Gauls*, What injury the *Cluſini* had done him? or what pretenſions any people from a remote country could have upon *Hetruria*? *Brennus* anſwered proudly, that his right lay in his ſword, and that all things belonged to the brave; but that, without having recourſe to this primitive law of nature, he had a juſt complaint againſt the *Cluſini*, who, having more lands than they could cultivate, had refuſed to yield to him thoſe they left untilled: And what other motives had you yourſelves, *Romans*, ſaid he, to conquer ſo many neighbouring nations? You have deprived the *Sabines*, the *Albans*, the *Fidenates*, the *Æqui*, and the *Volſci* of the beſt part of their territories. Not that we accuſe you of injuſtice; but it is evident, that you thought this to be the prime and moſt ancient of all laws, *to make the weak give way to the ſtrong*. Forbear therefore to intereſt yourſelves for the *Cluſini*, or allow us to take the part of the people you have ſubdued. The *Fabii* were highly provoked at ſo haughty an anſwer; but, diſſembling their reſentment, deſired leave to go into the town, under pretence of conferring with the magiſtrates. But they were no ſooner there, than they began to ſtir up the inhabitants to a vigorous defence; nay, forgetting their character, they put themſelves at the head of the beſieged in a ſally, in which *Q. Fabius*, the chief of the embaſſadors, ſlew with his own hand one of the principal officers of the *Gauls*. Hereupon *Brennus*, calling the gods to witneſs the perfidiouſneſs of the *Romans* and their violating the law of nations, immediately broke up the ſiege of *Cluſium*, and marched leiſurely to *Rome*, having ſent a herald before him to demand, that thoſe embaſſadors, who had ſo manifeſtly violated the law of nations, ſhould be delivered up to him. The *Roman* ſenate was greatly perplexed, between their regard for the law of nations and their affection for the *Fabii*. The wiſeſt of the ſenate thought the demand of the *Gauls* to be but juſt and reaſonable; however, as it concerned perſons of great conſequence and credit, the conſcript fathers referred the affair to the people aſſembled by curiæ. As the *Fabian* family was very popular, the curiæ were ſo far from condemning the three brothers, that, at the next election of military tribunes, they were choſen the firſt. *Brennus*, looking upon the promotion of the *Fabii* as an high

Cluſium beſieged by the Gauls.

A malicious accuſation brought againſt Camillus, *who baniſhes himſelf.*

Brennus's anſwer to the Roman *envoys.*

The imprudent behaviour of the Roman *embaſſadors.*

a high affront on his nation, haſtened his march to *Rome*. As his army was very numerous, the inhabitants of the towns and villages through which he paſſed, left their habitations at his approach; but he ſtopped no where, declaring that his deſign was only to be revenged on the *Romans*. The ſix military tribunes, viz. *Q. Fabius*, *Ceſo Fabius*, *Caius Fabius*, *Q. Sulpicius*, *Q. Servilius*, and *Sextus Cornelius* marched out of *Rome*, at the head of forty thouſand men, without either ſacrificing to the gods, or conſulting the auſpices, eſſential ceremonies among a people that drew their courage and confidence from the propitious ſigns which the augurs declared to them. As moſt of the military tribunes were young, and men of more valor than experience, they advanced boldly againſt the *Gauls*, whoſe army was ſeventy thouſand ſtrong. The

b two armies met near the river *Allia* about ſixty furlongs from *Rome*. The *Romans*, that they might not be ſurrounded by the enemy, extended their wings ſo far as to make their center very thin. Their beſt troops, to the number of twenty-four thouſand men, they poſted between the river and the adjoining hills; the reſt they placed on the hills. The *Gauls* firſt attacked the latter, who being ſoon put into confuſion, the forces in the plain were ſtruck with ſuch terror, that they fled without drawing their ſwords. In this general diſorder moſt of the ſoldiers, inſtead of returning to *Rome*, fled to *Veii*; ſome were drowned as they endeavoured to ſwim croſs the *Tiber*; many fell in the purſuit by the ſword of the conquerors, and ſome got to *Rome*, which they filled with terror and conſternation, it being believed there that all the reſt

c were cut off. The day after the battle, *Brennus* marched his troops into the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and incamped on the banks of the *Anio*. Thither his ſcouts brought him word, that the gates of the city lay open, and that not one *Roman* was to be ſeen on the ramparts. This made him apprehenſive of ſome ambuſcade, it being unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the *Romans* would abandon their city, to be plundered and ſacked, without making any reſiſtance. On this conſideration he advanced ſlowly, which gave the *Romans* an opportunity to throw into the capitol all the men who were fit to bear arms. They carried into it all the proviſions they could get; and, that they might laſt the longer, admitted none into the place, but ſuch as were capable of defending it. As for the city, they had not ſufficient forces to defend it, and therefore

d the old men, women, and children, ſeeing themſelves abandoned, fled to the neighbouring towns. The *Veſtals*, before they left *Rome*, took care to hide every thing appropriated to the gods, which they could not carry off, The two palladiums and the ſacred fire they took with them. When they came to the *Janiculus*, one *Albinius*, a plebeian, who was conveying his wife and children in a carriage to a place of ſafety, ſeeing the ſacred virgins bending under their load and their feet bloody, made his family alight, put the prieſteſſes and their gods into the carriage, and conducted them to *Cære*, a city of *Hetruria*, where they met with a favourable reception. The *Veſtals* remained at *Cære*, and there continued to perform the uſual rites of religion; and hence thoſe rites were called *ceremonies*. But while the reſt of the citizens at *Rome* were providing for their ſafety, about fourſcore of the moſt illuſtrious and venerable old men, rather than fly from their native city, choſe to devote themſelves to death by a vow, which *Fabius* the high pontiff pronounced in their names. The *Romans* believed, that by theſe voluntary devotements to the infernal gods diſorder and confuſion was brought among the enemy. Of theſe brave old men ſome were pontifices, others had been conſuls, and others generals of armies who had been honoured with triumphs. To complete their ſacrifice with a ſolemnity and pomp becoming the magnanimity and conſtancy of the *Romans*, they dreſſed themſelves in their pontifical, conſular, and triumphal, robes, and repairing to the forum, ſeated themſelves there in their curule chairs, expecting the enemy and death with the greateſt conſtancy [d].

The Romans defeated by the Gauls, on the banks of the Allia.

The city of Rome abandoned by its inhabitants.

e At length *Brennus*, having ſpent three days in uſeleſs precautions, entered the city the fourth day after the battle. He found the gates open, the walls without defence, and the houſes without inhabitants. *Rome* appeared to him like a mere deſart; and this ſolitude increaſed his anxiety. He could not believe, either that all the *Romans* were lodged in the capitol, or that ſo numerous a people ſhould abandon the place of their nativity. On the other hand, he could no where ſee any armed men but on the walls of the citadel. However, having firſt ſecured all the avenues to the capitol with ſtrong bodies of guards, he gave the reſt of his ſoldiers leave to diſperſe themſelves all over the city and plunder it. *Brennus* himſelf advanced into the forum with the

Brennus enters Rome

[d] Plut. in Camill. Liv. l. v. c. 37.

the troops under his command in good order; and there he was ſtruck with admiration at the unexpected ſight of the venerable old men, who had devoted themſelves to death. Their magnificent habits, the majeſty of their countenances, the ſilence they kept, their modeſty and conſtancy at the approach of his troops, made him take them for ſo many deities. For they continued as motionleſs as ſtatues, and ſaw the enemy advance without ſhewing the leaſt concern. The *Gauls* kept a great while at an awful diſtance from them, being afraid to come near them. But at length, one ſoldier, bolder than the reſt, having out of curioſity touched the beard of *M. Papirius*, the venerable old man, not being uſed to ſuch familiarity, gave him a blow on the head with his ivory ſtaff. The ſoldier in revenge immediately killed him, and the reſt of the *Gauls*, following his example, ſlaughtered all thoſe venerable old men without mercy. After this the enemy ſet no bounds to their rage and fury. They plundered all places, dragging ſuch of the *Romans* as had ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, into the ſtreets, and there putting them to the ſword, without diſtinction of age or ſex. *Brennus* then inveſted the capitol, but being repulſed with great loſs, in order to be revenged of the *Romans* for their reſiſtance, he reſolved to lay the city in aſhes. Accordingly, by his command, the ſoldiers ſet fire to the houſes, demoliſhed the temples and public edifices, and razed the walls to the ground. Thus was the famous city of *Rome* intirely deſtroyed; nothing was to be ſeen in the place where it ſtood, but a few little hills covered with ruins, and a wide waſte, in which the *Gauls*, who inveſted the capitol, were incamped. *Brennus*, finding he ſhould never be able to take a place, which nature had ſo well fortified, otherwiſe than by famine, turned the ſiege into a blockade. But, in the mean time, his army being diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, he ſent out parties to pillage the fields and raiſe contributions in the neighbouring cities. One of theſe parties appeared before *Ardea*, where the great *Camillus* had now ſpent two years in a private life. Notwithſtanding the affront he had received at *Rome*, the love he bore his country was not in the leaſt diminiſhed. The ſenate of *Ardea* being met to deliberate on the meaſures to be taken with relation to the *Gauls*, *Camillus*, more afflicted at the calamities of his country, than at his own baniſhment, deſired to be admitted into the council, where with his eloquence he prevailed upon the *Ardeates* to arm their youth in their own defence, and refuſe the *Gauls* admittance into their city. Hereupon the *Gauls* incamped before the city; and as they deſpiſed the *Ardeates*, after they had made themſelves maſters of *Rome*, they preſerved neither order nor diſcipline in their camp, but ſpent whole days in drinking. Hereupon *Camillus*, having eaſily perſuaded the youth of the city to follow him, marched out to *Ardea* in a very dark night, ſurpriſed the *Gauls* drowned in wine, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of them. Thoſe who made their eſcape, under the ſhelter of the night, fell next day into the hands of the peaſants, by whom they were maſſacred without mercy. This defeat of the enemy revived the courage of the *Romans* ſcattered about the country, eſpecially thoſe who had retired to *Veii* after the unfortunate battle of *Allia*. There was not one of them who did not condemn himſelf for the exile of *Camillus*, as if he had been the author of it; and, looking upon that great man as their laſt reſource, they reſolved to chuſe him for their leader. Accordingly, they ſent without delay embaſſadors to him, beſeeching him to take into his protection the fugitive *Romans* and the wrecks of the defeat at *Allia*. But *Camillus* would not accept of the command of the troops, till the people aſſembled by curiæ had legally conferred it upon him. He thought the public authority was lodged in the hands of thoſe who were ſhut up in the citadel, and therefore would undertake nothing at the head of the *Roman* troops, till a commiſſion was brought him from thence. To do this was very difficult, the place being inveſted on all ſides by the enemy. However, one *Pontius Cominius*, a man of mean birth, but bold and very ambitious of glory, undertook it. He put on a light habit, and, providing himſelf with cork to keep the longer above water, threw himſelf into the *Tiber* above *Rome* in the beginning of the night, and ſuffered himſelf to be carried down with the ſtream. At length he came to the foot of the capitol, and landed at a ſteep place, where the *Gauls* had not thought it neceſſary to poſt any centinels. There he mounted with great difficulty to the rampart of the citadel, and having made himſelf known to the guard, he was admitted into the place and conducted to the magiſtrates. The ſenate being immediately aſſembled, *Pontius* gave them an account of *Camillus*'s victory, and in the name of all the *Romans* at *Veii* demanded that great captain for their general. There was not much time ſpent in debates: the curiæ being called together, the act of condemnation, which had

Rome *burnt by the* Gauls. *Year of the flood* 2614. *Before Chriſt* 385. *Of* Rome 363.

Camillus *at the head of the* Ardeates *makes a great ſlaughter of the* Gauls.

Camillus *nominated dictator.*

had been paſſed on *Camillus*, was abrogated, and he named dictator with one voice. a *Pontius* was immediately diſpatched with the decree, and the ſame good fortune, which had attended him to the capitol, accompanied him in his return. Thus was *Camillus*, from the ſtate of baniſhment, raiſed at once to be ſovereign magiſtrate of his country. He was indeed proclaimed dictator in his abſence, contrary to cuſtom. But this was a ſmall defect in point of form only, which the neceſſities of the ſtate made very excuſable. His promotion to the command was no ſooner known, but ſoldiers flocked from all parts to his camp; inſomuch, that he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of above forty thouſand men, partly *Romans*, and partly allies, who all thought themſelves invincible under ſo great a general [e].

While he was taking proper meaſures to raiſe the blockade of the citadel, ſome b *Gauls*, rambling round the place, perceived on the ſide of the hill the print of *Pontius*'s hands and feet. They obſerved likewiſe, that the moſs on the rocks was in ſeveral places torn up. From theſe marks they concluded, that ſome-body had lately gone up to, and returned from, the capitol. The *Gauls* immediately made their report to *Brennus* of what they had obſerved; and that experienced commander laid a deſign, which he imparted to no-body, of ſurpriſing the place by the ſame way that the *Roman* had aſcended. With this view he choſe out of his army ſuch ſoldiers as had dwelt in mountainous countries, and been accuſtomed from their youth to climb precipices. Theſe he ordered, after he had well examined the nature of the place, to aſcend in the night the ſame way that was marked out for them, climbing two c abreaſt, that one might ſupport the other in getting up the ſteep parts of the precipice. By this means they advanced, with much difficulty and more danger, from rock to rock, till they arrived at the foot of the wall. They proceeded with ſuch ſilence, that they were not heard or diſcovered, either by the centinels who were upon guard in the citadel, or even by the dogs, that are uſually awaked and alarmed at the leaſt noiſe. But, though they eluded the ſagacity of the dogs, they could not eſcape the vigilance of the geeſe. A flock of theſe birds was kept in a court of the capitol in honour of *Juno*, and near her temple. Notwithſtanding the want of proviſions in the gariſon, they had been ſpared out of religion; and as theſe creatures are naturally quick of hearing, they were alarmed at the firſt approach of the *Gauls*; ſo that running up d and down, with their cackling and beating of their wings, they awaked *Manlius*, a gallant ſoldier, who ſome years before had been conſul. He ſounded an alarm, and was the firſt man who mounted the rampart, where he found two *Gauls* already upon the wall. One of theſe offered to diſcharge a blow at him with his battle-axe; but *Manlius* cut off his right hand at one blow, and gave the other ſuch a puſh with his buckler, that he threw him headlong from the top of the rock to the bottom. He in his fall drew many others with him; and in the mean time the *Romans*, crouding to the place, preſſed upon the *Gauls* and tumbled them one over another. As the nature of the ground would not ſuffer them to make a regular retreat, or even to fly, moſt of them, to avoid the ſwords of the enemy, threw themſelves down the precipice, ſo e that very few got ſafe back to their camp [f].

Manlius *ſaves the capitol.*

As it was the cuſtom of the *Romans* at that time not to ſuffer any commendable action to go unrewarded, the tribune *Sulpicius* aſſembled his troops the next morning, in order to beſtow the military rewards on thoſe who the night before had deſerved them. Among theſe *Manlius* was firſt named, and, in acknowledgment of the important ſervice he had juſt rendered the ſtate, every ſoldier gave him part of the corn which he received ſparingly from the public ſtock, and a little meaſure of wine out of his ſcanty allowance. An inconſiderable preſent indeed in itſelf, but very acceptable at that time to the perſon on whom it was beſtowed. The tribune's next care was to puniſh the negligent; accordingly, the captain of the guard, who ought to have had f an eye over the centinels, was condemned to die, and, purſuant to his ſentence, thrown down from the top of the capitol. The *Romans* extended their puniſhments and rewards even to the animals. Geeſe were ever after had in honour at *Rome*, and a flock of them always kept at the expence of the public. A golden image of a gooſe was erected in memory of them, and a gooſe every year carried in triumph upon a ſoft litter finely adorned; whilſt dogs were held in abhorrence by the *Romans*, who every year empaled one of them on a branch of elder [g].

[e] Plut. ibid. Liv. l. v. c. 46, 47. [f] Liv. l. v. c. 48. Plut. ibid. & de Fortuna Rom.
[g] Plut. & Plin. de Fort. Rom.

and that this was looked upon as a prodigy, from whence the *Romans* inferred, that a their city would continue for ever. The expence of rebuilding private houſes was partly defrayed out of the public treaſure. The ædiles had the direction of the works, but ſo little taſte for order or beauty, that the city, when rebuilt, was even leſs regular than in the time of *Romulus*. And though in *Auguſtus*'s time, when *Rome* became the capital of the known world, the temples, palaces, and private houſes were built in a more magnificent manner than before, yet even then theſe new decorations did not rectify the faults of the plan, upon which the city had been built after its firſt demolition.

CHAP. IV.

From the rebuilding of Rome *to the firſt* Punic *or* Carthaginian *war.*

ROME was ſcarce reſtored, when her citizens were alarmed by the news that all a her neighbours were combining to her deſtruction. The *Æqui*, the *Volſci*, the *Hetrurians*, and even her old allies the *Latins* and the *Hernici*, entered into an alliance againſt her, in hopes of oppreſſing her before ſhe had recovered her ſtrength. The republick under this terror nominated *Camillus* dictator a third time. This great commander, having appointed *C. Servilius* to be his general of horſe, ſummoned the citizens to take arms, without excepting even the old men. He divided the new levies into three bodies. The firſt, under the command of *A. Manlius*, he ordered to encamp under the walls of *Rome*; the ſecond he ſent into the neighbourhood of *Veii*, and marched himſelf at the head of the third to relieve the tribunes, who were cloſely beſieged in their camp by the united forces of the *Volſci* and *Latins*. He, finding the b enemy incamped near *Lanuvium* on the declivity of the hill *Marcius*, poſted himſelf behind the hill, and, by lighting fires, gave the diſtreſſed *Romans* notice of his arrival. The *Volſci* and *Latins*, when they underſtood that *Camillus* was at the head of an army newly arrived, were ſo terrified, that they ſhut themſelves up in their camp, which they fortified with great trees cut down in haſte. The dictator obſerving, that this barrier was of green wood, and that every morning there aroſe a great wind, which blew full upon the enemy's camp, formed the deſign of taking it by fire. With this view he ordered one part of his army to go by break of day with fire-brands to the windward ſide of the camp, and the other to make a briſk attack on the oppoſite ſide. By this means the enemy was entirely defeated and their camp taken. *Camillus* then ordered his men to extinguiſh the flames, in order to ſave the booty, with which he rewarded his army, a bounty the more agreeable, becauſe unexpected, from the rigid dictator. He then left his ſon in the camp to guard the priſoners, and entering the country of the *Æqui*, made himſelf maſter of their capital city *Bola*. From thence he marched againſt the *Volſci*, whom he intirely reduced after they had waged war with the *Romans* for the ſpace of a hundred and ſeven years. Having ſubdued this untractable people, he penetrated into *Hetruria*, in order to relieve *Sutrium*, a town in that country in alliance with *Rome*, and beſieged by a numerous army of *Hetrurians*. But, notwithſtanding all the expedition *Camillus* could uſe, he did not reach the place before it had capitulated. The *Sutrini*, being greatly diſtreſſed for want d of proviſions and exhauſted with labour, had ſurrendered to the *Hetrurians*, who had granted them nothing but their lives and the cloaths on their backs. In this deſtitute condition they had left their own country, and were going in ſearch of new habitations, when they met *Camillus* leading an army to their relief. The unfortunate multitude no ſooner ſaw the *Romans*, but they threw themſelves at the dictator's feet, who, moved at this melancholy ſight, deſired them to take a little reſt and refreſh themſelves, adding, that he would ſoon dry up their tears, and transfer their ſorrows from them to their enemies. He imagined, that the *Hetrurians* would be wholly

Camillus a third time named dictator.

Defeats the Volſci and Latins.

taken

taken in plundering the city, without being upon their guard, or obſerving any diſcipline. And herein he was not miſtaken. The *Hetrurians* did not dream that the dictator could come ſo ſpeedily from ſo great a diſtance to ſurpriſe them; and therefore the *Roman* army paſſed through the territory of *Sutrium*, without finding any advanced guards, or meeting any ſcouts, and even entered the city, before the enemy had any notice of their approach. In a word, he ſurprized the *Hetrurians*, who were wholly employed, either in plundering the houſes and carrying off the booty, or feaſting on the proviſions they had found in them, put many of them to the ſword, made an incredible number of priſoners, and reſtored the city to its ancient inhabitants, who had not waited in vain for the performance of the dictator's promiſe. And now, after theſe glorious exploits, which were finiſhed in ſo ſhort a time, the great *Camillus* entered *Rome* in triumph a third time. This honour was decreed him for having conquered the *Volſci*, made himſelf maſter of the capital city of the *Æqui*, and retaken *Sutrium* from the *Hetrurians*. The greateſt part of the captives, who graced his triumph, were ſold, and by that means money enough raiſed to pay all the *Roman* ladies for the jewels they had formerly contributed to make a preſent to *Apollo*. With the remainder were bought three vaſes of gold, which with *Camillus*'s name inſcribed on them were placed at the feet of *Juno* in the temple of *Jupiter*. Thus did the glory of *Camillus* eclipſe that of all his rivals. Envious men had hitherto aſcribed the greateſt part of his victories to chance. But, after theſe three laſt expeditions againſt three different nations, envy itſelf was ſilent [k].

Recovers Sutrium from the Hetrurians.

Camillus having reſigned his dictatorſhip, the republic choſe ſix new military tribunes, *Q. Quinctius*, *Q. Servius*, *L. Julius*, *L. Aquilius*, *L. Lucretius*, and *Ser. Sulpitius*. During their adminiſtration, the country of the *Æqui* was laid waſte, in order to put it out of their power to revolt anew, and the two cities of *Cortuoſa* and *Contenebra*, in the lucumony of the *Tarquinienſes*, taken from the *Hetrurians* and intirely demoliſhed. At this time it was thought proper to repair the capitol, and add new works to that part of the hill, where the *Gauls* had endeavoured to ſcale the citadel. Theſe works were eſteemed very beautiful, as *Livy* informs us, even in the time of *Auguſtus*, after the city was adorned with moſt beautiful decorations [l].

The cities of Cortuoſa and Contenebra taken by the Romans, and demoliſhed.

And now, *Rome* being reinſtated in her former flouriſhing condition, the tribunes of the people, who had been for ſome time quiet, began to renew their ſeditious harangues, and revive the old quarrel about the diviſion of the conquered lands. The patricians had appropriated to themſelves the *Pomptin* territory lately taken from the *Volſci*, and the tribunes laid hold of this opportunity to raiſe new diſturbances. But, the citizens being ſo drained of their money, that they had not enough left to cultivate new farms and ſtock them with cattle, the declamations of the tribunes made no impreſſion upon their minds, ſo that the tribunes project vaniſhed. As for the military tribunes, they owned, that their election had been defective, and left the irregularities of the former comitia ſhould be continued in the ſucceeding ones, they voluntarily laid down their office. So that after a ſhort interregnum, during which *M. Manlius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, and *L. Valerius Potitus* governed the republic, ſix new military tribunes, *L. Papirius*, *C. Sergius*, *L. Æmilius*, *L. Menenius*, *L. Valerius*, and *C. Cornelius* were choſen for the enſuing year, which was ſpent in works of peace. A temple, which had been vowed to *Mars* during the war with the *Gauls*, was built, and conſecrated by *T. Quinctius*, who preſided over the affairs of religion. As there had hitherto been but few *Roman* tribes beyond the *Tiber*, which had a right of ſuffrage in the comitia, four new ones were added, under the name of the *Stellatina*, *Tramontina*, *Sabatina*, and *Arnienſis*, ſo that the tribes were now in all twenty-five, which enjoyed the ſame rights and privileges,

The expectation of an approaching war induced the centuries to chuſe *Camillus* one of the military tribunes for the next year. His collegues were *Ser. Cornelius*, *Q. Servilius*, *L. Quinctius*, *L. Horatius*, and *P. Valerius*. As theſe were all men of moderation, they agreed to inveſt *Camillus* with the ſole management of affairs, in time of war, and accordingly in full ſenate transferred all their power into his hands; ſo that he became in effect dictator. It had been already determined in the ſenate to turn the arms of the republic againſt the *Hetrurians*; but upon advice that the *Antiates* had entered the *Pomptin* territory, and obliged the *Romans*, who had taken poſſeſſion of it, to retire, it was thought neceſſary to humble them before the republic engaged

[k] Plut. ibid. Liv. l. vi. c. 2. & 3. Maced. part. 1. c. 2. Eutrop. l. ii. [l] Liv. l. vi. c. 4.

engaged in any other enterprise. The new dictator, if we may so call him, allotted a to each of the five military tribunes an employment suitable to his rank. He joined *P. Valerius* with himself in the command of the army, which he was to lead against the *Antiates*. *Q. Servilius* was placed at the head of a body of troops, which was to continue in *Rome*, and be in a continual readiness to march against the *Hetrurians*, or *Latins* and *Hernici*, in case they took the field. The third army wholly consisted of old men, and such citizens as were excused on account of their infirmities from taking the field. The command of these was given to *L. Quinctius*, who was appointed to guard the walls of the city. *L. Horatius*'s province was to supply the troops with arms, ammunition, and provisions. Lastly, the superintendency of civil affairs, the comitia, the laws, and religion were committed to the care of *Ser. Cornelius*. So that b none of the military tribunes, who had in some measure divested themselves of their power in favour of *Camillus*, was left without an employment: they all readily accepted the provinces, which *Camillus* assigned them, only *Valerius* refused to be upon an equal foot with *Camillus*, *You shall be my dictator*, said he, *and I will serve under you as your general of the horse*. The *Antiates* had joined the *Latins* and *Hernici* near *Satricum*, so

The Antiates, Latins, *and* Hernici *defeated by* Camillus.

that the *Romans*, being terrified at their prodigious numbers, shewed themselves very backward to engage; which *Camillus* perceiving, he instantly mounted his horse, and riding through all the ranks of the army, fellow-soldiers, cried he, Why don't I see that joy and desire of fighting in your looks, which you used to have? Have you forgot, who I am, who you yourselves, and who your enemies are? Have not the *Volsci* c and the *Latins* been the occasion of your gaining immortal fame? Have you not conquered *Veii*, defeated the *Gauls*, and delivered *Rome* under my command? Am I not *Camillus*, because I have not the title of dictator? Do you but attack the enemy, and we shall succeed as usual. You will conquer, and they will fly. Having uttered these words, he dismounted, took the next standard-bearer by the hand, led him towards the enemy, and cried out, *Soldiers advance.* The soldiery was ashamed not to follow a general, who exposed himself to the first attack, and therefore having made a great shout, they fell upon the enemy with incredible fury. *Camillus*, in order to increase their eagerness still more, commanded a standard to be thrown into the middle of the enemy's battalions, which made the soldiers, who were fighting in d the first ranks, exert all their resolution to recover it. The *Antiates*, not being able any longer to make head against the *Romans*, gave way and were entirely defeated. The *Latins* and *Hernici* seperated from the *Volsci* and returned home. The *Volsci*, seeing themselves thus abandoned by their allies, took refuge in the neighbouring city of *Satricum*, which *Camillus* immediately invested and took by assault. The *Volsci* threw down their arms and surrendered at discretion. He then left his army under the command of *Valerius*, and returned to *Rome* to solicit the consent of the senate, and to make the necessary preparations for undertaking the siege of *Antium*. But while he was proposing this affair to the senate, deputies arrived from *Nepet* and *Sutrium*, two cities in alliance with *Rome* in the neighbourhood of *Hetruria*, demanding succours e against the *Hetrurians*, who threatened to besiege these two cities, which were the keys of *Hetruria*. Hereupon the expedition against *Antium* was laid aside, and *Camillus* commanded to hasten to the relief of the allied cities, with the troops which *Servilius* had kept in readiness at *Rome*, in case of an emergency. *Camillus* immediately set out for the new war, and upon his arrival before *Sutrium* found that important place not only besieged, but almost taken, the *Hetrurians* having made themselves masters of some of the gates, and taken possession of all the avenues leading to the city. However, the inhabitants no sooner heard that *Camillus* was come to their relief, but they recovered their courage, and by barricadoes made in the streets prevented

Camillus *relieves* Sutrium.

the enemy from making themselves masters of the whole city. *Camillus* in the mean time having divided his army into two bodies, ordered *Valerius* to march round the walls, as if he designed to scale them, while he with the other undertook to charge the *Hetrurians* in the rear, force his way into the city, and shut up the enemy between the besieged and his troops. The *Romans* no sooner appeared, but the *Hetrurians* betook themselves to a disorderly flight, through a gate which was not invested. *Camillus*'s troops made a dreadful slaughter of them within the city, while *Valerius* put great numbers of them to the sword without the walls. From reconquering *Sutrium*, *Camillus* hastened to the relief of *Nepet*. But that city, being better effected to the *Hetrurians* than to the *Romans*, had voluntarily submitted to the former. Where-

And takes Nepet *by assault.*

fore *Camillus*, having invested it with his whole army, took it by assault, put all the

Hetrurian

Hetrurian ſoldiers, without diſtinction, to the ſword, and condemned the authors of the revolt to die by the axes of the lictors. Thus ended *Camillus*'s military tribuneſhip, in which he acquired no leſs reputation, than he had done in the moſt glorious of his dictatorſhips [m].

But as well eſtabliſhed as *Camillus*'s reputation was in *Rome*, yet he was not without a rival; *M. Manlius*, who had ſaved the capitol, could not bear to ſee his glory eclipſed by that of *Camillus*. He was indeed one of the braveſt ſoldiers *Rome* had ever produced; but his ambition and vanity were yet greater than his valour. However, he did not attempt any thing till *Camillus*'s fourth military tribuneſhip was expired. But no ſooner was the government put into the hands of ſix new military tribunes, *A. Manlius*, *P. Cornelius*, *T. Quinctius*, *L. Quinctius*, *L. Papirius*, and *C. Sergius*, than he began to vent his ſpleen, and endeavour to darken the glory of a man, whom he looked upon as his rival. After all, *Camillus*'s chief glory, ſaid he, is his having recovered *Rome* out of the hands of the *Gauls*, which he could never have done, had I not firſt ſaved the capitol. So that his glory is founded upon mine. Nor did he conquer the *Gauls*, till they had been tired with a long ſiege. But I repulſed them from the capitol, when they were moſt fluſhed with ſucceſs. A whole army ſhared *Camillus*'s glory with him; but *Manlius* had no companion in his. By theſe and ſuch-like ſpeeches, he gave vent to his envy; but finding himſelf unable by noble actions to outſhine *Camillus* in reputation, in order to ſatisfy his ambition, he began to court the multitude, and even entered into the faction of the tribunes of the people. Though a patrician by birth, he inveighed againſt the nobility, and eſpouſed the cauſe of the people in the affair of the diſtribution of lands. He even oppoſed the rich, whenever they ſeized their debtors, and ſet at liberty thoſe who were already in chains. So that he was always attended by a kind of guard made up of thoſe whom he had ſo aſſiſted. The ſenate, alarmed at *Manlius*'s proceeding, thought it neceſſary to create a dictator, in order to prevent the evil conſequences of his two great popularity, and to cruſh the riſing faction. The army, which the *Volſci* had juſt then raiſed, furniſhed them with a ſpecious pretence for taking ſuch meaſures. The dictorſhip was given to *A. Cornelius Coſſus*, who named *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* to be general of the horſe. The dictator came to an engagement with the *Volſci* in the *Pomptin* territory, and intirely defeated them, though much more numerous than the *Romans*. Among the priſoners, were found many *Latins* and *Hernici* of diſtinction, who being examined confeſſed, that they had acted by authority. Hereupon the dictator kept his army in the field, not doubting but he ſhould be ſoon employed againſt thoſe faithleſs allies. But the diſturbances raiſed by the factious *Manlius* called him back to the city without delay. It was neceſſary to examine into the deſigns of that ambitious man, whoſe popularity was become dangerous. A creditor had lately ſeized a centurion for debt, who was a man of great courage, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many occaſions. As the officer was leading him to priſon, according to his ſentence, *Manlius* and his ſeditious company met them. Upon which the factious patrician began to inveigh againſt the pride of the nobility and the cruelty of the rich, who lent money upon intereſt; but, above all, expatiated on the merit of the inſolvent centurion; what ſignifies my having ſaved the capitol, ſaid he, if more cruel enemies than the *Gauls* are ſuffered to rob me of a brave and faithful companion in battle, and reduce him to ſlavery? Having uttered theſe words, in the preſence of the officer and five witneſſes, he paid the debt, admitting the priſoner, as ſoon as he was delivered out of his creditor's hands, to be one of the guard that always attended him. This gave great umbrage in a republican ſtate, where the magiſtrates were always upon their guard againſt any thing that tended to monarchy. But ſoon after *Manlius* increaſed their apprehenſions by a yet more extravagant act of popularity. He had ſome lands in the territory of *Veii*, which were his paternal eſtate. Theſe he ſold by auction, and declared to the people, that he deſigned to apply the whole to the paying of the debts of inſolvent debtors. Theſe bounties made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on the multitude, that they ſeemed ready to back him in any enterprize he ſhould undertake. Beſides, all his diſcourſes in his own houſe tended only to decry the patricians and the ſenate. He gave out, that the nobility, not content to rob the people of their right to a ſhare in the conquered lands, had concealed, with an intent to appropriate it to their own uſe, the gold, which was to have been given to the *Gauls*, and

Manlius *ſuſpected of aſpiring at the ſupreme power.*

Cornelius Coſſus *Dictator.*

[m] Liv. l. vi. c. 7, 8, 9, 10. Plut. in Camillo.

and had been raiſed by the voluntary contributions of all the citizens who were then a in the capitol: a treaſure, which alone would be ſufficient to diſcharge all the debts of the poor plebeians. He even promiſed to ſhew them in due time the place where this treaſure was concealed; ſo that the whole care of the populace was to draw thoſe riches out of the hands of the patricians [n].

Such was the poſture of affairs at *Rome*, when the dictator *Coſſus* returned thither. He therefore poſtponed his triumph, till ſuch time as he had re-eſtabliſhed the public tranquillity. He made it his firſt buſineſs to aſſemble the ſenate, and finding the fathers inclined to ſuppreſs *Manlius*'s inſolence, he ordered his tribunal to be placed in that part of the forum, where the comitia were held, and ſent a lictor to cite *Man-*

Manlius *cited to appear before the dictator,* *lius* to appear before him. *Manlius* obeyed the ſummons, but attended with his b uſual guards, whom he exhorted to ſtand by him. The aſſembly looked like two armies drawn up in battalia againſt each other. Silence being made, the dictator challenged *Manlius* to declare, as he had promiſed, the perſons who had concealed the pretended treaſures, and the place where they were hid; otherwiſe he threatened to ſend him to priſon as an incendiary and ſlanderer. *Manlius*, inſtead of anſwering directly, extolled his own merit, and reproached the patricians with avarice and cruelty. He concluded his ſpeech with ſaying, that as to the ſecreted treaſure, the ſenators, who had concealed it, were better qualified than he to diſcover the place. But this being only an evaſion, the dictator preſſed him anew, either to perform his promiſe to the people, or to confeſs that he had caluminated the ſenate. *Manlius* c replied, that his thus preſſing him to declare the place where the gold was hoarded, was a convincing proof, that the ſenate had removed it beyond the reach of the moſt curious enquiry. Hereupon the dictator immediately ordered him to priſon. We

And committed to priſon; have on this occaſion a ſurpriſing inſtance of the ready ſubmiſſion of the *Romans* to the command of a lawful magiſtrate. The people, however ſeditiouſly devoted to *Manlius*, took no one ſtep to hinder the execution of the ſentence. There was not an angry expreſſion heard, or a threatening look ſeen, in the whole aſſembly. The tribunes themſelves did not ſhew diſrepect to the dictator. Only *Manlius*, when the lictors laid hold of him, cried out, addreſſing his complaints to the Gods, *O Jupiter, beſt and greateſt*, O Juno, *queen of heaven*, Minerva, *and all ye other gods and goddeſſes, who reſide in the capitol, will you ſuffer your champion and defender to be thus treated by his enemies? Shall this right hand, with which I drove the* Gauls *from your ſanctuaries, be locked in chains?* But theſe lamentations raiſed no diſturbances among the multitude. His moſt zealous adherents expreſſed their concern only by habits of mourning, neglecting to cut their hair and beards, crouding about the doors of the priſon, and there lamenting his misfortune. In this time of affliction the dictator *Coſſus* received the honours of a triumph. But the multitude expreſſed nothing but a deep concern on that day of joy; ſome were even heard to ſay, that *Coſſus* did not ſo much triumph over the *Volſci*, as over an oppreſſed citizen. Nothing, ſaid they, remains to complete the general's triumph, but to have the unfortunate *Manlius* led before his chariot e in chains. In order therefore to appeaſe the people, the ſenate thought it neceſſary to ſhew them ſome indulgence. They aſſembled, and, of their own motion, ordered a colony of *Roman* citizens to be ſent to *Sutrium*, where they allotted to every man two acres and a half of arable land, But this unexpected bounty was ſo far from ſatisfying the malecontents, that it increaſed their rage and jealouſy. For they looked upon this liberality of the ſenate as an artifice to induce the citizens to abandon *Manlius*. So that the ſedition gained ground, and the fury of the populace increaſed ſtill more, as ſoon as *Coſſus*'s dictatorſhip was expired. The multitude, being now free from the dread of an uncontroulable magiſtrate, no longer kept within any bounds. The people ſurrounding the priſon day and night, threatened to break it open. The ſenate, fearing leſt the incenſed populace in their fury ſhould execute what they threatened, and that *Manlius*, being ſet at liberty by ſuch violent means, ſhould carry his fury far-

But at liberty; ther than ever, thought fit to put an end to the diſturbance by releaſing him themſelves. But this timorous proceeding only gave the ſeditious a leader, provoked by the ſhame of his impriſonment, and incapable of following ſober counſels.

During theſe ſeditions, embaſſadors arrived from the *Latins*, the *Hernici*, and from the cities of *Circæi* and *Velitræ*, demanding, that the priſoners, taken by the dictator in the late action with the *Volſci*, might be delivered up to them. The different recep-

tion

[n] Plut. ibid. Liv. l. vi. c. 11.

a tion they met with ſhews the diſtinction, which the *Romans* always made between nations in alliance with them and *Roman* colonies. *Circæi* and *Velitræ* were upon the foot of colonies, but the *Latins* and *Hernici* only in alliance with *Rome:* the latter enjoyed their own laws; the former were ſubject to the laws of *Rome*. The embaſſadors therefore of the *Latins* and *Hernici* were received, though their demand was rejected, nor did the *Romans* diſpute their right of ſending an embaſſy. But the deputies of *Circæi* and *Velitræ* were ordered immediately to depart, and not appear before the people, ſince they had no right to ſend embaſſadors[o].

When new magiſtrates came to be elected for the next year, the great *Camillus* was choſen military tribune a fifth time, the republic wanting a governor of his reputation b to ſtem the tide of the preſent troubles. With him were joined *Ser. Cornelius*, *P. Valerius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, *C. Papirius*, and *T. Quinctius*. The confidence of *Manlius* and the ſtrength of his faction were now much increaſed by the timorouſneſs of the ſenate. The mutineers met at *Manlius*'s houſe, which was crouded with them day and night. There he ſpoke his mind without reſerve, exhorting the multitude to ſhake off the yoke they groaned under, to aboliſh dictatorſhips and conſulates, to eſtabliſh an exact equality among all the members of one and the ſame republic, and to make themſelves a head, who would govern and keep in awe the patricians as well as the people. If you judge me worthy of that honour, ſaid he, the more power you give me, the ſooner you will be in poſſeſſion of what you have ſo long wiſhed for. c I deſire authority with no other view, but to make you all happy. It is ſaid, that a plot was formed to ſeize the citadel and declare him king; but it is not certain, that he imbarqued in ſo difficult an undertaking, or how far he carried his ambitious views. The ſenate, alarmed at the danger which threatened the republic, aſſembled frequently to deliberate on the beſt method to avert the blow. A decree was made, injoining the military tribunes *to be watchful, that the republic received no damage*; a form of words, which was never uſed but in the greateſt dangers of the ſtate, and which inveſted thoſe magiſtrates with an authority almoſt equal to that of a dictator. After this different means were propoſed for defeating the evil deſigns of *Manlius*. All, except the tribunes of the people, were for aſſaſſinating the author of the ſedition. d But as ſuch an attempt would have occaſioned the ſhedding of much blood, two of thoſe tribunes, *M. Mænius* and *Q. Publilius*, thought it more adviſeable to take him off by the uſual forms of law. They offered to proſecute him before the comitia, not doubting but the people, when they ſaw their tribunes become his accuſers, would immediately deſert him. This advice was approved, and *Manlius* ſummoned to his trial before the comitia by centuries. The crime laid to his charge was, his aiming at the ſovereign power; and as this was a capital crime, the accuſed appeared before his judges in deep mourning. But neither his own brothers, nor any of his relations changed their dreſs, or ſolicited the judges in his behalf, as was uſually done by the friends of a perſon accuſed; ſo much did the love of liberty prevail in the hearts of e the *Romans* over all the ties of blood and kindred. *Livy* tells us, that he could not find in any author what direct proofs the tribunes brought of *Manlius*'s aſpiring to the regal power. However, he ſuppoſes, that they had ſufficient proofs, ſince nothing but the circumſtance of the place, where he was tried, prevented his immediate condemnation. They could ſee the capitol, which *Manlius* had preſerved, from the *campus Martius*, where his ſentence was to be pronounced; and this ſight alone abated the reſentment of the centuries againſt the criminal; ſo that the people, who could neither reſolve to condemn or acquit him, put off pronouncing ſentence more than once, and every time poſtponed this affair for three market-days. In the mean time, *Manlius* omitted nothing that could move his judges to compaſſion. He produced above four hundred f plebeians, whoſe debts he had paid, and whom he had delivered out of the hands of their creditors. He ſhewed the people thirty ſuits of armour, the ſpoils of thirty enemies, whom he had ſlain in ſingle combat. He had been the firſt *Roman* who had deſerved a mural crown by fighting on horſeback. He had been honoured with eight civic crowns, for having ſaved in battle the lives of ſo many citizens, and had been ſeven and thirty times rewarded by his generals for his extraordinary valor. He had ſaved in battle the life of *C. Servilius*, when general of the horſe, and had received two wounds on that occaſion. But his greateſt glory was, his having defended the capitol againſt the attack of the *Gauls*. This important piece of ſervice ſupported the criminal,

Renews his factious intrigues.

Impeached by two of the tribunes of treaſon.

[o] Liv. l. 6. c. 17.

criminal, notwithſtanding the evident proofs of his crime. Looking often at the a capitol, he called upon *Jupiter* and the other gods for ſuccour, conjuring the people to turn their faces to that ſanctuary, and think of the gods who reſided there, when they were going to pronounce judgment. The people, having before their eyes the very place, where, by fighting ſo valiantly againſt the *Gauls*, he had ſaved *Rome*, could not reſolve to find him guilty. The tribunes, perceiving this, deferred the deciſion of the affair to another day, and appointed the place of the aſſembly to be in the *Peteline* wood, without the gate *Flumentana*, whence the capitol could not be ſeen. Then the object, which had ſaved *Manlius*, no longer dazzling the eyes of his judges, they forgot his glory, and remembered only his crime. The public welfare gained the aſcendant over their gratitude, and the unhappy *Manlius* was condemned to be thrown b headlong from the capitol itſelf. The ſentence was no ſooner pronounced than put in execution: the houſe, where he had held his private cabals, was razed to the ground, and it was decreed, that no patrician ſhould thenceforth dwell on the capitol, leſt the advantagious ſituation of a fortreſs, that commanded the whole city, ſhould ſuggeſt and facilitate the deſign of enſlaving it. The *Manlian* family alſo came to a reſolution among themſelves, that no member of it ſhould ever bear the prænomen of *Marcus*. But how inconſiſtent is the multitude! *Manlius* was ſcarce dead, when his loſs was generally lamented, and a plague, which ſoon followed, aſcribed to the anger of *Jupiter* againſt the authors of his death [p].

Condemned and thrown headlong from the capitol.

Wars carried on with the Prænestini *and* Volſci.

The puniſhment of the ſeditious *Manlius* neither brought any diſcredit upon his c relations, or leſſened their intereſt. On the contrary, his brother *A. Manlius* was choſen one of the military tribunes at the very next election. His collegues were *L. Valerius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, *L. Lucretius*, *L. Æmilius*, and *M. Trebonius*. During their adminiſtration, the *Volſci* treatened the republic with a new war; the cities of *Circæi* and *Velitræ* continued in their revolt; *Lanuvium* itſelf, ever before faithful to *Rome*, declared againſt her, and all the cities of *Latium* ſeemed ready to riſe in their turns. And, to add to the misfortunes of the republic, the plague ſtill raged in the city. However, the ſenate judged it neceſſary to engage the people to conſent to a war. In order to this, they promiſed to divide the *Pomptin* territory among them, and nominated five commiſſioners to regulate the diſtribution of the lands, and three d others to lead a colony to *Nepet*. But this deſign was not put in execution till nine years after. However, the comitia by tribes being aſſembled, it was decreed, that a war ſhould be declared with the ſeveral enemies of *Rome*, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the tribunes of the people. Accordingly, an army was raiſed, but the plague continuing to rage, the military tribunes could not lead their troops into the field. In the mean time, the inhabitants of *Præneste*, following the example of the other colonies, revolted, and committed great devaſtations in the territories of the *Gabini*, *Tuſculani*, and *Labicani*, who continued ſteady in their alliance with *Rome*. Though theſe faithful allies brought complaints to the ſenate of the hoſtilities committed in their diſtricts, yet e the fathers pretended not to believe them, chuſing rather to diſſemble with them, than to take up arms in their preſent unhappy ſituation. But the *Romans*, who ſcarce ever ſuffered any attempt againſt their republic to eſcape unpuniſhed, only ſuſpended their reſentment. For, in the following military tribuneſhip of *Sp. Papirius*, *L. Papirius*, *Ser. Cornelius*, *Q. Servilius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, and *L. Æmilius*, the two *Papirii* being ſent againſt the *Veliterni*, defeated them, though joined by great numbers from *Præneste*, and obliged them to ſhelter themſelves within the walls of their city. However, the generals did not think it adviſeable, either to attempt a doubtful ſiege, or to carry hoſtilities ſo far as to exterminate a *Roman* colony. The ſenate alſo judged it more neceſſary to purſue the war with vigor againſt the *Prænestini*, who had farther provoked the *Romans*, by aſſiſting their irreconcileable enemies the *Volſci*. f

These expeditions therefore, which were to be undertaken, made the aſſembled centuries caſt their eyes on *Camillus*, and raiſe him a ſixth time to the military tribuneſhip. He was indeed very unwilling to imbarque again in public affairs, being now very infirm and apprehenſive of the viciſſitudes of fortune. He therefore endeavoured to decline the honour which the people had conferred upon him, pleading his age and infirmities. But the people would not hearken to his repreſentations. We don't expect, ſaid they, that *Camillus* ſhould perſonally engage either on foot, or on horſeback, or that he ſhould join the bravery of the private ſoldier to the wiſdom of the general. All we

[p] Plut. ibid. Liv. l. vi. c. 20.

a we now deſire of him is, to aſſiſt our armies with his council and command them; this is enough to make them invincible. *Camillus* could not help complying with their requeſt; he accepted the military tribuneſhip, in which he had the following collegues, *A. Poſthumius*, *L. Poſthumius*, *L. Furius*, *L. Lucretius*, and *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*. The command of the army, which was to be employed againſt the *Volſci*, was decreed to *Camillus* by the ſenate; but it fell by lot to *L. Furius* to be joined with him in the command. The two generals commanded an army of four legions, conſiſting of four thouſand men each, which marched to *Sutrium*, where the *Volſci* and *Præneſtini* had formed a camp, and waited without fear for the *Romans*, being far more numerous than they, and fluſhed with their late ſucceſs againſt *Satricum*, which they had taken

b and put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword. *Camillus*, whether he waited to recover his health, for he was greatly indiſpoſed, or to receive a reinforcement of troops, was not in haſte to come to a battle. But, in the mean time, the *Volſci* appearing drawn up in battle and provoking the *Romans*, the latter could hardly be reſtrained from ſallying out of their camp and falling upon them. Their ardor for fighting was increaſed by the raſh diſcourſes of young *Furius*, who imputed the prudent delays of his collegue to his age, which, he ſaid, had chilled his blood. At length the *Volſci* not only marched out their men on their own ground near the camp, but advanced into the open fields, and carried on their lines almoſt to the *Roman* camp. This was ſuch an inſult, as neither *Furius* nor the legions could bear. The young general there-

c fore addreſſing himſelf to *Camillus*, reproached him, that he was the only perſon in the army for delaying the engagement. and urged him to comply with the deſires of the ſoldiers. *Camillus* anſwered with an air of ſuperiority, but with great temper, that hitherto *Rome* had not been diſſatisfied either with his conduct or ſucceſs. But nevertheleſs, if the impetuoſity, which hurried the ſoldiers on to an engagement, could not be reſtrained, he wiſhed them ſucceſs, but deſired to be excuſed on account of his age from engaging in the foremoſt ranks. *Furius* drew up his troops in order of battle; but *Camillus* made it his buſineſs to prepare *a corps de reſerve* to aſſiſt his collegue in caſe of diſtreſs: *Furius* charged with great vigor, and the *Volſci*, feigning to give way, drew the *Roman* legions half way up the hill, on which their camp was ſituated; then

d ſallying out with freſh troops, by the advantage of the ground, obliged the *Romans* to retire in great diſorder. The *Volſci* purſued them cloſe to the very gates of their camp, which thoſe brave legions, a little before ſo deſirous of fighting, ſtrove by a ſhameful flight to regain. *Camillus*, though greatly indiſpoſed, no ſooner heard that the *Romans* were defeated, than he quitted his tent, and haſtening to the gate of the camp with his body of reſerve, cried out to the flying legions, is this then, *Romans*, the victory, you were ſo ſure of? What god or man can you blame, but yourſelves? You are come to ſeek for ſhelter in that camp, which you were ſo deſirous

e to abandon. But you ſhall not enter it till you have repulſed the enemy. Having uttered theſe words, he put himſelf at the head of the troops, which he had kept with him in the camp, and encouraging the legions that had fled to return with him to the engagement, he obliged the enemy to retire, which was all he could do that day. But the next day he drew up his troops in the plain, and challenged the enemy to a ſecond engagement. *Furius*, whom *Camillus* had placed at the head of the cavalry, behaved himſelf in the battle, which enſued, with uncommon valor. For the infantry being hard preſſed, he prevailed upon his cavalry to diſmount, and came ſo opportunely to the relief of the foot, that the numerous army of the *Volſci* was intirely routed, their camp taken, and their chief commanders either ſlain or made priſoners. Among the captives were found ſome *Tuſculans*, who, as their city was in alliance with *Rome*, were ſeparated from the reſt and brought before the generals. Upon examination,

f they declared, that they had taken arms with the conſent and by the orders of their magiſtrates. This alarmed *Camillus*, who thought it neceſſary to go in perſon to *Rome* with the priſoners, and lay the matter before the ſenate. During his abſence, he left the army under the command of *Furius*, who was now grown prudent by the ill ſucceſs of his late attempt. However, it was generally believed both in the camp and the city, that the general's chief buſineſs at *Rome* was to accuſe his collegue, whoſe raſh conduct had like to have deſtroyed the army. The ſenate therefore was ſurpriſed to hear him ſpeak of nothing but the revolt of the *Tuſculans*. He was charged to puniſh their defection in an exemplary manner, and allowed to chuſe which of his five collegues he pleaſed to command with him in this new expedition. Upon which they all made intereſt to attend him, in order to learn the art of war under ſo great a general.

The Romans *put to flight by the* Volſci.

The Volſci *defeated in a ſecond engagement by* Camillus.

But

A remarkable proof of moderation in Camillus.

But the generous *Camillus*, to the great ſurprize both of the ſenate and army, preferred *Furius* to all the reſt, being more deſirous to conceal the ſhame of one who had perſonally affronted him, than to purſue the dictates of revenge. An inſtance of moderation, which gained him no leſs eſteem and veneration than all his victories. The two generals began their march; and either the artifice of thoſe faithleſs allies, or their true repentance, gave the wiſe *Camillus* a freſh opportunity of ſignalizing his moderation. For when he entered their territories, he found the husbandmen at work in the fields, as in times of the profoundeſt peace, the magiſtrates of the city ſent him proviſions, and came out to meet him. When he entered the city, he found the citizens with their wives and children walking about the ſtreets, without betraying the leaſt fear or ſurprize. The ſchools and ſhops were open, the markets full, and not the leaſt ſign of war. The general, pleaſed to find the *Tuſculans* returned to their duty, aſſembled the chief men of their republic, and, having told them that they had found out the true ſecret of diſarming the reſentment of the *Romans*, adviſed them to ſend a deputation to *Rome*, and apply to the ſenate, who were the proper judges, whether their preſent conduct was a ſufficient atonement for their paſt defection. Deputies were accordingly diſpatched, who, habited in mourning and with their dictator at their head, addreſſed the conſcript fathers in a ſuppliant manner. The ſenate readily forgave them, and ſoon after even granted them the privileges of *Roman* citizens (Q). Thus ended the ſixth military tribunrſhip of the incomparable *Camillus* [q].

The military tribunes choſen to ſucceed him and his collegues were, *L. Valerius*, *P. Valerius*, *L. Menenius*, *C. Sergius*, *Sp. Papirius*, and *Ser. Cornelius*, whoſe adminiſtration was diſturbed by domeſtic ſeditions and a foreign war. *Sp. Poſthumius*, one of the cenſors, died; whereupon the other laid down his office, as the law directed, and the *Romans* proceeded to a new election. But as the patricians were afraid of a cenſus, which muſt of courſe diſcover their riches and exceſſive uſury, they pretended, that there was ſome defect in the election, and thence took occaſion to declare, that it was againſt the will of the gods that *Rome* ſhould have any cenſors that year. On the other hand, the tribunes of the people uſed their utmoſt endeavours to bring on a new election of cenſors as ſoon as poſſible. This occaſioned great diſturbances, during which the *Præneſtins* entered the *Roman* territory, and advanced to the very gates of the city. However, the tribunes would ſuffer no levies to be made, till the ſenate had recourſe to the uſual expedient in great extremeties. *Titus Quinctius* was in all haſte nominated dictator, and he appointed *A. Sempronius* to be his general of horſe.

Titus Quinctius dictator.

The *Præneſtins* no ſooner underſtood that *Rome* had created a dictator, but they removed farther off, and troops were raiſed in the city without oppoſition. The enemy, hoping that the banks of the *Allia* would prove always unlucky for the *Romans*, encamped there. But their hopes proved vain, the dictator purſued them, and gave them a total overthrow. They fled to *Præneſte*, but the dictator coming up with them, before they reached that place, defeated them in a ſecond engagement, took all their ſtrong-holds in a few days, and then appeared before *Præneſte* itſelf, which capitulated. *Quintius*, having thus reduced the enemy, returned to *Rome*, and brought with him from *Præneſte* the ſtatue of *Jupiter Imperator*, which, as an eternal monument of his glory, was placed in the capitol between *Jupiter Capitolinus* and *Minerva*. The dictator entered *Rome* in triumph, and then laid down his office, which had laſted but twenty-five days [r].

Defeats the Prænestini, and takes Præneſte.

The

[q] Plut. in Camillo. Liv. l. vi. c. 26.

[r] Liv. l. vi. c. 29.

(Q) He only was a *Roman* citizen, in the moſt extenſive ſignification of the expreſſion, who had a right of having a houſe in *Rome*, of giving his ſuffrage in the comitia, and of ſtanding candidate for any office; and conſequently, who was incorporated into one of the tribes. The freed-men did not enjoy all theſe privileges, for in the times of the republic they were excluded from dignities. The municipal towns and *Roman* colonies enjoyed the right of citizenſhip, which had ſometimes more, ſometimes fewer, privileges annexed to it. The municipal cities enjoyed this privilege by a particular grant from the ſenate and people, without being obliged to change their own form of government. But there was this difference between them, that ſome of them could, others could not, either give their votes, or ſtand candidates for offices. This account of the municipia, and the difference between them, is agreeable to *Livy*, who tells us, that the inhabitants of *Cære* were made *municipes* with the right of ſuffrage; and elſewhere ſpeaking of *Fundi* and *Formiæ*, ſays, that theſe two cities did not obtain the right of ſuffrage, without much application, though they had already the right of citizenſhip. As for the *Roman* colonies, they enjoyed more or fewer privileges and exemptions peculiar to *Roman* citizens, in proportion to their fidelity and the ſervices they rendered the republic.

THE complaints of the inſolvent debtors, which ſtill continued, occaſioned this year an alteration in the government. Whether the aſſembled centuries divided the military tribuneſhip between the patricians and plebeians of their own accord, or by conſtraint, is uncertain; but we are told by all the ancients, that three military tribunes were choſen out of the nobility, and three out of the people. The patricians were, *P. Manlius*, *C. Manlius*, and *L. Julius*; the plebeians, *C. Sextilius*, *M. Albinius*, and *L. Antiſtius*. *Diodorus Siculus* reckons up eight military tribunes for this year, as he did for the preceding; but herein he is as much miſtaken, as he is in changing *Caius Sextilius*'s name into that of *Caius Sextius*. The two *Manlii*, without drawing lots, were appointed to command the army againſt the *Volſci*; but *Rome* had ſoon occaſion to repent of the choice ſhe had made, for the two tribunes having diviſion occaſion to repent of the choice ſhe had made, for the two tribunes having divided their army and incamped near each other, they ſent out their cavalry to forage, without being well acquainted with the country. The enemy did not think proper to intercept, as they might, the foragers, but by a ſtratagem found means to draw the whole *Roman* army into an ambuſcade. They ſent to the *Roman* camps a *Latin* ſoldier, diſguiſed like a *Roman*, to acquaint the generals, that their foragers were ſurrounded by the enemy, and muſt be inevitably cut off, if not relieved without delay. This was giving a general alarm; the two commanders, without ſo much as thinking of detaining the meſſenger who brought this falſe news, marched out of their camps with precipitation and in diſorder, hurrying their troops into narrow paſſes, where the *Volſci* lay in wait for them. The *Romans*, though in diſorder, fought with incredible bravery, and were by their deſperate courage alone preſerved from total deſtruction. But while they were wholly intent on defending themſelves againſt one body of the enemy's forces, the other took and plundered the two *Roman* camps without reſiſtance. The ill conduct of the *Manlii* made the ſenate deliberate, whether a dictator ſhould be nominated; but the enemy attempting nothing farther, it was reſolved to recall the army and its commanders. During theſe misfortunes abroad, a profound peace reigned at home, which, no doubt, was owing to the ſhare the plebeians had in the government.

Three military tribunes choſen out of the people.

The Roman camps taken and plundered by the Volſci.

THE enſuing year, the centuries choſe only patricians, viz. *Sp. Furius*, *Q. Servilius*, *C. Licinius*, *P. Clelius*, *M. Horatius*, and *L. Geganius*. The people therefore renewed their ancient complaints, and, in order to free themſelves from the oppreſſions of the rich, got at length two cenſors choſen, *Servilius Priſcus* and *Clelius Siculus*, who took an exact account of the people and their effects, and concluded the cenſus with a luſtrum, which the *Faſti Capitolini* call the nineteenth from its inſtitution. So that nothing now remained for the cenſors to do, but to put an end to the diſputes between the patricians and plebeians, by relieving the poor debtors, who were oppreſſed by the exceſſive uſury of their avaricious creditors. But, in the mean time, news being brought to *Rome*, that the *Volſci* had entered the *Roman* territory and were committing ravages there, the cenſors ſuſpended this work, under pretence, that it was of more conſequence to the ſtate to guard againſt hoſtilities abroad, than diſſenſions at home. But the tribunes of the people purſued their point, and, playing their uſual game, oppoſed the levies; ſo that the ſenate was obliged to iſſue a decree, that no perſon ſhould be diſturbed for debt, or even the payment of the uſual taxes, during the campaign. The levies were then made without oppoſition and two armies raiſed, which marching by different ways into the country of the *Volſci*, laid it waſte, and returned to *Rome* with an immenſe booty, the enemy not daring to appear in the field. The patricians no ſooner found themſelves free from the terror of a foreign war, but they cited their debtors to appear before the judges as uſual, the tribunes of the people not being able to lend them any aſſiſtance, ſo long as peace continued abroad.

The country of the Volſci laid waſte.

THE following year, the centuries choſe ſix patrician military tribunes, viz. *L. Æmilius*, *S. Sulpicius*, *P. Valerius*, *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *C. Veturius*, and *C. Quinctius*. During their adminiſtration, the *Latins* and *Volſci*, entering into a new confederacy againſt the republic, took the field and incamped near *Satricum*. It is ſurpriſing, that the tribunes of the people ſhould not lay hold of the opportunity, which the diſcontents and complaints of the debtors gave them, to oppoſe the raiſing of troops. The patricians had in all likelihood at this time the aſcendant over the plebeians; for three armies were raiſed without the leaſt oppoſition; one to guard the walls; another to be ready to march on the firſt notice; and the third, which was the moſt numerous, to attack the enemy in the neighbourhood of *Satricum*, under the command of *P. Valerius* and *L. Æmilius*. Theſe two generals found the *Latins*

The Latins *and* Volſci *defeated.*

and *Volſci* advantagiouſly poſted; but nevertheleſs did not delay giving them battle, which laſted till it was interrupted by ſo violent a rain, that neither party could keep the field. It was renewed next day, and at firſt with pretty equal ſucceſs on both ſides, the *Latins*, who had been long in alliance with the *Romans*, having learnt of them the art of war. At length the *Latin* battalions were broke and put in diſorder by the *Roman* cavalry, which occaſioned the defeat of the whole confederate army. The fugitives retired in great diſorder, firſt to *Satricum*, about two miles from the field of battle, and from thence to *Antium*, with a deſign to ſecure themſelves in that city. But the *Antiates*, not thinking their city to be in a condition to hold out a long ſiege, were for ſurrendering to the *Romans* on honourable terms. The reſt of the *Volſci*, being alſo weary of the war, expreſſed an inclination to peace. Hereupon the *Latins*, obſtinately bent upon purſuing the war, ſeparated from them in a great rage, which they vented upon *Satricum*, though belonging to the *Volſci*, and the very place which had ſerved them for a retreat after their overthrow. They reduced the place to aſhes, ſparing only a temple of the goddeſs *Matuta*, whom the *Greeks*, as *Plutarch* informs us, worſhipped under the name of *Leucothea*, or *Ino*, the daughter of *Cadmus*. From *Satricum* they marched into the country of the *Tuſculans*, ſurpriſed their city, and put all the inhabitants they met with to the ſword, for having renounced the *Latin* confederacy and accepted the privileges of *Roman* citizens. Great numbers of the *Tuſculans* retired with their wives and children into the citadel, and from thence ſent to acquaint the *Romans* with their misfortune and ſurprize. Hereupon an army, which had been kept ready againſt any unforeſeen accident, was immediately ſent to their relief, under the command of *L. Quinctius* and *Ser. Sulpicius*, two of the military tribunes, who took the place by aſſault, and put all the *Latins* within the walls of *Tuſculum* to the ſword, not one of them eſcaping. The tribunes, having thus recovered the city, led back their army to *Rome*[s].

The peace concluded with the *Antiates* and the defeat of the *Latins* gave the republic an interval of reſt from foreign wars. But at home the avarice of the patricians increaſed the miſery of the poorer ſort of people. As all the debtors were preſſed to pay their debts at the ſame time, one friend could not aſſiſt the other; ſo that moſt of them, becoming inſolvent, were delivered up to their creditors and reduced to ſlavery; which melancholy ſcene ſo depreſſed the ſpirits, not only of the meaner plebeians, but even of the moſt conſiderable of that order, that, far from ſtanding in competition with the nobles for the military tribuneſhip, they even neglected to ſue for the plebeian magiſtrates. Inſomuch, that the patricians ſeemed to have engroſſed to themſelves for ever the whole adminiſtration of public affairs. But at this very criſis a trifling accident gave the plebeians an opportunity of ſhaking off the yoke they groaned under, of raiſing their drooping ſpirits, and carrying their pretenſions higher than ever. *Fabius Ambuſtus*, an illuſtrious patrician but very popular, had two daughters, of whom the elder was married to *Ser. Sulpicius*, a patrician and at this time military tribune; the younger to *Licinius Stolo*, a rich plebeian. It happened, that while the younger ſiſter was paying a viſit to the elder, *Sulpicius* came home from the forum, where he had been diſcharging the duties of his office, attended by a croud of clients and by the lictors, who, thundering at the door with the ſtaff of the faſces, as was uſual, gave notice that the magiſtrate was coming. This noiſe, to which the wife of *Licinius* was not accuſtomed, put her into a fright, which her ſiſter taking notice of, could not forbear laughing at her, ſeeming much to wonder at her ignorance. This laughing, how innocent ſoever, was conſtrued by the younger ſiſter as an inſult upon her, on account of the ignoble family into which ſhe was married. This imaginary affront greatly provoked her, and her uneaſineſs was increaſed by the croud of people, that came to pay their court to her ſiſter and receive her commands. Her father happening to ſee her, and perceiving by her countenance that ſomething troubled her, kindly aſked what it was, and whether all was well at home. At firſt he could get no ſatisfactory anſwer from her, but at length prevailed upon her with ſoft words to diſcloſe the ſecret: You have married me, ſaid ſhe, into a family, which is excluded from enjoying the chief honours of the republic. What a vaſt difference is there between my ſiſter's condition and mine? Her father, who was very fond of her, did all that lay in his power to comfort her; Don't be uneaſy, ſaid he; you ſhall ſoon ſee as much ſtate at your own houſe, as you was ſurpriſed to find at your ſiſter's.

The lower ſort of people oppreſſed by the rich.

The vanity of a woman ſets three citizens at work to raiſe the fortune of the plebeians.

[s] Liv. l. vi. c. 32.

ſiſter's. From this time he entered into an aſſociation with *Licinius*, his ſon-in-law, and *L. Sextius*, a young plebeian of extraordinary parts, who wanted nothing but a nobler birth to qualify him for the higheſt offices of the republic. Their deſign was to aboliſh the military tribuneſhip, reſtore the conſulſhip, procure for the plebeians a ſhare in that ſupreme dignity, and, in ſhort, to put the patricians and plebeians upon an equal foot. To compaſs this deſign, it was thought expedient, that *Licinius* and *Sextius* ſhould begin, by getting the plebeian tribuneſhip for the next year, which would enable them to pave themſelves a way to the higheſt dignities. The two candidates were accordingly admitted; and having carried that firſt point, they immediately bent all their thoughts and power to deſtroy the grandeur of the patricians, and promote the intereſt of the people. The firſt ſtep they took was, to propoſe a law for ſuppreſſing the military tribuneſhip, reſtoring the conſulate, and requiring, that of the two conſuls to be annually choſen, one ſhould always be a plebeian. In order to engage the people to paſs this law, they added two others to it relating to the debts and the conquered lands. The firſt was this; let the intereſt already paid be reckoned as a diſcharge of ſo much of the principal; and let the remainder of it be paid at different equal payments. The ſecond reſtrained any *Roman* citizen from poſſeſſing more than five hundred acres of land. Whatever lands any one held beyond that reſtriction were to be taken from him, and divided among the poorer citizens. The patricians, alarmed and terrified, frequently met in order to deliberate on the moſt proper means to avert the impending evil; but could fix upon no other, except that of dividing the tribunes of the people, and engaging one part of the college to oppoſe the attempts of the other. Accordingly, they gained over the other eight: *Licinius* and *Sextius* aſſembled the tribes ſeveral times, in order to get their law paſſed; but were always oppoſed by their collegues, who, as ſoon as the law began to be read, never failed to cry out, *We proteſt againſt it.* Theſe proteſts of one part of the tribunes againſt the other were often repeated at different comitia; inſomuch, that the two popular tribunes were not able to get their laws heard by the people. Being therefore at length tired with ſuch frequent diſturbances and interruptions, they reſolved to proteſt in their turns. Very well, ſaid *Sextius* to his collegues, ſince you are ſo delighted with hearing the word *Veto*, *I forbid* or *proteſt*, we ſhall ſoon find occaſion to repeat it too, and to the advantage of the people. Accordingly, when the centuries aſſembled to elect military tribunes for the next year, *Sextius* and *Licinius* cried out in their turns, *We proteſt againſt it*, which put a ſtop to all proceedings. As theſe two were continued in the plebeian tribuneſhip, they renewed the ſame oppoſition for five years ſucceſſively; ſo that the republic fell into a kind of anarchy, none but plebeian officers being elected, that is, tribunes and ædiles. Thus the patricians were intirely excluded from the government; and this intermiſſion of ſuperior magiſtrates placed *Licinius* and *Sextius*, who were at the head of the tribunes of the people, in ſome degree at the head of the republic. So that *Fabius*'s promiſe to his daughter may be ſaid to have been performed from this time.

In the ſixth year, *Licinius* and *Sextius* were juſt elected tribunes of the people a ſixth time, when the inhabitants of *Velitræ* declared war againſt *Rome*, over-ran the lands of the republic, and even laid ſiege to the city of *Tuſculum*. As the *Tuſculans* had long been allies, and lately admitted citizens of *Rome*, *Sextius* and *Licinius*, aſhamed to refuſe them aſſiſtance, waved their oppoſition, and ſuffered an aſſembly to be held by an inter-rex for electing military tribunes. Six patricians were choſen, *viz. L. Furius*, *P. Valerius*, *A. Manlius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, *C. Valerius*, and *Ser. Cornelius*. Theſe, having made the neceſſary levies, marched againſt the enemy, defeated them, raiſed the ſiege of *Tuſculum*, and inveſted *Velitræ*. But as the generals, who began the ſiege, could not make themſelves maſters of the place before their year expired, ſix new military tribunes were created, without the leaſt oppoſition, to purſue the war with the *Veliterni*, till their city was reduced. It happened very unfortunately for the patricians, that *Fabius Ambuſtus*, the father-in-law of *Licinius Stolo*, was choſen military tribune. His five collegues were, *Q. Servilius*, *M. Cornelius*, *C. Veturius*, *Q. Quinctius*, and *A. Cornelius*. The promotion of *Fabius* incouraged the tribunes to purſue their point with more vigor than ever. They found means to gain over three of their collegues; ſo that of the ten tribunes five were now for the publication of the laws, and five againſt it. *Licinius* and *Sextius* were now the eighth year in office; and as they were by long habit thoroughly practiſed in the art of managing the people, they held frequent aſſemblies, and, in the preſence of the multitude, aſked the patricians the following

The Veliterni defeated.

following queſtions; Whether they did not think it unreaſonable, that they ſhould poſſeſs above five hundred acres of land, whilſt a great number of the plebeians had ſcarce ground enough whereon to build themſelves a ſmall habitation to live in, or a ſepulchre for their family? How can you, patricians, ſaid they, even in point of intereſt, account for your making your miſerable debtors languiſh in chains, and abſolutely putting it out of their power to pay you, by keeping them in priſon? And yet what is more common than to ſee theſe wretched citizens delivered up into the hands of their creditors by your courts of juſtice? Are not the houſes of the patricians become ſo many priſons? When they perceived that theſe inquiries made a great impreſſion on the minds of the people, they immediately added, and what remedy can be provided againſt theſe misfortunes? Since our tribunes are not able to protect us, we muſt introduce ſome of the plebeians into the higheſt offices. Nor will it be ſufficient that plebeians be qualified by law to be conſuls. Was not the number of military tribunes increaſed, on purpoſe that the plebeians might have a ſhare in that magiſtracy? and yet how few have been raiſed to it? And how much eaſier will it be for the patricians, when there are but two places to be filled, to ſecure them both to themſelves? It is therefore neceſſary, that a law be paſſed, laying *Rome* under a neceſſity of chuſing one of her ſupreme governors out of the people. From that very day, and not till then, may the *Roman* people be deemed to have baniſhed kings from *Rome*, and eſtabliſhed liberty on a laſting baſis. When the tribunes found that the people liſtened to theſe diſcourſes with great pleaſure, they added a fourth law to the three already mentioned, importing, that decemviri ſhould be elected inſtead of duumviri, to preſerve and interpret the *Sybilline* books, and that five of them ſhould be always plebeians. However, all proceedings on this, as well as on the other regulations, were ſuſpended, till the reduction of *Velitræ*, that the ſoldiers employed in that ſiege, who made ſo great a part of the people, might not be excluded from giving their votes, when ſuch important innovations were on foot.

The year expiring before the return of the army, for the ſiege went on but ſlowly, the republic choſe ſix new military tribunes, *L. Quinctius. Sp. Servilius*, *Serv. Cornelius*, *L. Papirius*, *Serv. Sulpicius*, and *L. Veturius*. As for the tribunes of the people, *Licinius* and *Sextius* were ſtill continued in their employment, the people being eager to have theſe two oppoſers of the patrician party carry on their deſigns and complete them. The *Roman* army was no ſooner returned from the ſiege of *Velitræ*, than *Licinius* and *Sextius* ſummoned the people once more, declaring, that they would proceed to the publication of the law, without any regard to the oppoſition of their colleagues. The patricians, ſeeing their caſe deſperate, had recourſe to the laſt refuge, which was to nominate a dictator. The man, who ſeemed moſt proper to fit at the helm of affairs in ſo tempeſtuous a ſeaſon, was *Camillus*, and accordingly the fathers with unanimous conſent raiſed him to that dignity the fourth time. *Camillus* was not very forward to accept the charge, being unwilling to quarrel with thoſe very men, whoſe valor he had ſo often employed in war. As affairs then ſtood, he could expect nothing, but either to diſoblige the commons, if he ſucceeded, or to contribute to the ruin of his party, if he did not. However, that zealous patriot did not refuſe to aſſiſt his country, when it ſo much ſtood in need of his authority. From the day he was nominated dictator, the power of the tribunes of the people ought to have been ſuſpended. But *Licinius* and *Sextius*, without paying any regard to the dictator, continued ſtill to aſſemble the people, who being met in the forum on the day appointed, the four laws were read to them. The tribes had already begun to give their ſuffrages in order, and the firſt tribe had actually voted in favour of the laws, when the dictator, full of anger and indignation, and attended by a great body of patricians, repaired to the aſſembly, and there ſeated himſelf in his tribunal. As the tribunes were divided among themſelves, ſome declaring for the laws and others proteſting againſt them, the dictator riſing up declared, that he was come to ſupport the privileges of the people, and that he would never ſuffer one part of the tribunes to deprive the other of their right of oppoſition. The two heads of the tribunes laughed at this artful ſpeech, and, purſuing their meaſures with great ſteadineſs, continued to take the ſuffrages of the people, which ſo provoked *Camillus*, that he ordered his lictors to drive away the tribes from their reſpective places, threatening at the ſame time, that if they did not diſperſe immediately, he would aſſemble them in the *campus Martius*, inliſt them, and make them march into the field without delay. On the other hand, the tribunes, to encourage the people, had the boldneſs

Camillus *dictator.*

to

a to threaten the dictator, that, as ſoon as his dictatorſhip was expired, they would get him condemned in a fine of fifty thouſand drachmæ, if he prevented the people from giving their ſuffrages. However, the tribes, terrified at the menaces of a magiſtrate, who had power of life and death, retired, and the comitia were poſtponed to another day. But *Camillus*, ſeeing the people too much inraged to be brought to any terms, either by authority or perſuaſion, withdrew to his own houſe, and ſoon after laid down his office. Some authors are of opinion, that, remembering his exile, he was intimidated by the threatenings of the tribunes, and did not care to venture himſelf again in an affair of ſo much heat. But *Livy* tells us, that he was informed there had been ſome defect in the ceremony of taking the auſpices, when he was created dictator, b and that on this account he would not, as he was very ſcrupulous in theſe matters, retain a dignity conferred upon him contrary to the laws of his religion. The ſenate, after a ſhort inter-regnum, named *P. Manlius* to ſucceed *Camillus*. *Manlius* preſently diſcovered himſelf to be a great favourer of the people; for the firſt thing he did was, to name a plebeian, *C. Licinius*, not *Licinius* the ſon-in-law of *Fabius*, for his general of the horſe. *Sextius* and *Licinius* no longer doubted, but they ſhould be able to bring their deſigns to a happy concluſion, under the adminiſtration of a dictator who favoured them, and the protection of his general of horſe, provided they could get themſelves continued in the tribuneſhip. In order to this, they pretended, that they would no longer ſerve, repreſenting to the people, that they were grown old in the tribuneſhip to no purpoſe, and that, after ſtruggling nine years with the ſenate for the good c of the people, the only recompence they had met with was neglect and ingratitude. Shall our laws, ſaid they, wholly tend to your benefit, and we receive no manner of advantage from them ourſelves? Is it conſiſtent with modeſty for you to aſk great advantages by our means, while you reſolve to leave us without honour, or even the hopes of honour? To be plain then, the laws we have propoſed are inſeparable. If you are reſolved to paſs them conjointly, then continue us in the tribuneſhip. We ſhall in that caſe make uſe of the authority you ſhall inveſt us with, to finiſh the work we have begun. But if you are determined to paſs thoſe laws, which concern uſury and the conquered lands, without any regard to our intereſt, we will accept of d the tribuneſhip no longer; and be aſſured, that you ſhall not obtain your deſires. The people were very earneſt to paſs the laws concerning the debts and conquered lands; but as to the other two laws, relating to the re-eſtabliſhment of the conſulate, on condition that one of the conſuls ſhould always be a plebeian, and the changing of the duumviri into decemviri, the people did not give themſelves much concern about them, being well appriſed, that the endeavours of the tribunes, to open a way for the plebeians to arrive at the conſulate, were chiefly intended for their own private intereſt, The tribunes therefore would not by any means ſuffer the laws to be propoſed ſeparately. *Appius Claudius*, grandſon to the famous decemvir, made a long ſpeech, full of invectives againſt the two tribunes, expatiating on the inſolence of the declaration they had e made, *viz.* that the people ſhould not be allowed to paſs ſuch laws as they approved, unleſs they would at the ſame time paſs others which they did not approve. But, notwithſtanding his harangue, the two tribunes were choſen the tenth time, the multitude being afraid of loſing ſuch able and zealous defenders. Not long after their re-election, they obtained the paſſing of that law, which related to the care of the *Sibylline* books. This advantage contented the people for the preſent; and ſix military tribunes, all patricians, were created for the next year without the leaſt diſturbance, viz. *A. Cornelius*, *L. Veturius*, *M. Cornelius*, *P. Valerius*, *M. Geganius*, and *P. Manlius*. In the very beginning of their adminiſtration, the tribunes uſed their utmoſt efforts f to get the other laws paſſed, and the debates were carried to ſuch a height on both ſides, that the citizens were upon the point of taking up arms againſt each other, when news was brought to *Rome*, that a numerous army of *Gauls* was in full march from the coaſts of the *Adriatic*, with a deſign to revenge the defeat of their countrymen. The approach of ſo dreadful an enemy ſuſpended the diviſions of the commonwealth. The common danger united both patricians and plebeians, and prompted them to name a dictator. The great *Camillus* was raiſed to this dignity the fifth time. He was indeed now fourſcore years old, and had very lately laid down the dictatorſhip before the uſual time. But nevertheleſs, his zeal for the welfare of his country induced him to ſacrifice the remaining part of his life to the public good. He did not now plead infirmity, as he formerly had done, to decline the charge, but readily undertook it; and, having made the neceſſary levies, marched out of *Rome* with all the vivacity of a

Lays down his office.

Camillus *dictator for the fifth time.*

young man, after he had named *T. Quinctius* to be his general of the horſe. As ſoon as he came near the camp of the *Gauls*, which was on the banks of the *Anio*, he poſted the ſmalleſt part of his army upon a hill of eaſy aſcent, and concealed the reſt in the vallies and behind the rocks. The poor appearance of the *Roman* troops made the *Gauls* ſo confident, that they pillaged the country quite up to his very trenches, which *Camillus*, in order to increaſe their confidence, ſuffered them to do for ſeveral days together, keeping himſelf quiet within his camp, which was well fortified on all ſides. At length, perceiving, that a great part of the enemy were ſcattered in the country to pillage, and being informed, that thoſe who remained in the camp did nothing night and day but drink and revel, he ordered his light-armed men to march in the night-time into the plain, and to prevent the enemy from drawing up in order b
Defeats the Gauls on the banks of the Anio.
of battle, when they ſhould firſt ſally out of their camp. Early in the morning he marched down the hill with his main body, and drew them up in battalia. The *Gauls* haſtened out of their trenches, but the light-armed *Romans*, falling upon them before they could range themſelves in their uſual order, obliged them to begin the fight in confuſion. In the mean time, *Camillus* charged them with his heavy-armed legions, and made ſuch a ſlaughter in the foremoſt ranks, that the reſt fled and diſperſed themſelves over the champain country, the *Romans* being poſſeſſed of the hills. Thoſe who eſcaped the purſuit of the conquerors, fled into *Apulia*. Some writers are of opinion, that from this time the *Gauls* began to ſpread themſelves into *Illyricum*, *Pannonia*, *Thrace*, *Greece*, and *Aſia Minor*. After this victory the dictator led his victo- c
rious army againſt *Velitræ*, the ſiege of which city had been interrupted. But the *Veliterni* ſubmitted to him without making the leaſt reſiſtance; he returned therefore to *Rome*, where the honours of a triumph were decreed him both by the ſenate and people [t].

But the republic was in too great a ferment for the ſenate to conſent to his abdicating the dictatorſhip. The patricians thought, that, under the ſhelter of his great name and abſolute authority, they ſhould be better able to contend with their adverſaries. For the people, proud of their late victory, were more obſtinately bent than ever on paſſing the laws ſo long diſputed. *Sextius* and *Licinius*, ſeeing themſelves backed and ſupported by the multitude, grew more audacious than ever, and took d
The tribunes ſend an officer to ſeize Camillus, *though dictator.*
a moſt extraordinary ſtep to effect their purpoſe. As the dictator was one day ſitting on his tribunal in the forum, an officer, ſent by thoſe tribunes, commanded him to riſe and follow him, laying his hand upon him at the ſame time, as if he deſigned to ſeize him and carry him away by force. Hereupon ſuch a noiſe and tumult aroſe in the forum, as never had been heard before, the patricians, who attended *Camillus*, driving back the officer, and the multitude at the foot of the tribunal crying out, *Pull him down*; *pull him down*. The tribunes deſign was by this violence to frighten *Camillus* into an abdication; but he, though at a loſs what to do in this exigence, would not lay down the authority, which had been legally conferred upon him. In the midſt of this uproar, he took refuge in the ſenate-houſe, whither the patricians followed e
him; and there the pretenſions of the people and their tribunes were taken into conſideration. On this occaſion *Camillus* made a vow to build a temple to *Concord*, in caſe he ſucceeded in quieting theſe commotions. As the populace could not be prevailed upon by any means to abate of their pretenſions, it was reſolved, after many long and warm debates, to comply with their requeſt, and to accept the three laws in queſtion, as the only means to extinguiſh their obſtinate fury. Thus the government was changed, the conſulate revived, and the military tribuneſhip laid aſide for ever [u].

The firſt plebeian conſul. Year of the flood 2637. *Year before Chriſt* 362. *Of* Rome 386
The people having thus carried their point, the comitia were held for the election of conſuls, when *L. Æmilius Mamercinus* and *L. Sextius*, the plebeian tribune, were f
raiſed to that dignity. However, when the election of *Sextius* came to be confirmed by the ſenate, the conſcript fathers abſolutely refuſed to conſent to it. The new diſputes between the two parties on this occaſion were carried to ſo great a length, that the people were ready to leave *Rome* and ſeparate themſelves from the patricians, as they had formerly done. All the wiſdom of a dictator univerſally eſteemed was therefore neceſſary to bring about an accommodation; and *Camillus* found out an expedient, to which both parties agreed. The conſuls and military tribunes, who long ſupplied their places, were generals of the *Roman* armies, and at the ſame time judges of civil affairs;

[t] Plut. in Camillo Liv. l. vi. c. 40, 41. [u] Plut. ibid. Liv. l. vi. c. 41.

affairs; but as they could not always attend to the latter branch of their office, being commonly during the ſummer in the field, *Camillus*'s expedient was to ſeparate this function from the conſulate, and to create a judge, with the title of *Prætor*, to whom it ſhould be appropriated. He adviſed the ſenate to ſuffer one conſul to be choſen annually out of the plebeians, on condition that the prætors ſhould be alway patricians. This motion was agreed to by both parties, the election of *Sextius* was confirmed, and all feuds and diſſenſions in the republic laid aſide (R).

TRANQUILLITY being thus re-eſtabliſhed, the ſenate, in gratitude to the gods, ordered the great games to be celebrated. Theſe ſhews formerly laſted only three days; but now a fourth was added to them; and on that account their name was changed from *ludi magni*, or *great games*, into that of *ludi maximi*, or *the greateſt games*. The preſent ædiles refuſed, for what reaſon we know not, to make the neceſſary preparations for the great games, tho' that was a branch of their office. Hereupon the young patricians cried out, That, ſince the affair in queſtion was to take care of the worſhip of the gods, they ſhould think it no diſhonour to be choſen ædiles. The dictator accepted the offer, and propoſed to the people the eſtabliſhing of two patrician ædileſhips, which they agreed to. Theſe patrician ædiles, from the ivory chair, called *ſella curulis*, had the name of *ædiles curules*, and were of greater account, being curule magiſtrates, than the plebeian ædiles. Their buſineſs was to take care of the temples, theatres, games, markets, tribunals of juſtice, and the repairing of the city walls, and alſo to ſee that no novelty was introduced into religion. In after-ages they examined the fables or pieces written for the ſtage, and ſeem to have been the judges of other writings. To them the generals of armies, upon their return, delivered the corn and proviſions taken from the enemy, as they did the priſoners to the prætor, and the money to the quæſtor. Nothing now remained, but to mark out a place for the temple of *Concord*, which *Camillus* had vowed. It was built, at the expence of the public, upon an eminence at the foot of the capitol; ſo that it was ſeen from the forum, and the places where the aſſemblies were held and juſtice was adminiſtered. Thus ended a year ſo glorious for *Camillus*. He had overcome the moſt formidable enemies of *Rome*, reſtored peace to the republic, and calmed the people, without exaſperating the nobility. Full therefore of glory and of years, he laid down the dictatorſhip, wholly bent on ſpending the ſmall remainder of his days in the repoſe and tranquillity of a private life.

The great games.

The curule ædiles.

The temple of Concord.

THE enſuing year all continued quiet, both at home and abroad, except that the tribunes of the people complained, and could not bear, that for one plebeian conſul granted to the people, the patricians had got three curule magiſtrates, *viz.* a prætor and two ædiles. Their complaints, backed with the murmurs of the people, made an impreſſion on the ſenate; and the patricians conſented, that the curule ædiles ſhould be choſen out of the plebeians every ſecond year. Afterwards they left the people at full liberty to chuſe them every year out of either body. Theſe eſtabliſhments being once made, *Rome* enjoyed a profound peace, under the adminiſtration of the new conſuls, *L. Genucius*, a plebeian, and *Servilius Ahala*, a patrician. This year a dreadful plague broke out, which ſwept away great numbers; amongſt the reſt one cenſor, three tribunes of the people, and one curule ædile; but the moſt fatal ſtroke of all was the death of the great *Camillus*, who was much regretted by all ranks of

Death of Camillus.

(R) The prætorſhip was then looked upon as the ſecond dignity in the republic, the prætor being elected in the comitia by centuries, and under the ſame auſpices as the conſuls; ſo that they were in a manner collegues. The conſul had the management of political and military affairs. The prætor was the chief magiſtrate concerned in the adminiſtration of juſtice. Before the eſtabliſhment of the prætorſhip, the conſuls were called *prætors*; nay, the dictator himſelf aſſumed the title of *prætor maximus*, the word *prætor* being derived from the *Latin* verb *præire*, ſignifying *to go before*: Hence the old *Latins* called their commanders *prætores*. At firſt one prætor only was appointed. Afterwards, that is, about the year of *Rome* 501, another was added; and then one of them applied himſelf to the adminiſtration of juſtice among the citizens, with the name of *prætor urbanus*, while the other decided the differences which aroſe amongſt foreigners, with the title of *prætor peregrinus*. Upon the taking of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, two more prætors were created to aſſiſt the conſuls in the government, and as many more upon the intire conqueſt of *Spain*. *Sylla* increaſed their number to eight; *Julius Cæſar*, firſt to ten, and afterwards to ſixteen; and the ſecond triumvirate to ſixty-four. From this time we meet ſometimes with twelve prætors, and ſometimes with eighteen; but, in the declenſion of the empire, they were reduced to three. When the number of the prætors was thus increaſed, the *prætor urbanus* undertook the cognizance of private cauſes, and the others that of crimes; whence they were alſo ſtyled *Quæſitores*. Beſides theſe, there were alſo *provincial prætors*, whoſe buſineſs it was to adminiſter juſtice in the *Roman* provinces, and command the troops there in time of war, till their office, which was annual, expired.

of people. He was deſervedly ſtyled a ſecond *Romulus*, the firſt having founded, and he reſtored, the city. He is ſaid never to have fought a battle without gaining a complete victory, never to have beſieged a city without taking it, and never to have led an army into the field, which he did not bring back loaded both with glory and booty. He was a zealous patriot, and, though perſecuted by his ungrateful country, would never hearken to his juſt reſentments. The neceſſities of the publick no ſooner obliged the people to have recourſe to him, than, forgetting the affronts he had received, he took upon him the conduct of the moſt difficult and laborious undertakings. He was a patrician by deſcent; but not actuated by party-zeal, his love for the publick being the only rule of his conduct. He favoured the plebeians, when the intereſt of the publick required him to do ſo, but without flattery or ſelf-intereſt. b
He had nothing in view but to do every one juſtice, and put an end to the diſſentions which weakened the republick; ſo that he left his country in the enjoyment of a perfect tranquillity at his death, by means of the equality he had wiſely introduced, and the juſt balance he had ſettled between all orders of men in the republic. In ſhort, *Rome* may be ſaid to have furniſhed the world with many noble patterns of probity; but none perhaps more perfect than that of the incomparable *Camillus*.

The *Roman* republic, at the time of *Camillus*'s death, had ſcarce gained any increaſe of territory, except on the other ſide of the *Tiber*, in the country of the *Hetrurians*; nor did her juriſdiction even there reach far beyond *Veii* and *Cære*; ſo that it was confined within ſix or ſeven leagues of the capital. Ever ſince the taking and ſacking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, her allies had been continually wavering in their fidelity. The eternal jealouſies between the nobility and people retarded their conqueſts, and revived the hopes of the nations they had conquered. The tribunes of the people were ever oppoſing the enterprizes of the conſuls or military tribunes. The ſenate had often recourſe to a dictator, and then the experience and valour of the *Roman* troops made them victorious; but the return of domeſtic ſeditions gave the people, whom they had conquered, an opportunity of ſhaking off the yoke. Thus were the *Romans*, without interruption, running in the ſame round of wars againſt the ſame enemies, without reaping any advantage from their conqueſts. Such was the ſtate of *Rome*, when *C. Sulpicius* and *C. Licinius Stolo* were raiſed to the conſulate. d
The firſt was a patrician, and the latter the famous plebeian tribune, ſon-in-law to *Fabius*, who, jointly with his collegue *Sextius*, had firſt contrived the four laws, then maintained them, and at length, in the ten years he had been tribune, obtained the publication of them. And now the promiſe which *Fabius* had made to his younger daughter, that ſhe ſhould ſee the ſame honours paid to her huſband, which ſhe had beheld with envy paid to the huſband of her elder ſiſter, was fulfilled. She had the pleaſure to ſee for a whole year the lictors with their faſces march before her huſband, and to have her houſe adorned with thoſe enſigns of the ſupreme power and authority.

The lectiſternium.

As the plague ſtill continued to rage, the *Romans* had recourſe to an old ſuperſtition e
called *lectiſternium*. This was a religious entertainment made for the gods in their own temples, where tables were ſpread, and beds placed round them, on which the gods, according to the *Roman* faſhion, were to lie, and eat. The beds were placed near the altars, and ſtrewed with leaves and odoriferous herbs, as well as the temples; whence this ceremony had the name of *lectiſternium*, that is, *a ſtrewing of a bed*. The ſtatues of *Jupiter* and the other gods were laid upon theſe beds, as if they had been to partake of the feaſt. The goddeſſes were placed on chairs, after the manner of the *Roman* women, this being thought the more decent poſture for their ſex; but, as the ceremony of the *lectiſternium* did not remove the plague, the ſuperſtitious *Romans* f
endeavoured to appeaſe the anger of the gods, by inſtituting new ſports, which were called *ſcenici*, from their being repreſented on *a ſcene*, that is, a ſtage built in the *ſhade*.

The ſcenic ſhews.

The performers were brought out of *Hetruria*, in the language of which country *hiſter* ſignified *a player*; whence came the *Latin* word *hiſtrio*. Theſe *hiſtriones* or *actors* danced to the flute, and kept time with their motions and geſtures; but their dances, in theſe early times, were not accompanied by any verſes or diſcourſes. Afterwards the *Roman* youth imitated theſe foreign dances, and mixed ſuch jokes and raillery with them, as were ſuitable to the geſtures and poſtures they mimicked. This mixture of dances and merry verſes were very agreeable to the people, which prompted ſome to undertake the compoſing of verſes for the ſtage; but the firſt ſpeakers fell into the corrupt taſte of the *Feſcennini*, a people of *Hetruria*, who threw rude and unpre-

unpremeditated jokes at one another, without any order or regularity. These were soon succeeded by satires, written in verse and set to the flute; which satires were repeated with suitable gestures. Some years after, *Livius Andronicus* turned the satires into regular plays; and then the farces, which had made people laugh, were despised (S).

The scenic plays, which were introduced at this time, were performed in a part of the *circus*, near the banks of the *Tiber*, which happening to overflow, the people concluded, that the new remedy was not efficacious to appease the wrath of heaven. They therefore revived an old religious ceremony, which was said to have proved effectual in the like calamity. This was, the driving of a nail by a dictator into
b that part of the wall of *Jupiter Capitolinus*'s temple, which divided it from the chapel of *Minerva* under the same roof. This odd ceremony was borrowed from the *Volsinienses* in *Hetruria*, who reckoned their years by nails, which they drove into a temple of the goddess *Nortia* or *Fortune*. When *Brutus* and *Horatius Pulvillus* were consuls, immediately after the expulsion of the *Tarquins*, the *Romans* built the famous temple of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, and resolved to mark down in it, and thereby transmit to posterity, the number of years, which had passed since the foundation of *Rome*; but as they were then unacquainted with the numeral letters, they drove as many nails into the wall of the temple, as there had passed years since their city was founded. Every year afterwards, on the ides of *September*, the chief prætor, or consul
c for the time being, drove a nail into this wall, which shewed the year of his consulship. *Livy* tells us, that the law which injoined this ceremony was written in antique characters and obsolete words, and fixed up in the chapel of *Minerva*, whom the *Romans* looked upon as the inventress of numbers. This ceremony of driving the nail was afterwards transferred from the consuls to dictators, as magistrates of greater dignity and power; and, as it had been long discontinued, it was thought necessary to revive it at this time, some of the old people reporting, that it had formerly put a stop to a violent plague. A dictator was accordingly named for the performing of this ceremony, and the person raised to that dignity was *T. Manlius*, who, from his haughty spirit and imperious air, was surnamed *Imperiosus*. He chose *L.*
d *Pinarius Natta* for his general of the horse, and, with great pomp and solemnity, drove the nail into the wall of the temple; but the proud dictator, unwilling to have the whole business of his office confined to one religious ceremony, ordered troops to be raised, and even forced the citizens, tho' worn out with long sickness, to inlist themselves, under pretence, that the *Hernici* were preparing to shake off the *Roman* yoke; but, as he had been nominated dictator to perform a religious ceremony, and not

Manlius Imperiosus *dictator*.

(S) However, the *Roman* youth revived these farces, and acted them at the end of their serious pieces. When the professed actors had finished their parts, some young *Romans* came upon the stage masqued, and began to repeat merry verses as formerly, but such as were free from obscenity. These pieces were first brought from *Atella*, a city of *Campania*, and called *exodia*, that is, *verses not belonging to the play*. The *Roman* youth never suffered the professed actors to bear any part in their *exodia*, for fear of dishonouring them; so that the persons who acted these pieces, were not liable to the penalties inflicted on the *histriones*. Their names were not blotted out of the tribes, in which they were incorporated; nor were they excluded as infamous persons from serving in war. In short, they were not upon the foot of actors hired to entertain the public. The profession of an actor was indeed honourable among the *Greeks*. *Æschines* acted on the stage of *Athens* in his youth, and yet became one of the greatest orators of his time, and equalled *Demosthenes* himself (9). *Aristodemus*, tho' an actor, was sent on an embassy to *Philip* king of *Macedon*, in the name of the republic of *Athens* (10). But this was not the case with the *Romans*. *Cornelius Nepos* shews us the difference in his preface, where he says, that in *Greece* it was no dishonour to a man to appear upon the stage in the habit of an actor; whereas among the *Romans* it was infamous and unworthy of an honest man. Hence *Tully* says of *Roscius* the comedian, that he seemed to be the only man of his profession who deserved to be encouraged, and have a numerous audience, adding, that so mean an employment was unworthy of so honest a man, and that he deserved a more honourable station and more suitable to his probity (11). The professed actors could not be incorporated in any tribe, and consequently had no right of suffrage. None who acted on the stage were capable of serveing in the legions, or bearing any civil or military employment. A senator, if he acted but once on the stage, was immediately degraded; and a knight forfeited all his privileges. An actress was infamous, and subject to the same laws as common prostitutes. These punishments were decreed and inflicted by an edict of the prætor; *Ait prætor*, says *Ulpian*, *Qui in scenam prodierit*, *infamis est* (12). But the actors of the *Atellanæ* were not comprised under this law, the *Roman* nobility confining the acting of these performances to themselves. If any actor in these pieces did not perform his part well, the people did not oblige him to unmask, which they had a right to do with respect to the professed actors.

(9) *Vide Demosth. in orat. de corona apud Quinctil. l. ii. c. 17. & Plut. in vitis decem rhetor.* (10) *Cic. l. iv. de repub apud S. Augst. l. ii. de civit. Dei.* (11) *Cic. orat. pro Quinct.* (12) *Ulpian. l. ii par. 5. ff. de iis qui infamia notantur.*

not to command an army, the tribunes of the people repelled force with force, and a
at length obliged him to lay down his office; which he had no ſooner done, than he
was cited by *M. Pomponius*, one of the tribunes, to anſwer before the people for the
violence and cruelty which he had exerciſed over the citizens; for he had impriſoned
ſome, and cauſed others to be barbarouſly whipped. He was alſo accuſed of treating
inhumanly one of his own ſons, by name *Titus*, whom he had confined to the coun-
try, obliging him to work among his ſlaves, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he was
of ſlow parts and had an impediment in his ſpeech. This ſhews, that the abſolute
power which fathers, by the laws of *Rome*, had over their children, was kept within
bounds by the ſuperior authority of the magiſtrates. *Manlius* had, according to
cuſtom, a copy of the heads of his accuſation given him, and the uſual time of three b
market-days, or twenty-ſeven days, allowed him to prepare for his defence. All
were highly exaſperated againſt ſo ſevere a dictator and ſo barbarous a father, except
the ſon himſelf, who, moved with filial piety, and under the greateſt concern that
he ſhould furniſh matter of accuſation againſt his father, reſolved upon a moſt extra-
A remarkable inſtance of filial piety. ordinary method to deliver him. Early in the morning he left the country-houſe, to
which he had been baniſhed by his unnatural father, came to the city, and ſtopped no-
where till he got to the houſe of *Pomponius*, who was yet in bed. However, *Man-
lius* was immediately admitted by the tribune, who did not doubt but he was come
to diſcover to him ſome new inſtances of his father's ſeverity. After they had ſaluted
each other, *Manlius* deſired a private conference; whereupon every body was ordered c
to withdraw. Then the young man, drawing out a poniard and holding it cloſe to
the tribune's throat, threatened to ſtab him that moment, if he did not ſwear to deſiſt
from the proſecution he was carrying on againſt his father. *Pomponius* was ſo terri-
fied, that he readily ſwore whatever the other was pleaſed to dictate, and, thinking
himſelf obliged even to comply with an involuntary obligation, dropped the proſe-
cution. The people was not diſpleaſed at the bold enterprize of a ſon in favour of a
father, by whom he had been uſed in the baſeſt manner. They all extolled his piety,
and not only, for his ſake, pardoned the father, but the ſame year raiſed him to one
of the moſt important poſts in the *Roman* army, that of legionary tribune [w].

This year the *Hernici* revolted; but, while the *Romans* were preparing to bring d
them back to their duty, an unforeſeen accident threw the city into the utmoſt con-
The earth opens in the forum. ſternation. The earth opened all on a ſudden in the midſt of the forum, probably
by the violence of an earthquake. The citizens, having laboured in vain to fill up
the chaſm by throwing abundance of earth into it, had at laſt recourſe to the augurs,
who declared, that they would never be able to compaſs their deſign, till that thing,
in which the ſtrength and power of the *Roman* people conſiſted, was thrown into the
place; and that ſuch a victim would ſecure the eternal duration of the *Roman* ſtate.
While they were all conſulting about the meaning of this oracle, *M. Curtius*, a brave
young patrician, having firſt aſked them, Whether *Rome* had any thing more valu-
able than arms and valour? armed himſelf completely, and mounting a horſe richly e
capariſoned, came to the forum, and, in the ſight of the people who were aſſem-
Curtius *leaps into the gulph.* bled in crouds, devoted himſelf to death for his country, and rode full ſpeed into the
gulph; an action, which ſome hiſtorians would willingly magnify with a miracle; for
they tell us, that the ground immediately cloſed; but the moſt judicious writers own,
that the opening was afterwards filled up with earth and rubbiſh [x]. After *M. Curtius*
had thus devoted himſelf, the *Romans* did not doubt but they ſhould ſoon humble the
The Romans *defeated, and the conſul killed, by the* Hernici. *Hernici:* but they were diſappointed; for *Genucius*, the firſt plebeian conſul who
had ever been intruſted with the command of an army, fell into an ambuſcade, and
was killed, after the legions, ſeized with a ſudden fright, had abandoned him. Some
hiſtorians ſeem to doubt, whether he did not fall by the hand of a *Roman*; at leaſt it f
is certain, the melancholy news of his defeat did not ſo much grieve the patricians, as
raiſe their pride. They exclaimed in all places, that the misfortunes of *Rome* were
owing to the violation of human and divine rights in the conſecration of a plebeian
conſul. To wipe off the diſgrace which *Rome* had received, it was reſolved to create
a dictator. *Servilius*, the ſurviving conſul, named to that office *Appius Claudius*, the
moſt inveterate enemy of the plebeian party, that he might repair the loſſes, which
the republic had ſuſtained by the miſmanagement of a plebeian conſul. While the
dictator was raiſing a ſecond army, the *Hernici*, elated with their late ſucceſs, advan-
ced

[w] Liv. l. vii. c. 4. Cic. offic. l. iii. Val. Max. l. v. c. 4. [x] Liv. l. vii. c. 6. Val. Max. l. v. c. 6. Oros. l. iii. c. 5. August. de civit. Dei, l. v. c. 18.

ced with great boldneſs to beſiege the vanquiſhed in their camp; but *C. Sulpicius*, who had been lieutenant to *Genucius*, and had, after the defeat and death of his general, collected the ſcattered troops, ſallying out upon them, obliged them to return to their own intrenchments. *Appius* ſoon after arrived with a new army, which he had juſt raiſed in the city, and having exhorted his men to imitate the bravery of *Sulpicius* and the ſoldiers under his command, prepared for a general engagement. The *Hernici*, hearing that a dictator was created to carry on the war againſt them, exhauſted their country of men to reinforce their army, none who were able to bear arms being excuſed from taking the field. Out of this multitude they choſe three thouſand two hundred men, whom they divided into eight cohorts, of four hundred
b men each. This was the flower of the enemy's troops; and their generals, to diſtinguiſh them from the reſt, and by that means engage them to exert themſelves in battle, not only allowed them double pay, but exempted them from all the laborious offices of the army. The dictator no ſooner began to draw up his men, but the *Hernici* did the ſame, in a plain, which lay between the two camps, and was about three miles over. This was the field of battle; and never were forces more equal, or the victory more doubtful. The *Roman* knights engaged the eight cohorts; but, notwithſtanding their utmoſt efforts, the enemy kept both their ground and ranks. The bad ſucceſs of this firſt onſet made the *Roman* cavalry change their way of fighting. They all diſmounted, and, with permiſſion of their general, poſted themc ſelves in the firſt line, at the head of the infantry. The eight cohorts ſtill made head againſt them with incredible bravery, the reſt of the ſoldiers in both armies being idle ſpectators of a battle fought by the flower of the two nations. The victory was a long time doubtful, many falling on both ſides; but at length the better fortune of the *Romans*, as *Livy* expreſſes it, prevailed; the cohorts firſt retreated in good order, and then, being warmly preſſed, gave way and fled in confuſion. The conquerors purſued the enemy to their camp; but night coming on hindered them from attempting to force it. The next morning the *Romans* found it abandoned; the *Hernici* having retired under the walls of their cities. This victory coſt the *Romans* dear; for they are ſaid to have loſt a fourth part of their army and a great number of knights. The dictator returned to the city; but did not obtain a triumph, the people being in all likelihood unwilling to beſtow that honour on the moſt declared enemy of the plebeian party[y].

The Hernici *defeated by* Appius Claudius *dictator.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the misfortune of *Genucius*, the centuries choſe another plebeian conſul, *viz. C. Licinius Stolo*, a ſecond time, and with him *C. Sulpicius*, ſurnamed *Peticus*. As the moſt violent enemy of the plebeians had been nominated dictator the laſt year by the patricians, ſo the moſt enterpriſing adverſary of the nobility was now raiſed to the higheſt office by the ſuffrages of the people. The two conſuls entered the enemy's country together; but, finding no enemy in the field, they beſieged and took *Ferentinum*, formerly a city of the *Volſci*, which had been given up to the *Hernici* by the *Romans*. After the ſurrender of this place, they took the road to *Rome*; but, when they came to *Tybur*, they were ſurprized to find the gates of that city ſhut againſt them. Upon inquiry, they found, that the *Tyburtes* were in ſecret intelligence with the *Gauls*, who were again in motion. The apprehenſion of a war with ſo formidable an enemy made them determine to create a dictator. *T. Quinctius Pennus* was the perſon nominated to that dignity, and he appointed *Serv. Cornelius* to be his general of the horſe. While the *Romans* were preparing for the war, the *Gauls* advanced as far as the banks of the *Anio*, within three miles of *Rome*. The *Roman* army, under the command of the dictator, immediately advanced to meet them, and encamped on the oppoſite banks of the river. Both armies lay near one
f of the bridges of the *Anio*, which neither of them offered to break down, leſt it ſhould ſeem to argue fear; ſo that this bridge became the ſcene of ſeveral combats between the champions of both parties. One day a *Gaul* of gigantic ſtature, advancing upon the bridge, cried out with a loud voice, *Let the braveſt man in the* Roman *army enter the liſts with me; the ſucceſs of our combat ſhall determine which is the more valiant nation.* His extraordinary ſize and fierce looks ſtruck the *Romans* with ſuch terror, that, for a long time, not one in the whole army offered to accept the challenge. At length young *Manlius*, who had ſo remarkably ſignalized his piety to his father, touched with a juſt ſenſe of the affront offered to the *Roman* name, quitted his poſt, and flying to

Ferentinum *taken from the* Hernici.

y Liv. ibid.

to the dictator, asked leave to encounter the *Gaul*. Tho' I were sure of victory, said he, I would not fight this proud *Gaul* without your orders; but, if you will give me leave, I will make this huge beast know, that I am of the blood of that *Manlius*, whose valour proved so fatal to the *Gauls* on the capitol. The dictator, who had been very uneasy that no *Roman* had accepted the challenge before, readily complied with the request of the brave youth. *Go*, Manlius, said he, *and humble the pride of this insulting enemy. Revenge the cause of the city where you first drew your breath, as successfully as you relieved him to whom you owe it.* Upon this the young *Roman*, having changed his round buckler, which he wore as a *Roman* knight, for a square one, and armed himself with a short sword, fit both for cutting and stabbing, advanced b against the *Gaul*, who was strutting about in his armour and making an ostentatious shew of his strength. Both *Romans* and *Gauls* retired to their respective posts, leaveing the bridge free for the two champions. The *Gaul*, says *Livy*, began the combat, by discharging a great blow with his long sword at *Manlius*, which made much noise, but did no execution. Hereupon the young *Roman*, dexterously slipping under his enemy's shield before he recovered his heavy sword, stabbed him in two places; so that he soon fell, and covered, to use *Livy*'s expression, a vast piece of ground with his huge body. The conqueror cut off his head, and, without troubling himself about the rest of his spoils, only seized a golden collar, which he tore from his neck, and, bloody as it was, put it about his own, in token of victory; and hence he got the surname of *Torquatus*, which he transmitted to his posterity. The event of this c combat so discouraged the *Gauls*, that they abandoned their camp in the night and retired into *Campania* [z].

Young Manlius *kills in single combat a mighty champion of the* Gauls, *who thereupon retire.*

As soon as the consuls for the new year entered upon their office, the one, viz. *C. Pætelius Libo*, was sent with an army to punish the *Tyburtes*; and the other, *M. Fabius Ambustus*, was ordered to march against the *Hernici*, who persisted in their revolt. The two consuls had no sooner left *Rome*, than the *Gauls* appeared again, and, venturing to advance into the neighbourhood of *Rome*, blocked up the gate *Collina*. However, the senate did not think proper to recal either of the consuls. A dictator was created to make head against those dangerous enemies, and the consuls pitched upon *Servilius Ahala*, who, having named *T. Quinctius* to be his general of d horse, and armed all the youth that were left in *Rome*, came to an engagement with the *Gauls* under the very walls of *Rome*. As the *Romans* fought in sight of their parents, wives, and children, who were on the ramparts, they behaved with extraordinary valour. The battle was very bloody, and the field all covered with dead bodies; but at length the *Gauls* gave way and fled towards *Tybur*, where the consul *Pætelius* fell upon them, with a design to prevent them from taking refuge in that city: but the *Tyburtes* sallying out covered their retreat; so that they escaped, but not without great loss, the pursuit of the conquerors. On the other hand, *Fabius* fought the *Hernici* with success, and overcame them in a general action. Thus was the republic this year victorious on all sides. The honours of a triumph were chiefly e due to the dictator; but he, either despising them out of pride, or declining them out of modesty, on his return to *Rome*, highly commended the two consuls both to the senate and people, and then, without mentioning his own exploits, abdicated the dictatorship. *Pætelius* solicited for a triumph and obtained it; but his collegue *Fabius*, who had conquered the *Hernici*, was content with an ovation [a].

The Gauls *and* Hernici *defeated.*

The next year *Cn. Manlius Imperiosus* and *M. Popilius Lænas* being consuls, the *Tyburtes* came in the dead of the night to the very gates of *Rome*, and alarmed the city, the people believing that the *Gauls* were come again; but the return of light discovering only a small number of *Tyburtes*, who were come rather out of a bravado, than with any concerted design to surprize the city, the consuls marched out at two f different gates, and easily repulsed the bold aggressors. The consuls for the next year were *C. Fabius Ambustus* and *C. Plautius Proculus*. The latter marched against the *Hernici*, and totally subdued them; but the former, being sent against the *Tarquinienses*, who had entered the *Roman* territory in arms, was defeated by them. The *Tarquinienses* took three hundred and seven *Roman* prisoners, and, to shew their contempt of the republic, first treated them in a barbarous manner, and then cut their throats. The disadvantage *Fabius* had suffered was followed by a new alarm from the *Boii*, who appeared all on a sudden in the plain of *Præneste*, and from thence advanced

The Hernici *subdued.*

[z] Liv. l. vii. c. 9. Oros. l. v. c. 6. [a] Liv. l. vii. c. 11 & 12.

advanced as far as *Pedum*, a city of *Latium* between *Tybur* and *Tuſculum*, and not
a above ten miles from *Rome*; but the *Latins*, perhaps tired with ſeeing their country almoſt every year plundered by the *Gauls*, renewed very ſeaſonably their alliance with *Rome*, and furniſhed her armies with the ſame quota of men they had formerly ſtipulated to grant. With this reinforcement the republic was in a condition to make head againſt all her enemies. As the conſuls were both employed elſewhere, *Sulpicius*, ſurnamed *Peticus*, was created dictator, to conduct the war againſt the *Gauls*. The dictator named *M. Valerius* for his general of the horſe; and having choſen out the beſt legions in the two conſular armies, he took the field and marched againſt the enemy. Both armies were very impatient to come to a battle; but the dictator re-
b ſtrained the impetuoſity of his men, being well appriſed, that the *Gauls* muſt neceſſarily be ſoon diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, ſince they had brought none with them, nor prepared any magazines; but the ſoldiers began to complain of their general's conduct, and even threatened openly to attack the enemy without his leave, or to quit the camp and march back to *Rome*. They came in crowds to the dictator's quarters, and demanded acceſs to him, having named *Sextius Tulluis* to be their ſpeaker. *Sextius* was an officer of diſtinguiſhed courage, and had been for ſeven years laſt paſt the firſt captain of the firſt corps of the army. The dictator was therefore ſurprized to ſee a company of ſeditious men headed by an officer of his rank and reputation. *Sextius*, in the name of the army, reproached the dictator with the diſadvantagious opinion he ſeemed to entertain of his troops, and preſſed him to lead
c them againſt the enemy. His diſcourſe was followed by the acclamations of the multitude, who all cried out for leave to arm and march to battle. The dictator could not help complying with their requeſt, and therefore promiſed to lead them out againſt the enemy the next day. Then taking *Sextius* aſide, he aſked him, What could have put him at the head of a faction? The brave centurion replied, That it was not want of reſpect to his general, or ignorance of the martial laws; but to divert the unruly multitude from chuſing a leader, who might have done ſomething injurious to the dignity of the dictator. He then exhorted *Sulpicius* to yield to the deſires of thoſe impetuous men, who were ſtrongly inclined to ſeize the firſt opportunity of fighting without his leave. The dictator followed his advice; and having acquainted
d his men that he deſigned to engage the enemy the next day, he ordered all the muleteers of the army to put upon their mules the furniture of war-horſes, to mount them, and, marching up the hills in the night-time, to conceal themſelves in the woods, till they received further orders. This, as *Frontinus* informs us, was then a new ſtratagem; but often practiſed afterwards both by the *Romans* and other nations. As ſoon as it was day, *Sulpicius* led his troops out of their entrenchments, and marched up againſt the *Gauls*, who did not expect to ſee the *Romans* appear ſo ſoon in the field. He drew up his army ſo, that all the legionaries, who uſed to attack the enemy at the head of their legions with a ſort of darts called *pila*, ſucceeded one another in files. As ſoon as one company of them was within reach of the enemy, they diſcharged their darts and inſtantly retired, leaving a ſpace of ground between them and the *Gauls*. Then a ſecond company took the place of the other, and did the ſame. Thus four companies ſucceeded one another, diſcharging their darts and falling back, without ſuffering the *Gauls*, who depended chiefly on their long ſwords, to come near them. This repeated diſcharge of darts, which put the enemy into ſome confuſion, was no ſooner over, than the reſt of the legions cloſed in with them ſword in hand. The *Gauls*, tho' in ſome diſorder, ſuſtained the attack with great bravery, and even obliged the right wing of the *Romans* to give ground. Then the dictator, who was there in perſon, flying to the foremoſt ranks, Is this, ſaid he, the effect of your promiſes? Will all your boldneſs in the camp end in a ſhameful flight in
e the field? Follow your general, if you are true *Romans*. Having thus ſpoke, the brave dictator advanced ſword in hand at the head of his legions, which, confounded with ſhame, threw themſelves upon the enemy's battalions, and fought like men in deſpair. There was indeed more of a ſavage fierceneſs than true courage in this attack; but it ſucceeded. The *Gauls* were put to flight, and the *Romans* purſued them; but the enemy rallied near their right wing, which kept its ground, tho' attacked with great vigor by the dictator, at the head of his victorious troops. Then *Sulpicius* ſent orders to his muleteers to leave their ambuſcade, appear in the plain, and march towards the camp of the *Gauls*, who no ſooner ſaw them, than they quitted their ranks, and haſtened in confuſion to the defence of their camp; but *M. Valerius*,

Sulpicius Peticus dictator marches againſt the Gauls.

Attacks them.

Antiates a complete victory.

general of the horſe, who had poſted himſelf near the enemy's camp, after the defeat of their left wing, intercepted their flight; ſo that they had no retreat left but to the mountains and woods. *Valerius* purſued them cloſe with his cavalry, and put moſt of them to the ſword, the whole plain being for ſome miles covered with dead bodies. This victory left the republic no enemies in *Latium*. The *Hernici* were ſubdued; the *Gauls* vanquiſhed and cut in pieces; and the *Latins* quieted. In ſhort, *Rome* was now in as flouriſhing a condition as it had been before it was taken by the *Senones*. *Sulpicius*, when he had been honoured with a triumph, which he well deſerved, reſigned the dictatorſhip, and the government returned into the hands of the two conſuls for the year[b]. During their adminiſtration, a law was paſſed, at the motion of *Pætelius* the tribune, againſt openly canvaſſing for votes; for the *novi homines*, or *upſtarts*, more ambitious of offices than the patricians themſelves, not only ſolicited the ſuffrages of the people in the forum, but even went to the country fairs and other public meetings to buy voices.

Under the ſucceeding conſuls, *C. Marcius Rutilus* and *Cn. Manlius Imperioſus*, the intereſt of money, which before was arbitrary, was, at the motion of *Duilius* and *Mænius*, two tribunes of the people, ſettled at one *per cent*. The patricians, diſpleaſed with a law which ſet bounds to their avarice, in order to revenge themſelves on the plebeians, cited the famous *Licinius Stolo* to anſwer for a breach of one of the four laws, which he himſelf had ſo zealouſly promoted, forbidding any citizen to poſſeſs more than five hundred acres of land. *Licinius* actually poſſeſſed a thouſand; but, to cover his breach of the law, had emancipated his ſon, or given up his authority over him, and made him the nominal poſſeſſor of one half of them; but, as this emancipation was made purely to evade the law, he was convicted of fraud before the prætor, and fined ten thouſand aſſes of braſs, that is, about thirty-two pounds ſterling[c]. This ſame year the conſul *Marcius* defeated the *Privernates*, who had declared againſt *Rome* the year before, and took their city. His collegue *Manlius* marched againſt the *Faliſci*, a people of *Hetruria*; but gained no conſiderable advantage over them. Nothing was talked of at *Rome*, but his attempt upon the conſtitution. He had ventured to aſſemble the tribes near *Sutrium*, and made a law in his camp, whereby it was enacted, that, for the future, the twentieth part of the price of every ſlave ſhould be paid into the public treaſury. The law paſſed by the favour of the conſcript fathers, notwithſtanding its irregularity; but the tribunes of the people thought this ſtep might be of dangerous conſequence to the public liberty: The tribes, ſaid they, when aſſembled in a camp and by an armed conſul, are not free to vote as they pleaſe; beſides, the ſoldiers, who are ſworn to obey their generals, will of courſe give their ſuffrages as their commanders direct them. To prevent therefore theſe inconveniencies, the tribunes got a law paſſed, forbidding any magiſtrate to aſſemble the comitia any-where but in *Rome*, under pain of death. However, the law for paying the twentieth part of the price of every ſlave was not repealed. The two conſuls for the following year, *M. Fabius Ambuſtus* and *M. Popilius Lænas*, were employed, the firſt againſt the *Faliſci* and *Tarquinienſes*, and the latter againſt the *Tyburtes*. *Popilius*, not finding the enemy in the field, ravaged their country and carried off a great booty; but *Fabius*, after having gained ſome advantage over the united forces of the *Faliſci* and *Tarquinienſes*, was obliged to retire, all *Hetruria* taking up arms againſt him. Upon his retreat, a numerous army of *Hetrurians* advanced as far as the ſalt-pits on the banks of the *Tiber*. Their approach obliged the *Romans* to have recourſe to a dictator. The conſul *Popilius* named him in the abſence of his collegue, and, as he was a plebeian himſelf, he pitched upon *C. Marcius Rutilus*, the plebeian conſul for the laſt year. The dictator likewiſe choſe a plebeian, *C. Plautius Proculus*, for his general of horſe. The patricians, highly provoked at theſe promotions, did all that lay in their power to prevent the dictator from having ſuch things decreed him as were neceſſary for the war. But the people, on the other hand, haſtened the preparations for the campaign; ſo that, every thing being got ready ſooner than uſual, the dictator took the field without delay, marched ſtreight to the enemy's camp, ſurprized and forced it, nothing being able to withſtand the *Roman* ſoldiery under the conduct of a plebeian dictator, the firſt who had ever been raiſed to that high office. Hiſtorians do not tell us what number of *Hetrurians* periſhed in the battle; but leave us to gueſs at the multitude of the ſlain by the number of priſoners;

Plautium taken by the Romans.

C. Marcius Rutilus *a plebeian dictator.*

[b] Liv. l. vii. c. 15. Fast Capit. [c] Liv. l. vii. c. 16. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 6. Plin. l. xviii. c. 3

priſoners; for we are told, that eight thouſand were taken in this famous action. This victory well deſerved the honours of a triumph, which the patricians, jealous of the glory of a plebeian dictator, oppoſed to the utmoſt of their power: but the people, in ſpite of their oppoſition, did him juſtice; ſo that he entered *Rome* in triumph the day before the nones of *May*[a]. *Triumphs over the* Hetrurians.

The time drawing near for electing new conſuls, and there being none but plebeian magiſtrates in *Rome* to preſide in the comitia, the nobility raiſed difficulties againſt holding them. They pretended, that it was not lawful for any plebeian, tho' a dictator, to preſide in them. The pontifical laws, ſaid they, require, that the election of chief magiſtrates ſhould be conſecrated by auguries, which belong of right only to the patricians. And for this time they prevailed: the dictator and the conſul *Popilius* were excluded on account of their birth. As it was neceſſary to have ſome magiſtrate of the firſt rank to preſide at the election, the republic had recourſe to an inter-regnum, during which it was governed by ſix patricians, *viz. Q. Servilius Ahala*, *M. Fabius*, *Cn. Manlius*, *C. Fabius*, *Sulpicius*, and *L. Æmilius*. Theſe governed by turns, and managed their affairs ſo well, that the plebeians, in the very year in which they triumphed moſt, were excluded from a ſhare in the government; for *C. Sulpicius Peticus* and *M. Valerius Poplicola*, both patricians, were raiſed to the conſulate, tho' for the laſt eleven years one of the conſuls had been a plebeian. The tribunes exclaimed againſt the election, as contrary to the laws; but *Fabius*, who preſided in the comitia, ſilenced them, by quoting a law of the twelve tables, whereby it was enacted, *that only the laſt edict of the people ſhould be of force, and render all preceding ones null.* From thence he inferred, that the *Roman* people, by giving their votes to two patricians, had repealed the law, which divided the conſulate between the patricians and plebeians. The conſuls of this year took *Empulum* from the *Tyburtes*; but did nothing elſe worth mentioning. When the time came for new elections, they declared, that they would not reſign their dignity into any hands, but thoſe from which they had received it. We hold the conſulate, ſaid they, of the ſenate and patricians, and therefore think ourſelves bound, both in honour and gratitude, not to reſign it into any hands but theirs. This extraordinary proceeding occaſioned ſuch commotions in the *campus Martius*, that the greater number of the people cried out, that they ought not only to diſſolve the aſſembly, but leave *Rome*, as they had done formerly. Many actually retired, leaving only the leaſt paſſionate behind them, who gave their ſuffrages for two patricians, *M. Fabius Ambuſtus* and *T. Quinctius Pennus*, who took the field without delay againſt the *Tyburtes* and *Tarquinienſes*. The former were totally ſubdued by *Fabius*, and the latter defeated in a bloody battle by *Quinctius*, who, to revenge the cruelty they had formerly committed on three hundred and ſeven *Roman* ſoldiers, put all the priſoners to the ſword, except three hundred and fifty-eight, whom he ſent to *Rome*, where, by order of the ſenate, they were firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded. Theſe victories gained the *Romans* ſuch reputation among the *Italian* nations, that the *Samnites* ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, to propoſe an alliance with the republic. The embaſſadors were kindly received by the ſenate, and the alliance concluded, the *Samnites* engaging to furniſh the republic with troops, when required, and the *Romans* promiſing to protect them againſt their enemies both at home and abroad. Thus *Rome* advanced by degrees to that immenſe grandeur to which at laſt ſhe attained. Empulum *taken from the* Tyburtes, *who are totally ſubdued.* *The* Samnites *enter into an alliance with* Rome.

The patricians had gained ſuch an aſcendant over the people, that they kept the conſulate in their own hands, and promoted to that dignity *C. Sulpicius Peticus* and *M. Valerius Poplicola*. The former marched againſt the *Tarquinienſes*, and the latter againſt the *Volſci*, who were anew in motion. The conſuls had ſcarce taken the field, when *Valerius* was recalled to nominate a dictator, the ſenate being informed by *Sulpicius*, that the *Cærites* were diſpoſed to take part with the *Tarquinienſes*, and that the *Faliſci* had already joined them. *Valerius* named *T. Manlius Torquatus* to the dictatorſhip, tho' he had never been conſul, a neceſſary ſtep to that ſupreme dignity; but *Valerius* regarded nothing but the merit of *Manlius* in the choice; and his nomination was not oppoſed, tho' contrary to law. The new dictator, having named *Cornelius Coſſus* to be his general of horſe, was preparing to march againſt the *Cærites*; but they, being ſenſible they could not make head againſt the brave *Torquatus*, ſent deputies from all their towns to implore the clemency of the *Romans*. The ſenate referred the deputies Manlius Torquatus *dictator.*

[a] Liv. l. vii. c. 17. Oros. l. iii. c. 6. Eutrop. l. ii. Fast. Capit.

deputies to the people, who being reminded by them, that *Cære* had been the asylum of the vestals when *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*, received them into favour, and granted them a truce for an hundred years. Then the dictator led his army against the *Falisci*; and, finding no enemy in the field to contend with, laid waste their country, and returned to *Rome*, where all things continued quiet, till the time came for the new elections. The dictator, who was to preside in the comitia, had formed a design of excluding the plebeians; which the tribunes being aware of, opposed the assembling of the centuries, till the expiration of the dictatorship, which ended with the consuls year. Whereupon the republic fell into an inter-regnum; and those who then governed found both parties irreconcileable. The disputes grew to such a height, as threatened an open revolt; which so terrified the fathers, that they suffered at length the *Licinian* law to take place, and one of the consuls to be chosen, agreeable to that law, out of the plebeians. The persons elected were *P. Valerius Poplicola*, a patrician, and *C. Marcius Rutilus*, a plebeian, who was now raised to this office a second time.

The payment of debts regulated.

The first care of the new consuls was to regulate the payment of debts, the only obstruction to a thorough union of the patricians and plebeians. They no longer considered the relief of debtors as a private affair, but as a general concern of the public; and therefore chose out five men, of known probity and great experience, to take an account of all the debts of the plebeians. These five were called *bankers*, and had the command of the public treasury to enable them to discharge their commission; which they did to the satisfaction of both parties. Those who, out of sloth and idleness, had plunged themselves in debt, either borrowed money of these bankers, giveing the treasury security for it, or deposited the value of their debts in their creditors hands in effects, which were valued by the bankers. By this means the greatest part of the debtors were relieved, without doing injury to any person, and with little loss to the public.

Julius Julus *dictator.*

Tranquillity being thus established at home, the city was suddenly alarmed with a report, that the twelve leucumonies of *Hetruria* were entered into an alliance against the republic and ready to enter her territories. Hereupon *Julius Julus* was named dictator, and he appointed *L. Æmilius*, surnamed *Mamercinus*, to be his general of the horse; but the report proved groundless, and was in all likelihood artfully spread by the patricians, that they might have an opportunity of placing a man at the head of the republic, who was able to prevent the execution of the *Licinian* law. And indeed *Julius* made use of all his credit and authority to get two patricians chosen consuls; but he was so warmly opposed by the tribunes, that both he and the consuls went out of their office, before the comitia could be assembled for a new election. In the inter-regnum which ensued, *C. Sulpicius Peticus* and *M. Fabius* governed successively, and found means to bring the people to a compliance with the patricians. Two patricians were chosen, *Sulpicius* himself and *T. Quinctius Cincinnatus*. During their administration, the *Tarquinienses* and *Falisci*, being quite tired out with the calamities of war, submitted to the republic, and obtained a truce for forty years. And now the peace the *Romans* enjoyed giving them a favourable opportunity to elect new censors, the day was fixed for the comitia to proceed to this new election. None but the most illustrious patricians had ever enjoyed this dignity; but nevertheless *C. Marcius Rutilus*, thinking himself, tho' a plebeian, qualified for any post in the republic, after he had been twice consul and once dictator, stood candidate for this office, and, in spite of all opposition of the nobles, was elected, with *Cn. Manlius* a patrician. The commons being willing to give a new lustre to an office, to which a plebeian had been just promoted, *Ovinus*, one of the tribunes proposed a law, depriving the consuls of the prerogative of filling up the senate, and lodging this power in the censors. The law passed; and what is very extraordinary, this important change was made in the republic without the least disturbance. And now the censorship being open to the plebeians, the patricians, in order to secure the consulate to themselves, and prevent the *Licinian* law from being put in execution, prevailed upon the consuls to name a dictator to preside at the next election, imagining, that he would be more respected in the comitia, and have a far greater influence over the centuries than the consuls. The person raised to this dignity was *Fabius Ambustus*, a man distinguished by his birth, his employments, and his personal merit. He [illegible]

The censorship opened to the plebeians.

[illegible] Liv. l. vii. c. 20. 21.

been thrice conſul, and honoured with a triumph but three years before. He choſe for his general of the horſe the famous *Servilius Ahala*, a man no-ways inferior to himſelf; but, notwithſtanding theſe precautions, *M. Popilius Lænas*, a plebeian, who had been conſul twice already, was promoted to this dignity. His collegue, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, falling ſick ſoon after his election, the plebeian conſul, to the great mortification of the nobility, became the ſole general of the *Roman* troops. The *Gauls*, at this time having entered *Latium* anew and laid waſte their country, were advancing towards *Rome*. *Popilius* therefore ordered levies to be made; and ſo great a number of ſoldiers inliſted themſelves on this occaſion, that two armies were immediately raiſed, one to guard the city, under the command of *M. Valerius Poplicola* who was
b then prætor, and the firſt in that employment who was ſeen at the head of an army. *Popilius* marched with the reſt of the troops to ſtop the progreſs of the *Gauls*, who, upon his firſt appearance, offered him battle; but *Popilius*, who was well acquainted with their temper, and therefore willing to let their firſt heat abate, kept within his camp. The *Gauls*, thinking the *Romans* afraid, attacked them while they were raiſing their works; but were repulſed with great loſs. The *Gauls*, however, returned the ſame day to the charge; and, in the beginning of this ſecond attack, *Popilius*, expoſing himſelf too much, was wounded with a javelin, and carried out of the field to have his wound dreſſed. This accident ſuſpended the ardor of the *Romans*; but
c as ſoon as their general appeared again, they renewed their courage, drove the *Gauls* into the plain, and there, drawing up into the form of a wedge, penetrated into the main body of the enemy, and obliged them to retire with precipitation. The general did not think proper to purſue the fugitives; but having taken and plundered their camp, led back to *Rome* his victorious army, inriched with the ſpoils of the conquered enemy. He was decreed a triumph at his return, which was put off till he was recovered of his wound. As his collegue *Scipio* continued likewiſe indiſpoſed, the ſenate deſired the two conſuls to name a dictator to preſide at the approaching election. In compliance with the requeſt of the conſcript fathers, they named *L. Furius Camillus*, ſon of the great *Camillus*, to that dignity, who appointed *P. Cornelius Scipio* to be his general of the horſe. Theſe two patricians uſed all their intereſt to make the election fall only on men of their order, and carried their point; for *Camillus* himſelf was choſen one of the conſuls, and *Appius Claudius*, ſurnamed *Craſſus*, another patrician, was appointed his collegue [f].

The Gauls defeated by Popilius.

In the beginning of their conſulate, the *Gauls*, who had fled for refuge to the hills of *Alba*, appeared again in great numbers on the ſea-coaſt of *Latium*; and at the ſame time ſome *Greeks*, from what part *Livy* does not determine, made a deſcent on the coaſt which the *Gauls* were plundering. The latter, jealous of their booty, oppoſed the *Greeks* at their landing, and obliged them to retire to their ſhips; however, they continued hovering about the coaſt, while the *Gauls* laid waſte and plundered it, from the mouth of the *Tiber* to *Antium*. The republic made the neceſſary preparations to drive ſuch dangerous enemies farther off; but in the mean time, *Appius*, one of the conſuls, dying, the whole management of the war was committed to *Camillus*, whoſe very name was looked upon as a good omen in a war with the *Gauls*. His firſt care was to raiſe a numerous army, conſiſting of ten legions, and amounting to forty-five thouſand men. Of theſe legions he gave four to *L. Pinarius* the prætor, ordering him to guard the ſea-coaſt againſt the *Greeks*; two he left to defend the city, and with the other four marched himſelf againſt the *Gauls*; but as he had no deſign to come to a pitched battle with them, he encamped in the *Pomptin* territory, a country full of marſhes and rivers. While both armies continued inactive, a fierce *Gaul*, remarkable both for his ſtature and the richneſs of his armour, challenged the braveſt man in the *Roman* legions to a ſingle combat. *M. Valerius*, a legionary tribune, great-grandſon to the famous *Valerius Voluſus*, accepted the challenge, and is ſaid to have obtained the victory by means of a raven, which, perching upon his helmet, and flying in the face of the giant during the fight, ſo blinded him with his wings, that it was eaſy for his rival to ſtab him. But the *Gauls*, deſpiſing the advantage *Valerius* had gained by the help of a bird, crouded round the body of their dead champion, to hinder the *Roman* from ſtripping him of his armour. Upon this the *Romans* haſtened to the aſſiſtance of *Valerius*, which naturally led both armies to a battle, in which the *Gauls* were intirely defeated. Thoſe who eſcaped took their way through the country of the

M. Valerius *ſurnamed* Corvus.

The Gauls defeated anew.

[f] Liv. l. vii c. 23. Appian. Celtic

the *Volſci*, and, entering *Campania*, croſſed the plains of *Falernum*, penetrated as far a
as *Apulia*, and retired to the coaſts of the *Adriatic* ſea. As for the brave *Valerius*,
the general rewarded him with a crown of gold and two oxen, a conſiderable preſent
at that time. He ever after bore the name of *Corvus*, which ſignifies *a raven*, and
his poſterity that of *Corvinus*; which diſtinguiſhed this branch of the *Valerian* family
from all the reſt [s].

The conſul, having thus freed *Latium* from the *Gauls*, joined his army to that of
the prætor *Pinarius*, in order to drive away the *Greek* pirates, who infeſted the coaſt;
but the obſtinacy of thoſe adventurers, who, though they durſt not land, continued
ſtill at ſea, obliged him to keep the field longer than he expected; ſo that, in the
mean while the time for electing new conſuls drawing near, he was obliged to nomi- b
nate a dictator to preſide in the comitia. The perſon he promoted to that dignity
was the famous *Manlius Torquatus*, who choſe *Cornelius Coſſus* to be his general of
Manlius Torquatus *dictator.* the horſe. As the dictator was charmed with the exploit of *Valerius*, ſo much
reſembling his own, and had a great influence in the elections, he prevailed with the
people to chuſe him one of the conſuls, though he was but twenty-three years of
age, and too young even to have a place in the ſenate. His collegue was *Popilius*
Lænas, who now entered upon this office the fourth time. As for *Camillus*, he con-
tinued with his army on the coaſt, till the *Greeks*, wanting freſh water and other
neceſſary proviſions, and not daring to come aſhore, put out to ſea.

While the *Romans* enjoyed a profound peace both at home and abroad, under c
the adminiſtration of the two conſuls mentioned above, embaſſadors came from *Car-*
thage to *Rome*. The *Carthaginians* were the firſt nation the *Romans* were acquainted
A treaty of navigation and commerce made with Carthage. with out of *Italy*, and with whom they entered into an alliance. As early as the firſt
year after the expulſion of the *Tarquins*, when *Brutus* and *Valerius* were conſuls, theſe
two nations entered into a treaty, chiefly in relation to navigation and commerce.
This treaty was yet to be ſeen in *Polybius*'s time, on the baſe of a column in the anci-
ent *Roman* language, which, as that writer tells us, was ſo different from what was
ſpoke in his time, that thoſe who were moſt converſant in the *Latin* tongue could
not, without much ſtudy and labour, underſtand it. The *Greek* hiſtorian has tran-
ſlated the words of this treaty with all poſſible fidelity, and tranſmitted it to us. It
was conceived in theſe terms:

"There ſhall be peace and friendſhip between the *Romans*, and the allies of the
Romans, and between the *Carthaginians*, and the allies of the *Carthaginians*, on the
following terms: The *Romans*, and the allies of the *Romans*, ſhall not ſail beyond *the*
Fair Promontory, unleſs conſtrained by tempeſt, or by an enemy. If, at any time,
they ſhall chance to be forced aſhore, they ſhall not be permitted to buy any thing,
nor take any thing, but what they want for repairing their veſſels, or for their ſacri-
fices. None ſhall make longer ſtay aſhore than five days. Thoſe who ſhall come
as merchants, ſhall pay no other duty than what is allowed to the common crier and
regiſter. Theſe two officers ſhall make oath of what ſhall be bought and ſold in c
their preſence, as well in *Africa* as *Sardinia*. If the *Romans* ſhall chance at any time
to viſit ſuch places in *Sicily*, as are ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, they ſhall not ſuffer
any moleſtation whatſoever; but ſhall have juſtice done them in all things. The
Carthaginians ſhall attempt nothing againſt the *Ardeates*, the *Antiates*, the *Arctini*,
thoſe of *Laurentum*, *Circeii*, and *Terracina*, or, in a word, any of the *Latins* whom-
ſoever, who ſhall be in ſubjection to the *Romans*; nor ſhall they attempt any of their
towns that are under the *Roman* protection. And in caſe they ſhould at any time
make ſeizure of ſuch towns, they ſhall reſtore the ſame to the *Romans* without any
damage. They ſhall not build either fort or citadel in the country of the *Latins*;
and in caſe they ſhould at any time invade their lands in an hoſtile manner, they f
ſhall not remain there one night.

The promontory here called *the Fair Promontory*, lay, according to *Polybius*, north
of *Carthage* and near it. The *Carthaginians*, as the ſame author obſerves, did not
allow the *Romans* to ſail beyond it, that is, to the ſouthward of it, not caring that
their coaſts ſhould lie open to all comers, leſt the fruitfulneſs of the land and
the happy ſituation of the cities ſhould tempt them to ſettle there. Such was the
firſt treaty *Rome* made with *Carthage* at the birth of the republick; and now, when
Valerius Corvus and *Popilius Lænas* were conſuls, the *Carthaginians* croſſed the ſea,
came

[s] Liv. l. vii. c. 25. Aul. Gel. l. ix. c. 11. Zonar. l. vii. c. 25.

came to *Rome*, and concluded a ſecond treaty, differing from the former in ſome particulars. It was couched in the following terms: The *Romans* and their allies ſhall have friendſhip and confederacy with the people of *Carthage*, the *Tyrians*, the inhabitants of *Utica*, and their allies, on condition that they exerciſe no hoſtilities, carry on no traffic, build no towns beyond *the Fair Promontory*, *Maſtia*, and *Tarſeium*. If the *Carthaginians* ſhall take any town in the territory of the *Latins*, which is not under the protection of the *Romans*, they ſhall enjoy the pillage thereof; but the town ſhall be reſtored, and put into the hands of the *Romans*. If the *Carthaginians* ſhall make any captives among thoſe *Latins*, who, tho' not ſubject to the *Romans*, are in league or amity with them, and ſhall bring ſuch captives into any *Roman* port, and theſe captives ſhall be diſcovered and challenged by any *Roman*, they ſhall be ſet at liberty. The *Romans* ſhall be treated in the ſame manner in the ports belonging to the *Carthaginians*. If the *Romans* ſhall put in at any port belonging to the *Carthaginians*, to take in water or other neceſſaries, not any of thoſe, who are compromiſed in this treaty of friendſhip, ſhall offer them any injury or moleſtation; if otherwiſe, it ſhall be deemed a public breach of the treaty. As to *Sardinia* and *Africa*, the *Romans* ſhall have no commerce there; they ſhall neither traffic, build towns, nor ſo much as attempt to land on thoſe coaſts, unleſs to buy neceſſaries and refit their ſhips. If they ſhall be compelled by tempeſt, or otherwiſe, to take refuge in ſuch ports, they ſhall depart in five days. The *Romans* ſhall be allowed to traffic in any of the towns of *Sicily*, under the dominion of the *Carthaginians*, and in the city of *Carthage* itſelf, where they ſhall enjoy the ſame rights and privileges as the *Carthaginians* themſelves; and the *Carthaginians* ſhall have the like treatment in *Rome*[h].

THE whole employment of the preſent conſuls was to negociate this treaty with the *Carthaginians*. They were ſucceeded by *C. Plautius Hypſæus* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, who had been twice dictator, but now for the firſt time conſul. During their conſulate the republic enjoyed a profound peace, which left them no room to gain themſelves any glory by feats of arms. They therefore endeavoured to promote the public welfare by wiſe regulations: they reduced the intereſt of money from one *per cent.* to half *per cent.* and allowed the debtors, by paying down one fourth of their debts, three years to diſcharge the remainder, by annual and equal payments. A new war with the *Volſci* broke out during the adminiſtration of the ſucceeding conſuls, *Valerius Corvus*, now a ſecond time conſul, and *C. Pætelius Libo*. *Valerius* defeated the enemy, took from them *Satricum* and burnt it, ſparing only the temple of the goddeſs *Matuta*. He was honoured with a triumph, in which four thouſand captives marched before his chariot. In this conſulate the ſecular games, which had been inſtituted in the year of *Rome* 297, were celebrated for the ſecond time. The next year's conſuls, *M. Fabius Dorſo* and *S. Sulpicius Camerinus*, named *L. Furius Camillus* to be dictator a ſecond time, on occaſion of a war with a new enemy, the *Aurunci*, a petty nation near the confines of *Latium*, on the coaſt of the *Tyrrhenian* ſea. *Furius* overthrew them in battle, and at his return built a temple, which he had vowed during the action, to *Juno Moneta*. This name had been given to the queen of the gods a little before the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. It was pretended, that from the temple of *Juno* had come a voice, accompanied with an earthquake, and that the voice had warned the *Romans* to avert the evils that threatened them, by ſacrificing a ſow with pig. Hence ſhe was called *Moneta*, from the verb *monere to warn*. This temple was built on the capitol, in the place where the houſe of the rebellious *Manlius* formerly ſtood, and afterwards became a public mint. Hence the medals, which were ſtamped for current coin in trade, were called *moneta*, or *money*. The year following, the *Romans* imagining, that the goddeſs, agreeable to her name, admoniſhed them by prodigies of the impending wrath of the gods, *C. Marcius Rutilus*, now conſul a third time, and *T. Manlius Imperioſus*, a ſecond time, appointed *P. Valerius* to be dictator, for the ſolemnization of the feſtival called *feriæ Latinæ*.

The intereſt of money reduced.

Satricum *taken from the* Volſci.

The temple of Juno Moneta.

THE dictator having brought the republic to an inter-regnum, for ſome reaſon not mentioned by the hiſtorians, the centuries choſe two patricians, as they had done the year before, *viz. M. Valerius Corvus*, a third time, and *Cornelius Coſſus*, ſurnamed *Arvina*. During their adminiſtration, the enmity between the *Romans* and *Samnites* broke out. A city at that time ſcarce known to the *Romans* ſowed the ſeeds of diſcord, and changed the alliance between the two nations into laſting hatred. The *Sidicini*, a people

h POLYB. l. iii. c. 22, 23, 24.

Occaſion of the war between the Samnites *and* Romans. *Year of the flood* 2661. *Before Chriſt* 338. *Of* Rome 410

people of *Auſonia*, on the other ſide of the *Liris*, being attacked by the *Samnites*, and not able to defend themſelves with their own ſtrength, had recourſe to the people of *Campania*, who took up arms in favour of their oppreſſed neighbours, it being their intereſt to ſtop the progreſs of ſo powerful an enemy. Hereupon the *Samnites*, having a proſpect of greater advantages in the conqueſt of the *Campanians* than of the *Sidicini*, turned their arms againſt the former; and, as they were an effeminate people, defeated them in two pitched battles, and threatened to beſiege the city of *Capua*, their metropolis. In this diſtreſs the magiſtrates had recourſe to *Rome*, whither they ſent an embaſſy to implore the aſſiſtance of the republic; but the ſenate returned to their humble addreſs the following anſwer: The ſenate of *Rome* think you worthy of their protection; but we muſt have regard to our antient friendſhip with the *Samnites*. We cannot therefore take arms in your favour; but we will intreat the *Samnites*, our friends, to put an end to their hoſtilities. The *Capuan* deputies had hitherto ſpoken only of an alliance and confederacy with the *Romans*; but now, not being ſatisfied with the anſwer they had received, purſuant to the powers with which they had been inveſted, they made this further declaration: Since the *Romans* ſcruple to attack openly the *Samnites*, contrary to the faith of their treaties, let them at leaſt not be afraid to defend their own property againſt the unjuſt uſurpations of their enemies; the people of *Campania*, the city of *Capua*, our lands, our temples, every thing we have divine and human, we abſolutely give and ſurrender to you. From this time therefore all our loſſes will be yours. This donation in due form, by embaſſadors authorized to make it, was of great weight with the conſcript fathers. They did not think their alliance with the *Samnites* obliged them to refuſe it; and therefore without delay diſpatched embaſſadors to intreat the *Samnites* as friends to ſpare a province which belonged to *Rome*. In caſe the *Samnites* were not prevailed upon by theſe gentle methods, the embaſſadors were directed to give them notice, in the name of the people and ſenate of *Rome*, to quit the country immediately. But the *Samnites*, a proud and warlike people, were ſo far from being intimidated by the majeſty of the *Roman* name, that their magiſtrates ſent for the commanders of their troops, and ordered them, in the preſence of the *Roman* embaſſadors, to go inſtantly and ravage *Campania*. This inſult filled both the ſenate and the people with indignation. All other buſineſs was laid aſide, that they might apply themſelves wholly to the making of preparations for a war, which was declared with all the ceremonies inſtituted by *Numa* on ſuch occaſions. Two armies being ſoon raiſed, it fell to the lot of *Valerius* to march with one into *Campania*, while *Cornelius* with the other carried the war into *Samnium*. The ſtreſs of the war lay at firſt on the brave *Valerius*, who poſted his troops on mount *Gaurus* in *Campania*, and continued in that advantagious ſituation, till his men, by frequently ſkirmiſhing with the *Samnites*, had learnt their way of managing their arms. At length he aſſembled his troops, and having encouraged them in a long ſpeech not to be afraid of a new enemy, to remember their antient valour, and to gain the honours of a triumph for one deſcended from the great *Poplicola*, marched out of his camp, and drew up his men in battalia. As the two armies were pretty equal in numbers, the victory was long diſputed, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide. The *Roman* cavalry attempted in vain to break the enemy's battalions. Upon which *Valerius*, putting himſelf at the head of the infantry, and encouraging the legions to tread in his ſteps, threw himſelf into the midſt of the *Samnite* cohorts, and, being followed by his legionaries, made a dreadful havock. The dead lay in heaps round the enemy's ſtandards; yet their cohorts kept their ground, being reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt. At length *Valerius* ordered the *Roman* cavalry to attack the enemy in flank; but they ſtood the ſhock, till night put an end to the conflict. After the battle was over, the *Romans* owned, that they had never engaged a more ſtubborn or more intrepid enemy; and would not have known that they had gained the victory, had not the *Samnites* deſerted their camp in the night, and abandoned it to the conquerors.

The Samnites *overcome by the* Romans.

While the brave *Valerius* was thus ſignalizing his valour in *Campania*, his collegue *Cornelius*, having imprudently left his camp, which was advantagiouſly poſted near *Saticula* on the confines of *Samnium*, marched his troops through a mountainous country into a foreſt, out of which there was but one paſſage, and that through a deep valley, which, as well as the wood, was lined with the enemy's forces; ſo that he found himſelf, when it was not in his power to alter his march, ſurrounded by the *Samnites*. This threw the conſul into the utmoſt conſternation; but it fortunately happened, that

a that he had a brave officer among his troops, who drew him out of the danger. This was the famous *P. Decius Mus*, who was yet only a legionary tribune, and who afterwards ſignalized his love for his country in an eminent manner. The prudent tribune, obſerving an eminence at a diſtance, which commanded the camp of the *Samnites* and had been neglected by them, propoſed to the conſul, that he might be detached with a ſmall body to take poſſeſſion of it. He added, when you ſee me poſted there, be no longer under any apprehenſions of the enemy, but continue your march. The *Samnites* will not dare to attack you, or diſpute your paſſage, when expoſed to our darts. As for us, we ſhall, by the aſſiſtance of the *Roman* valour and the gods our protectors, find means to diſengage ourſelves from the enemy and rejoin you. The general ap-

b proved of the deſign, and detached a ſmall body of troops, under the command of *Decius*, who, taking his way through the wood, concealed his march ſo well, that the enemy did not diſcover him, till he was near the poſt which he was going to ſeize; and then the ſight of the *Romans* climbing up the rock was ſuch a ſurprize to them, that they could come to no determination, being in ſuſpenſe, whether they ſhould attack the conſul or *Decius*. In the mean time, the *Roman* general, taking advantage of this irreſolution, marched out of the valley without moleſtation. *Decius* did not doubt, but the enemy would either attack him on his hill, or at leaſt ſhut up all the avenues to it; but when he perceived that they neither came to fall upon him, nor attempted to ſurround him and cut off his retreat, he took a view of all the avenues to the hill, and placed centinels at them, with orders to return ſilently to the main body at the ſecond watch of the night. When at that hour all his men were re-aſſembled, he laid before them the neceſſity of leaving the place where they were, and put it to the vote, whether to ſtay for day-light, or march off immediately, and force a way through the enemy, while they were aſleep. The latter being univerſally approved, *Decius* put himſelf at the head of his troop, and marched down the rock in great ſilence. They had got half way through the enemy's camp, when a *Roman* ſoldier, ſtriking his foot againſt the buckler of a *Samnite*, awaked a centinel, who gave the alarm in that quarter. The *Samnites* immediately ran to arms, not knowing whether it was *Decius* and his troop, the conſul and his army, or ſome *Samnite* of the camp, who had diſturbed their reſt. In the midſt of this univerſal confuſion, *Decius* ordered his men to give a great ſhout, which doubled the conſternation of the *Samnites*, while the *Romans* gained the plain and made their eſcape, none of the *Samnites* daring to follow or attack them. When *Decius* came near the conſul's camp, as it was not yet day, he ordered his men to halt, telling them, that they deſerved to enter the camp in a more glorious manner, than in ſilence and darkneſs. The next morning the whole army marched out to meet that brave troop, which had ſaved their lives at the peril of their own, and conducted thoſe valiant men in triumph to the general's tent, who, having ſummoned all his ſoldiers to hear his harangue, was beginning to make the panegyric of *Decius*; but the brave tribune, liking better to give his general good advice, than to hear his own praiſes, adviſed him to march away immediately, without loſing time in harangues, and ſurprize the camp of the enemy, who, in all probability, had ſent out detachments in queſt of him. This advice was followed; the *Romans* ſurprized the *Samnites* rambling about the fields, and purſued them to their camp, which the conſul took and plundered, after having cut in pieces above thirty thouſand of them. As ſoon as *Decius* returned to the camp, the conſul reſumed his panegyric; but, as words were not a ſufficient acknowledgement of his merit, he honoured him with all the military rewards that were ever given to a ſubaltern. Beſides a crown of gold, he had a preſent of a hundred oxen and a white bull with gilt horns. As for the ſoldiers of his detachment, the conſul aſſigned them a double

f quantity of corn during their life, and gave each of them two *ſaga* or military habits. The legions likewiſe ſignalized their gratitude to their deliverer, by putting on his head an *obſidional* crown, which it was cuſtomary among the *Romans* to beſtow on a general who relieved them when beſieged. This crown was made of the graſs growing in the place, and called *corona obſidionalis*. And now the detachment itſelf, which *Decius* had brought ſafe out of the danger into which he had led them, thinking themſelves obliged in gratitude to beſtow ſome mark of diſtinction on their leader, crowned him with a crown of oak-leaves, which was called the *civic* crown, and thought the moſt honourable of all military rewards. Thus, loaded with three crowns at once, he offered up the white bull in ſacrifice to *Mars*, by way of thankſgiving, and diſtributed the hundred oxen among the companions of his danger and ſharers of his

The conſul Cornelius *delivered out of great difficulties by* Decius Mus.

Cornelius *gains a complete victory over the* Samnites.

glory. The reſt of the legions made likewiſe a preſent to the company which had followed *Decius*, conſiſting of ſome pounds of meal and meaſures of wine[i].

The campaign did not end with this victory. The *Samnites*, who had been routed by *Valerius*, having raiſed new forces, appeared before *Sueſſula*, a town ſituated between *Nola* and *Capua*. *Valerius* haſtened to the relief of the *Sueſſulani*; and, in order to deceive the enemy, encamped his troops within as narrow a compaſs as he could, hoping they would attack him in his intrenchments; but the *Samnites*, judging that the *Romans* muſt ſoon want proviſions, kept quiet in their camp. Thus both armies continued ſome time inactive; but at length the *Samnites* themſelves being diſtreſſed the firſt for want of proviſions, *Valerius* attacked their camp, while the greater part of their forces were diſperſed about the country in queſt of neceſſaries, forced it, and made a great ſlaughter there, while his cavalry chaſed the ſeveral detachments which were abroad foraging. We are told, that the *Roman* ſoldiers brought to their general above forty thouſand of the enemy's bucklers, the *Samnites* having thrown them away, that they might not incumber them in their flight. One hundred and twenty ſtandards were likewiſe taken from the enemy in this action. Thus both conſuls returned to *Rome*, where they were honoured with a triumph. The ſucceſſes of this glorious campaign gave a new luſtre to the republic, both among the neighbouring and diſtant nations. The *Faliſci* changed the truce, which they had made with the *Romans*, into a treaty of alliance. The *Latins*, who had taken up arms, with a deſign to employ them againſt the republic, if ſhe had been worſted in this war, turned their hoſtilities againſt the *Peligni*, a *Samnite* nation, as it were to aſſiſt the *Romans*, whom they had really intended to betray. And laſtly, the *Carthaginians* ſent to compliment the republic on her ſucceſs, and made a preſent of a crown of gold of twenty pounds weight to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, by way of thankſgiving for her victories. This year ended with a cenſus, by which it appeared, that the number of *Romans* able to bear arms, amounted to one hundred and ſixty thouſand. The ceremony cloſed with a luſtrum, which was the twenty-ſecond ſince its inſtitution by king *Servius*.

The Samnites *defeated again by* Valerius.

The following year, *C. Marcius Rutilus* was elected the fourth time to the conſulate, and with him *Q. Servilius Ahala*. The latter encamped in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, while the former marched into *Campania*, where he found a general depravation of manners in ſome cohorts of *Roman* ſoldiers, who had been left in *Capua* all winter. He even diſcovered, that they had entered into a plot among themſelves to drive the natives out of *Campania*, and to ſeize that delicious country for themſelves. To diſappoint this ſcheme, he artfully contrived to ſend away the moſt mutinous and enterpriſing, without treating them diſgracefully, or letting his deſign appear. At length the ſoldiers ſuſpecting it, and being alarmed with the apprehenſion of puniſhment, one whole cohort deſerted, and, poſting themſelves advantagiouſly near *Sinuessa*, in a narrow paſs between the ſea on one ſide and high mountains on the other, were ſoon joined by great numbers of malecontents from the city and the camp. As they were ſtill at a loſs for a leader, they ſurprized by night in his bed one *T. Quinctius*, an excellent commander, who had retired ſome time ſince from public life to his farm, and forced him to go along with them as their general to *Rome*. Their approach ſo terrified the city, that a dictator was named to march an army againſt the mutineers. The perſon pitched upon was *Valerius Corvus*, who met them eight miles from *Rome*, came to a parley with them, and, being extremely beloved by the ſoldiery, prevailed with them to ſubmit. However, the rebels, beſides a general pardon, which was granted by the ſenate and confirmed by the people in comitia, obtained ſome conceſſions from the republic. They inſiſted, that the pay of the cavalry, which was then three times as much as the foot received, ſhould be reduced; and this merely out of revenge, becauſe not one ſingle man of that corps had joined them in their revolt. Some writers tell us, that ſeveral laws were paſſed at the requeſt of the mutineers, viz. 1. That no man, who was a legionary tribune one year, ſhould be a centurion the next. The rebellious ſoldiers preſſing the paſſing of this law, purely to revenge themſelves on one *P. Salonius*, a ſtrict obſerver of diſcipline, who had been a legionary tribune and a centurion alternately for ſeveral years together, and had ever oppoſed the ſeditious councils of the revolters. The ſenate therefore refuſed at firſt to conſent to a law, which was wholly dictated by revenge againſt an officer, who had ſtrictly adhered

Some Roman *ſoldiers enter into a plot to ſeize* Campania *for themſelves.*

Valerius Corvus *is appointed dictator, and marches againſt them.*

They ſubmit, but obtain ſome conceſſions from the republic.

[i] Liv. l. vii. c. 35. Aul. Gell. l. v. c. 6.

adhered to his duty. But *Salonius* himſelf earneſtly intreating the conſcript fathers to have more regard to the welfare of the public, than to his honour, at his requeſt the law paſſed. 2. That all uſury ſhould be aboliſhed in *Rome*, and every *Roman* forbidden to lend money upon intereſt. 3. That both the conſuls might be choſen out of the plebeians. 4. That no man ſhould bear the ſame office twice within ten years, or hold two different employments the ſame year. If the plebeian faction gained theſe articles at this time, it is evident, that the rebel army muſt have been exceeding numerous and formidable.

THE *Romans*, by theſe condeſcenſions to the rebels, loſt credit among their neighbours. *Privernum* revolted, but was quickly reduced by *C. Plautius Hypſæus*, now the ſecond time conſul. His collegue *L. Æmilius* laid waſte the country of the *Samnites*, who were ſo weakened by the two late overthrows, that they dared not appear in the field; but ſued for peace and an alliance with *Rome*. Theſe being obtained, they turned their arms once more againſt the *Sidicini*, who, being refuſed ſuccour even upon the terms of being ſubject to the republic, gave themſelves up to the *Latins*, already in arms to recover their independence. The *Campanians*, forgetting the benefits they had received from the *Romans* and their engagements with the republic, followed the example of the *Sidicini* and joined the *Latins*. An army formed of theſe three united nations entered *Samnium*, laying waſte all before them; but not being able to bring the *Samnites* to a battle, ſoon retired for want of proviſions. Their retreat gave the *Samnites* an opportunity of ſending embaſſadors to *Rome* to complain of her ſuffering the *Latins* and *Campanians*, her allies and ſubjects, to commit hoſtilities in *Samnium*. The ſenate did not indeed approve of the hoſtilities the *Latins* had committed, but were aſhamed to own, that they had no longer power over them. The conſul *Plautius* therefore in the name of the ſenate returned the following anſwer: The *Campanians* are our ſubjects, and we will therefore force them not to moleſt you. But as for the *Latins*, our treaty of alliance with them does not oblige them not to enter into any war without our conſent; and therefore we can promiſe nothing in relation to them. This anſwer left the *Samnites* in a melancholy uncertainty, offended the *Campanians*, and, as it ſeemed to betray a ſenſe of weakneſs in the *Romans*, raiſed the ſpirits of the *Latins* to ſuch a degree, that they imagined they could now demand nothing, which the *Romans* would dare to refuſe them. They ſecretly combined with the *Campanians* to fall upon the *Romans*, though in appearance their preparations were only againſt the *Samnites*. But the ſenate, being informed of their intentions by ſome friends to *Rome* among them, reſolved to prevent the enemy, and in order thereto to bring on the election of new conſuls before the uſual time. Accordingly, they obliged the preſent conſuls to abdicate; but ſome religious ſcruples being raiſed concerning the holding of the comitia, by conſuls depoſed before the expiration of their year, the government was reduced to an inter-regnum, and two preſidents, *Valerius Corvus* and *M. Fabius*, were named to govern in the mean time ſucceſſively, each five days in his turn. While the latter was in office, the people were aſſembled in the *campus Martius*; and it being of the utmoſt importance to chuſe two able men to ſit at the helm in ſo tempeſtuous a ſeaſon, the centuries pitched upon the famous *Manlius Torquatus* and *Decius Mus*, the former a patrician, and the latter a plebeian. The republic promiſed herſelf a continued ſeries of proſperity under the adminiſtration of theſe two illuſtrious magiſtrates. *Torquatus* was a man of an inflexible ſeverity in keeping up the military diſcipline; *Decius* had a more humane temper; and both collegues were equally famous for great piety towards the gods and a tender love for their country. In the beginning of their conſulate, *Alexander*, king of *Epirus* and brother to *Olympias* the mother of *Alexander the Great*, came into *Italy* on the invitation of the *Tarentines*, to aſſiſt them againſt the *Brutians*. This prince hoped to have ſubdued all *Italy*, with the ſame eaſe as his nephew had reduced *Perſia*; but was not ſo ſucceſsful in his ſcheme, having to do with more warlike nations. He gained indeed ſome ſmall advantages over the *Lucanians* and *Brutians* at his firſt coming; but ſoon found it neceſſary to court the friendſhip of the more powerful nations of *Italy*, and particularly of the *Romans*, with whom he concluded an alliance of friendſhip[k].

The Latins revolt, and join the Campanians.

AFTER this the two conſuls made it their whole buſineſs to prevent the revolt of the *Latins*; and the firſt ſtep they took, in order thereto, was, to ſummon ten of the *Latin* chiefs to appear at *Rome*, and give an account of their preparations for war. The

Ten of the Latin chiefs ſummoned to Rome.

[k] LIV. l. viii. c. 4. JUSTIN. l. xii. c. 2.

The *Latin* council ſent one *L. Annius*, a man of great credit among them, with ten more to *Rome*, to demand, as a condition of renewing the alliance between the two nations, that *one of the conſuls and half of the ſenate be for the future choſen out of the Latins.* This demand was rejected with indignation, and war immediately declared. The conſuls ordered levies to be made, and having formed two armies, conſiſting intirely of *Romans*, they marched through the territories of the *Marſi*, entered the country of the *Peligni* that way, and incamped in *Campania* at the foot of mount *Veſuvius*, at a ſmall diſtance from the enemy's camp. The night before the battle, which ſoon enſued, both conſuls are ſaid to have dreamt the ſame dream. A man of a gigantic ſtature and majeſtic mien appeared to them, and told them, that the victory was decreed to that army of the two, whoſe general ſhould devote himſelf to the *Dii Manes*. When it was day the two conſuls communicated their dreams to each other. Perhaps they had courage enough to feign an apparition, which muſt coſt one or the other of them his life, purely to raiſe the courage of their ſoldiers; for the love of the *Romans* for their country and their deſire of glory were apt to ſuggeſt to them ſuch ſchemes. But be that as it will, it is pretended, that the aruſpices made ſuch diſcoveries in the entrails of the victims, as confirmed the dreams. Hereupon it was agreed in a council of war, that *Manlius* ſhould command the right wing, and *Decius* the left, in the enſuing battle; and that he, whoſe troops ſhould firſt give way, ſhould devote himſelf to ſave his country, and ruſh into the midſt of the enemy's battalions. In the ſame council of war, conſiſting of the two conſuls, all the lieutenant generals, and legionary tribunes, it was likewiſe determined, that the ancient diſcipline ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved in the preſent war, and that no officer or ſoldier ſhould dare to fight the enemy without expreſs orders, or out of his rank, upon pain of death. This was done, becauſe the enemy they were now to engage with ſpoke the ſame language, were armed after the ſame manner, obſerved the ſame way of fighting (T), and were perſonally acquainted with moſt of the *Roman* officers, having ſerved

The two conſuls march againſt the Latins.

(T) The order of battle, in which the *Romans* drew up their army before an engagement, in *Manlius*'s time, was as follows: They formed the whole body of their troops into three lines, diſtinguiſhed by the names of *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*. The *Haſtati*, who compoſed the firſt line, were ſo ſtyled from the javelins called *Haſtæ*, which they bore. The *Principes*, who made the ſecond line, were ſo called, according to *Varro* (13), becauſe in more ancient times they were placed in the front of the battle and began the attack. They were in thoſe times the richeſt of the *Roman* youth. The *Triarii* were ſo named, becauſe they made the third line. They were commonly *Veterans*, and the main ſtrength of the army. The *Principes* were armed with ſwords, and the *Triarii* with javelins, called *Pila*, whence they borrowed the name of *Pilani Milites*, and the ſoldiers of the two lines before them that of *Milites Antepilani*. In after-ages, the *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, ſeem to have bore much the ſame arms, ſince *Polybius* has not divided them in his deſcription, but ſpeaks of them all together. Each of theſe three lines was anciently intire, without any intervals between the manipuli or companies that compoſed it. Neither were there any void ſpaces left between the lines; ſo that the whole body of infantry was cloſe and compact, like the *Macedonian* phalanx. But at the time of this war with the *Latins*, there was a ſpace of fifty foot between the firſt and ſecond lines, and of an hundred foot between the ſecond and the third. And as ſpaces were left between the lines, ſo likewiſe between the different manipuli, or companies of each line, theſe companies being divided from each other by ſpaces thirty foot wide; ſo that in a line of ten manipuli, there were nine of theſe ſpaces. But theſe openings were not ſo diſpoſed as to yield a direct paſſage to the enemy from the front of the army to the rear. The manipuli of the ſecond line ſtood behind the openings of the firſt, and the manipuli of the third behind thoſe of the ſecond; ſo that the order of the whole reſembled that of trees called by gardeners *Quincunx*, which is elegantly compared to it by *Virgil* (14). When the *Haſtati* happened to be overpowered, they retired in good order, ſtill facing the enemy, toward the *Principes*, fell into the intervals of their ranks, and, together with them, renewed the fight. If the *Haſtati* and *Principes* thus joined were too weak to ſuſtain the fury of the onſet, they fell back into the wider intervals of the *Triarii*, and then all together, being united into one cloſe body, made another effort much more vigorous than any before. If this aſſault proved ineffectual, the day was intirely loſt as to the foot, there being no farther reſerves. The whole ſecret of the *Roman* art of war lay in diſpoſing their armies after this manner, and leaving theſe ſpaces open in the firſt and ſecond lines. It was almoſt impoſſible, that this method ſhould prove unſucceſsful, if duly obſerved: for fortune in each engagement muſt have failed them three different times, before they could be routed. As for the *Roman* cavalry, they were always poſted at the wings of the army, and fought ſometimes on foot, ſometimes on horſeback, as occaſion required, like our dragoons. At this time they were not numerous among the *Romans*, there being but twelve hundred horſe in an army of twenty thouſand men. As to the ſtations of the commanders, the conſuls and lieutenant-generals took their poſts in the middle of the ſpace between the *Principes* and the *Triarii*, where the *Roman* eagles ſtood. The legati and tribunes were uſually poſted by them, unleſs the former were ordered to command the wings, or the other ſome particular part of the army. The centurions ſtood every man at the head of his century or company. The common ſoldiers were placed in ſeveral ranks, at the diſcretion of the centurions, according to their age, ſtrength, and experience, every man having three foot ſquare allowed him to manage his arms in. The *Latin* troops being drawn up in the

(13) *Varro de Ling. Latin. l.* iv.

(14) *Virg. Georg. l.* ii. *v.* 297.

ſerved under them in former wars. It happened ſoon after theſe orders were proclaimed through the camp, that young *Manlius*, the conſul's ſon, being ſent out at the head of a detachment of horſe to obſerve the enemy's motions, met an advanced ſquadron of the enemy, commanded by one *Geminius Metius*, who, knowing the conſul's ſon, challenged him to a ſingle combat. *Manlius*, piqued in point of honour, and forgetting the late orders of the generals, accepted the challenge. Whereupon both parties drew back, and left the field open for the two champions. They rode full ſpeed againſt each other, and *Manlius*'s lance only glanced upon his adverſary's helmet. Then the two combatants wheeling about returned to the charge, when *Manlius* wounded *Metius*'s horſe on the head with his lance. The violence of the blow made the horſe rear, and the ſuddenneſs of the ſhock threw *Metius* to the ground. He endeavoured to raiſe himſelf with his buckler and lance, but *Manlius* gave him ſo violent a thruſt in the throat, that he drove the point of his lance out at his ſide; and having ſtripped him of his fine armour, returned to the camp full of glory for his victory, but uncertain of the reception he ſhould meet with from the conſuls. He paſſed triumphantly through the midſt of the army, and going ſtrait to his father's tent, accoſted him thus: Father, I have followed your example; I was challenged like you by an inſulting enemy; and here I lay his ſpoils at your feet. But the conſul, at theſe words turning his back upon his ſon, ordered the troops to be immediately aſſembled, and in their preſence made him this reply: Since you, *Titus Manlius*, have been ſo raſh, as to fight the enemy without my orders, you muſt expiate your crime yourſelf. You have indeed conquered, and therefore deſerve to be rewarded. But your diſobedience muſt be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. How could you deſpiſe the authority both of a father and a conſul? How could you break through that diſcipline, to the ſtrict obſervance of which *Rome* has hitherto owed her preſervation? Hard is the neceſſity you reduce me to, when you force me, either to forget that I am a father, or that I am a judge. But neither your grief nor mine ſhall prevail over the fidelity I owe my country. We ſhall be a melancholy example to poſterity, but a wholſome precedent to the *Roman* youth. In you I loſe a ſon, indeared to me by the tender affection of a father and by your late victory. But alas! ſince I muſt either eſtabliſh the conſular authority by a rigorous act of juſtice, or weaken it by your impunity, die as bravely as you have conquered. If you have but one drop of the *Manlian* blood in your veins, you will not refuſe to repair the breach you have made in the military diſcipline, by undergoing the puniſhment due to your offence. This ſaid, he firſt crowned his ſon as victor, and then ordered the lictors to tie him to a ſtake. All preſent were ſtunned at the cruel ſentence, as if it had been pronounced againſt themſelves; and when the lictor lifted up his ax to ſtrike off the young conqueror's head, a great outcry was raiſed by the whole army, as if the ſtroke had been to fall upon each officer and ſoldier then preſent. However, they offered no violence either to the conſul or the lictor; but, ſeeing the young man's head ſtruck off and his blood guſh out, vented their rage againſt the general in imprecations and invectives. They covered the dead body with the ſpoils of his conquered enemy, and expreſſed their affliction by the moſt pompous obſequies they could perform for him in the field. It is ſcarce to be imagined, how tractable this ſeverity of *Manlius* made his army for the future: his orders were obſerved and put in execution with all poſſible exactneſs, which greatly contributed to the victory he gained a few days after [1].

Manlius the conſul's ſon, challenged by a Latin champion, kills him.

But is put to death by his father.

When the day of battle came, both armies drew up in the plains at the foot of mount *Veſuvius*, in the road leading to the town of *Veſeris*. As they were pretty equal in numbers and quite uniform in their way of fighting, the onſet was furious on both ſides, neither party for ſome time gaining any advantage over the other. At length the left wing of the *Romans*, commanded by *Decius*, being vigorouſly preſſed by the *Latins*, gave ground; ſo that the firſt line was forced to retire, without turning their backs to the enemy, into the intervals of the ſecond line. This diſadvantage put *Decius* in mind of his agreement with his collegue, *viz.* that the conſul, whoſe wing firſt

Decius Mus devotes himſelf.

[1] Liv. l. viii. c. 7. Flor. l. i. c. 14. Zonar. l. vi. c. 16.

the ſame manner as the *Romans*, it was probable, that the centurions of the two armies would encounter each other. But the *Romans* not being men of ſo much bodily ſtrength as the *Latins*, *Livy* tells us, that the centurions of the *Roman* legions obtained leave of the conſuls to have each of them a ſub centurion to defend and aſſiſt him [15].

(15) *Liv. l.* viii. *c.* 8.

firſt gave way, ſhould devote himſelf to the *Dii Manes.* He therefore called out to a *Valerius*, the pontifex maximus, to perform on him the ceremony of conſecration, that he might devote himſelf in due form. *Valerius* ordered him to quit his military habit, and put on the robe he wore in the ſenate. Then he covered his head with a veil, ordered him to put forth his hand under his robe to his chin, and, ſtanding with both his feet up on his javelin, to repeat after him the following words: O *Janus*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Romulus*, *Bellona*, and ye *Lares*, and *Novenſiles* (U): O all ye heroes, who dwell in heaven, and all ye gods, who rule over us and our enemies, eſpecially ye gods of hell, I honour you, invoke you, and humbly intreat you to proſper the arms of the *Romans*, and to transfer all fear and terror from them to their enemies; and I do, for the ſafety of the *Roman* people and their legions, devote myſelf, and b with myſelf the army and auxiliaries of the enemy, to the infernal gods and the goddeſs of the earth. *Decius*, having finiſhed this prayer, ordered his lictors to go and acquaint his collegue, that he had devoted himſelf for the ſafety of the army. Then, tucking up his robe and girding it round him, he mounted his horſe, and rode full ſpeed into the thickeſt of the enemy's battalions. Both the *Romans* and *Latins* were ſurpriſed at this ſight. The conſul broke through the firſt line of the enemy's army and penetrated to the centre, the *Latins* being terrified at this new ſight, and ſeeming as if they were thunderſtruck. At length, recovering from their ſurpriſe, they diſcharged a ſhower of darts at the devoted conſul, who fell to the ground with numberleſs wounds. The death of the conſul gave new courage to the *Romans*. Thoſe c who had retired, retuned to the charge with more vigour than ever. However, the *Latins* ſtill kept their ground, and in ſome places had the advantage. When the news was brought to *Manlius* of his collegue's death, he ſhed ſome tears, giving him the praiſes he deſerved; and then, as he was now left to command alone, he ordered a body of voluntiers to advance into the firſt line, reſerving the *triarii*, or thoſe of the third line, who were the main ſtrength of the army, to the laſt extremity. The *Latins* being hard preſſed by theſe freſh troops, and taking them for the *Roman triarii*, ordered their own *triarii* to advance; and this miſtake determined the victory, hitherto doubtful, in favour of the *Romans*. For the *Latins* being quite tired out, and having for the moſt part broken or blunted their weapons, in repulſing the *Romans* d once more, when they thought themſelves ſure of the victory, the *Roman triarii*, by order of *Manlius*, appeared on a ſudden, and having given a ſhout, which diſmayed the enemy, fell upon them, while fatigued, with ſuch fury, and made ſo terrible a ſlaughter, that ſcarce a fourth part of their army remained alive. The *Samnites*, for whoſe ſake this battle was fought, had no ſhare in it; but continued drawn up in battalia at ſome diſtance from the *Roman* army at the foot of mount *Veſuvius*, and only ſerved to keep the enemy a little in fear. The chief honour of the victory undoubtedly belonged to *Manlius*, both *Latins* and *Romans* agreeing afterwards in this, that the former would have conquered, had *Manlius* been their general [m].

The Latin *army routed by the conſul* Manlius *in two engagements.*

The *Latins*, who eſcaped the ſlaughter, fled to *Minturnæ*, a little above the mouth of the *Liris*. There *Numicius* their general, by cauſing letters to be ſpread about in *Latium* and the country of the *Volſci*, repreſenting the flight of the *Latins* only as an honourable retreat, drew many to his camp, who had not been preſent at the late action. Having thus formed a new army, he took the road to *Capua*, being determined to try the fortune of arms once more with the *Romans*, and hoping to ſurpriſe them with his ſudden return. But *Manlius*, being informed of his motions, met him on his march, at a village called *Trifana* in the neighbourhood of *Sinueſſa*, gave him a ſecond overthrow, and then entering *Latium*, laid it waſte without oppoſition. All the *Latin* cities ſurrendered at diſcretion, as did *Privernum* in the territory of the *Volſci*. All *Campania*, with *Capua* its capital, was brought into ſubjection f to its former maſters. The conſul diſpoſſeſſed the *Campanians*, *Latins*, and *Privernates* of their lands, and diſtributed them among the people of *Rome*. However, the *Laurentini* in *Latium*, and the *Campanian* knights, who were the flower of the nobility of

[m] Liv. l. viii. c. 9.

(U) This word *Novenſiles* is variouſly interpreted; Some are of opinion, that it ſignifies *the new created gods*, or thoſe whoſe worſhip had been lately introduced in *Rome*. Others pretend it ſignified *the nine muſes*. *Varro* by the word *Novenſiles* underſtands the nine deities brought to *Rome* by the *Sabines*, viz. *Lara*, *Veſta*, *Minerva*, *Feronia*, *Concord*, *Good Faith*, *Fortune*, *Chance*, and *Health*. Some read *Novenſides* inſtead of *Novenſiles*, and underſtand thereby another kind of gods who preſided over novelties.

a of the country and had not been concerned in the revolt, were continued in their poſſeſſions and privileges; nay, theſe faithful knights, to the number of ſixteen hundred, were made citizens of *Rome*, but without right of ſuffrage. And that this grant might be the more authentic, it was engraven on braſs and fixed up in the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. An annual penſion of forty-five *denarii*, that is, 1 *l.* 9*s.* was alſo aſſigned to each of them out of the public revenues of *Campania*. It is not to be doubted, but *Manlius*, after ſo many ſignal conqueſts, obtained the honours of a triumph, notwithſtanding *Livy*'s ſilence on this head. He ſoon after fell ſick, and, as a *Roman* general was wanted in the field, to oppoſe ſome freſh incurſions of the *Antiates*, he nominated *L. Papirius Craſſus*, then prætor, to the dictatorſhip; who,
b having appointed *L. Papirius Curſor* for his maſter of the horſe, kept his troops ſome months in the enemy's country upon free quarters, and then returned to *Rome* to preſide at the election of new conſuls for the next year, when *Q. Publilius*, a plebeian, and *Tib. Æmilius*, a patrician, were choſen. During their adminiſtration, the *Latins* revolted and formed two armies. *Publilius*, ſucceeding in an expedition againſt one of them, was honoured with a triumph. But *Æmilius*, having only gained ſome ſlight advantages over the other, was refuſed that honour, which ſo incenſed him, that no tribune of the people ever inveighed more bitterly againſt the nobility, than the patrician conſul did on this occaſion. Hereupon the ſenate, to prevent diſturbances, ordered him to name a dictator. *Æmilius* obeyed, but in revenge named to
c that dignity his plebeian collegue, who appointed *Brutus Scæva*, another plebeian, to be his general of the horſe. The dictator, who was intirely devoted to the people, employed all his power and influence to eſtabliſh their rights on a ſolid foundation. This he effected by three laws, which he either made or revived. The firſt was, that the decrees made by the people, at the requeſt of their tribunes, ſhould bind all the ſubjects of the republic in general. The ſecond, that for the future the laws, which were to be paſſed by the centuries, ſhould be firſt approved by the ſenate, and that the people ſhould put the laſt hand to them. Hitherto the comitia uſed to paſs the laws firſt, and the ſenate had a power of accepting or rejecting them. The third law was, that one of the cenſors ſhould always for the future be a plebeian. The ſenate,
d to pique *Æmilius* tender of his honour, ordered the next year's conſuls, *L. Furius Camillus*, grandſon to the great *Camillus*, and *C. Mænius*, a plebeian, to put an end to the war which he had left unfiniſhed. And that the new conſuls might not fail of ſucceſs, they plentifully furniſhed them with men, ammunition, arms, &c. by which means the united forces of the *Latins* were defeated, the town of *Pedum* taken by aſſault, and all *Latium* brought under ſubjection. The conſuls, having finiſhed the war with great glory, returned to *Rome*, where they were honoured, not only with a triumph, but alſo with two equeſtrian ſtatues erected in the forum [n].

The Latins *revolt.*

But are defeated anew, and brought under ſubjection.

THE conſuls having yet ſome time to continue in their office, employed it in determining the fate of the conquered. *Camillus* was inclined to clemency, and adviſed the
e fathers rather to increaſe the ſubjects of the republic, by admitting the *Latins* to the privileges of *Roman* citizens, than to exterminate them and reduce their country to a deſart. The chief men in the ſenate were for following the conſul's advice. But as ſome cities had been more criminal than others, it was thought proper to make a diſtinction in the treatment of them. *Lanuvium*, *Aricia*, *Nomentum*, and *Pedum*, were made *Roman Municipia*, their ſoldiers had the privilege of being incorporated in the legions, ſhared all the advantages of the *Roman* ſoldiery, and were no longer upon the foot of auxiliaries. The *Tuſculans* were reſtored to the enjoyment of their ancient privileges, the ſenate being unwilling to condemn a whole country for the faults of a few, who had joined the enemies of the republic. *Velitræ* was razed, and its ſenate and inhabitants
f removed into another city beyond the *Tiber*. The *Antiates* were granted the freedom of *Roman* citizens; but their fleet, conſiſting of ſix gallies, was partly burnt, and partly carried into the *Roman* ports. With the braſs beaks of their veſſels, called in *Latin Roſtra*, the conſul *Mænius* adorned the pulpit, from whence the *Roman* magiſtrates harangued the people; and hence it was ever after called the *Roſtra*. The inhabitants of *Tybur* and *Præneſte* were deprived of all their lands, not ſo much on account of their late revolt, as for having formerly aſſiſted the *Gauls*. And laſtly, all the *Latins* in general were forbidden to aſſemble their diets as uſual, to marry out of their reſpective tribes, or to have common markets or fairs for trade. As for the cities

Year of the flood 2666. *Before Chriſt* 333. *Of* Rome 415.

[n] LIV. l. viii, c. 13. EUTROP. l. ii. FASTI CAPIT.

cities of *Campania*, their lands were taken from them, and divided among the *Romans*. a
Thus were the two moſt fruitful provinces of *Italy* ſubdued by the republic, and the *Latins*, from allies of *Rome*, made her ſubjects °.

A plebeian prætor

In the following conſulate of *C. Sulpicius Longus* and *P. Ælius Pætus*, *Publilius*, tho' a plebeian, obtained the prætorſhip, the only great dignity which the plebeians had not before ſhared with the nobility. And thus the people being arrived at the height of their deſires, all pretences for faction were intirely taken away. The conſuls of the new year, *L. Papirius* and *Caſo Duilius*, led an army againſt the *Sidicini* and *Auſones*, who had invaded the country of the *Aurunci*, at this time in alliance with *Rome*, defeated them in the field, and, having obliged them to take ſhelter behind the walls of their cities, returned to *Rome*. In the following conſulate of *M. Valerius Corvus*, b
now raiſed to that dignity a fourth time, and *M. Atilius Regulus*, the former laid ſiege to *Cale*, the metropolis of the *Auſones*, which he took by means of *covered galleries* and *moveable towers*, which he invented on this occaſion for the ſcreening of his men, and the carrying on of the attacks without moleſtation. After this both conſuls marched againſt the *Sidicini*; but their year being expired before they had finiſhed their conqueſt, their ſucceſſors, *T. Veturius Calvinus* and *Sp. Poſthumius Albinus*, putting themſelves at the head of the troops which *Valerius* had commanded, entered the enemy's country and laid it waſte, without oppoſition. Upon the return of the conſuls to *Rome*, a report being ſpread, that the *Sidicini* had aſſembled a formidable army and were joined by the *Samnites*, a dictator, viz. *P. Cornelius Rufinus*, was appointed to c
march out againſt them. But his authority did not laſt long; the augurs found his nomination defective in ſome circumſtances, and obliged him to abdicate. Nay, as a plague raged at this time in *Rome*, the aruſpices, carrying their ſuperſtition ſtill farther, declared, that all the auſpices of the year had been infected by the contagious air, and that the inauguration of the conſuls themſelves had been faulty. On this ſuperſtitious prejudice, the chief magiſtrates of *Rome* were diſplaced, and the republic reduced to an inter-regnum. The next year the faſces were transferred, according to the *Faſti Capitolini*, to *L. Papirius Curſor* and *C. Pætelius Libo Viſolus*, who, in all likelihood, reduced the *Sidicini*, for we find no other epoch of their reduction. *Livy* neither mentions theſe conſuls, nor gives us any account of this year; which is a great d
omiſſion, and would confound the whole chronology of the republic, were it not for the *Faſti Capitolini*, which name the above-mentioned conſuls. They were ſucceeded by *A. Cornelius*, a ſecond time conſul, and *Cn. Domitius*, who were obliged to name a dictator, upon a groundleſs report, that the *Gauls* were preparing for a war with the republic. *Papirius Craſſus* was the man they pitched upon, and he choſe *Valerius Poplicola* for his maſter of the horſe. While the dictator was raiſing an army, more certain news came, that all was quiet on that ſide. However, as the *Samnites* had raiſed a formidable army to oppoſe *Alexander* king of *Epirus*, the dictator kept his army in the field, till the *Samnites*, upon the retreat of that prince, diſbanded their troops.

The addition of two new tribes.

In this ſame year, the number of *Roman* citizens being greatly increaſed after the reduction of the *Latins*, two new tribes, the *Mæcian* and *Scaptian*, were added to the twenty-ſeven already in being.

During the tranquillity, which *Rome* enjoyed after the reduction of the *Latins*, there ſprung up in her boſom a new kind of monſters, more to be dreaded than any foreign enemy. Some women of diſtinction, according to ſome three hundred and ſixty, according to others a hundred and ſeventy, plotted together, upon what provocation we know not, to take off their huſbands by poiſon, and took the opportunity of an epidemical diſtemper to put their wicked deſign in execution. People were ſurpriſed in *Rome* to ſee ſo many men of note die, and all with the ſame ſymptoms; but had no ſuſpicion of this kind of aſſaſſination, as we may call it, ſo contrary to f
their manners, that there was then no law againſt it. At length the wickedneſs of theſe furies was diſcovered by a woman, who was in the ſervice of one of theſe criminals, and aſſiſted her in preparing her poiſon. This ſlave applied herſelf to *Q. Fabius*, who was at that time curule ædile, and having upon promiſe of impunity diſcovered to him the whole myſtery of iniquity, the ædile imparted the ſecret to the conſuls, and the conſuls to the ſenate; by whoſe order the ſlave, attended by ſome officers, went to the houſes of above twenty *Roman* ladies, who were all found buſy in preparing poiſons. Among theſe were two patrician women, *Sergia* and *Cornelia*, who, being brought

A plot formed by ſome Roman women to poiſon their huſbands.

The Sidicini and Auſones conquered

° Liv. ibid. Flor. l. 1. c. 11.

brought before the aſſembly of the people and there examined, maintained, that they had prepared only medicines for the ſick, in which there were no poiſonous ingredients. Hereupon the ſlave, finding herſelf ſuſpected of calumny, propoſed, that the two ladies ſhould take their own potions. The experiment being, at her requeſt, ordered to be made, *Cornelia* and *Sergia* deſired to confer with their accomplices; which being granted, they all by agreement drank their own poiſon, and ſo delivered themſelves from a more cruel death. Nothing could be more ſurpriſing to the *Romans*, than ſuch an exceſs of wickedneſs in a ſex, which had hitherto preſerved its reputation unſullied. The republic aſcribed this unheard-of prodigy to a ſpirit of madneſs, ſent as a puniſhment by the angry gods; and therefore, to appeaſe their wrath, had
b recourſe to the ceremony which ſhe had formerly practiſed, in the time of plagues and general calamities. The ſenate ordered the conſuls to nominate a dictator to drive a nail into the wall of the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. Accordingly, *Cn. Quintilius* was raiſed to that dignity, and *L. Valerius Potitus* made his general of the horſe, only to renew this ſuperſtitious ceremony; which was no ſooner performed, than he reſigned his tranſient dignity, and gave way to the conſulate of *L. Papirius Craſſus*, a ſecond time conſul, and *L. Plautius Venno*. In the beginning of their year, the *Privernates*, in conjunction with ſome of the inhabitants of *Fundi*, revolted at the inſtigation of *Vitrius Vaccus*, a native of that city, but who enjoyed all the rights of a *Roman* citizen, and had even made himſelf an inhabitant of *Rome*. The *Privernates*, on the approach of the two conſuls, retired into their city. Hereupon *Plautius*, with one part of the army, entered the territory of *Fundi*, where he was met by the ſenate of that city, who proteſted that they had no ſhare in the revolt. The conſul wrote to *Rome* in their favour, and then marched to join his collegue, who had already blocked up *Privernum*. But while that ſiege was carrying on, one of the conſuls was called back to *Rome* to preſide in the comitia for electing new conſuls, the city being alarmed at the news of the *Gauls* being in motion. The new conſuls, *L. Æmilius*, a ſecond time, and *C. Plautius*, entered upon their office the very day they were choſen, though before the uſual time, and drew lots for their commands. It fell to *Æmilius* to act againſt the *Gauls*; and to his collegue to carry on the ſiege of *Privernum*. *Æmilius* made the levies with the utmoſt vigor, admitted of no excuſe, but put all, without diſtinction, who were able to bear arms, upon the military roll. Such was the terror the very name of the *Gauls* ſtruck into the *Romans*. But the great army, raiſed on this occaſion, marched no farther than *Veii*, where the conſul received certain advice, that all was quiet among the *Gauls*. He then joined his collegue before *Privernum*, which, being already fatigued with a long ſiege, ſurrendered, and delivered up *Vitrius*, the author of the revolt, who was, by an order from the ſenate, firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded. The two conſuls on their return to *Rome*, were honoured with a triumph, and *Æmilius* moreover with the ſurname of *Privernas*. What now remained was to puniſh the *Privernates*. Such of the ſenators, as had continued in the place after the revolt, were removed beyond the *Tiber*, and forbid to paſs the river under the penalty of a great fine. As for the innocent multitude and the priſoners taken in the war, the conſul *Plautius* uſed all his intereſt in their behalf. He led the captives to the door of the ſenate-houſe, and made a moving harangue in their favour. But the ſenators were divided in opinion, ſome inclining to clemency, others to ſeverity. The only reſource of thoſe unhappy men was humble ſupplications. But they were *Volſci*, that is, a nation as proud and capable of as generous ſentiments, as the *Romans* themſelves. For one of them being aſked by a ſenator, who was for putting them all to death, what puniſhment he and his fellow-captives deſerved? anſwered with great intrepidity, We deſerve that puniſhment, which is due to men who are jealous of their liberty, and think themſelves worthy of it. *Plautius* perceiving that his anſwer exaſperated ſome of the ſenators, endeavoured to prevent the ill effects of it, by putting a milder queſtion to the priſoner. How would you behave, ſaid he, if *Rome* ſhould pardon you? Our conduct, replied the generous captive, depends upon yours. If the peace you grant us be an honourable one, you may depend on a conſtant fidelity on our parts: if the terms of it be hard or diſhonourable, lay no ſtreſs on our adherence to you. Some of the judges conſtrued theſe words as menaces, but the wiſer part, finding in them a great deal of magnanimity, cried out, that a nation, whoſe only deſire was liberty, and only fear that of loſing it, was worthy to become *Roman*. Accordingly, a decree paſſed in favour of the priſoners, and *Privernum* was declared a municipium. Thus

Privernum *taken.*

A noble anſwer given by one of the inhabitants of that city.

the bold ſincerity of one man ſaved his country, and gained it the privilege of being incorporated into the *Roman* ſtate [o].

The Palæpolitans *make an irruption into the* Roman *territories.*

The next year, in the conſulate of *C. Plautius Proculus* and *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the *Romans* gave umbrage to the *Samnites*, by planting a colony in *Fregellæ*, which ſtood in their neighbourhood, and proved the occaſion of that bloody war, which ſoon after broke out between the two nations. In the mean time, the *Palæpolitans*, taking advantage of this new diſcontent of the *Samnites*, committed hoſtilities in the *Roman* territories. Theſe people were originally *Eubœans*, who, coming into *Italy*, built *Cumæ*, and thence ſpreading themſelves farther, founded the city of *Naples* or *Neapolis*, that is, *The New City*. In the neighbourhood of *Naples*, they found a town ready built, which they poſſeſſed themſelves of, calling it *Palæpolis* or *Palaiopolis*, that is, *The Old City*. Theſe *Palæpolitans* were the firſt of all the *Greeks*, who ventured to attack the *Romans*. Their confidence was founded upon a report ſpread abroad, that the *Samnites* would ſoon be at war with the *Romans*. The news of this unexpected invaſion was brought to *Rome*, juſt before the comitia by centuries were aſſembled to appoint new conſuls, and the comitia by tribes to chuſe new tribunes of the people. The latter choſe one *Q. Flavius*, a man of a moſt infamous character, who had been accuſed not long before of offering violence to a woman of diſtinction, and debauching her. *C. Valerius*, one of the curule ædiles, was his chief proſecutor; and the evidence being clear, fourteen of the twenty-nine tribes had already voted him guilty, when the accuſed cried out with great proteſtations, that he was innocent. Upon this *Valerius*, who bore him an irreconcileable hatred, cried out with a louder voice, What is that to me, whether thou art guilty or innocent, provided thou be deſtroyed? The tribes were ſo offended at theſe words, that they immediately acquitted *Flavius*, tho' evidently guilty, by a great majority of ſuffrages. A few months after he loſt his mother, and, as it was then cuſtomary to offer ſacrifices in honour of the dead, he offered a greater number of victims than uſual. and diſtributed the fleſh among the people, who had favoured him at his trial. This gratitude proved more beneficial to him than he expected. The people remembered him in the comitia, and choſe him, though abſent, for one of their tribunes [p].

The conſul Publius *marches againſt them.*

The comitia by centuries raiſed to the conſulate *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Q. Publilius Philo*, a ſecond time. The latter marched againſt the *Palæpolitans*, and, in order to cut off their communication with *Neapolis*, from whence they were ſupplied with men and proviſions, encamped on a narrow tract of ground between thoſe two cities. His collegue poſted himſelf with another army near *Capua*, to keep the *Campanians* in awe. In this camp he received undoubted intelligence, that the *Samnites*, jealous of the progreſs of the *Roman* arms, had ſolicited the inhabitants of *Privernum*, *Fundi*, and *Formia* to revolt. Upon this the ſenate ſent an embaſſy into *Samnium*, complaining of a conduct ſo contrary to the faith of treaties. The embaſſadors met with a haughty reception; but, without loſing their temper, after having heard the complaints of the *Samnites*, which chiefly related to the rebuilding and fortifying of *Fregellæ*, returned the following anſwer: The injuries you complain of require a great deal of time to be examined. As therefore we have common friends and allies, let us refer our differences to their arbitration. Arbitrators, cried the *Samnites*, we will have none but the gods and our ſwords. Battles will determine our pretenſions better than words. *Mars* ſhall put an end to our diſputes in the plains of *Campania*. Go, *Romans*, tell your conſuls, that we wait for them between *Capua* and *Sueſſula*. Our ſwords will there determine, which of the two nations ought to give law to the reſt of *Italy*. The embaſſadors replied, We ſhall not take our orders from you; our generals will lead us whither they think fit, and we ſhall follow them. In the mean while, the time for the new elections drawing near, the ſenate, without recalling the conſuls, ordered a dictator to be named to preſide in the comitia. The conſul *Cornelius* nominated *M. Claudius Marcellus*, a plebeian, who choſe *Sp. Poſthumius Albinus* for his maſter of the horſe. But, the augurs pretending that the nomination was invalid, *Marcellus* was obliged to abdicate the dictatorſhip, and *Poſthumius* the command of the horſe. The people, imagining that the view of the augurs was only to wound the plebeian intereſt, made loud complaints, and murmured at that ambitious college; but in the end ſuperſtition prevailed, and, the government falling into an inter-regnum, *C. Pætelius Libo* and *L. Papirius Mugellinus* were choſen conſuls for enſuing year. Theſe, putting themſelves

A new rupture between the Samnites *and* Romans.

[o] Liv. ibid. [p] Liv. l. viii. c. 22. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 1.

a ſelves at the head of the army, which *Cornelius* had commanded, entered *Samnium*, and being joined by the *Lucanians* and *Apulians*, two nations to which the *Romans* had been hitherto utter ſtrangers, penetrated farther into the enemy's country, ravaged their lands, and ſeized three of their cities, viz. *Allifæ*, *Callifæ*, and *Rufrium*. On the other hand, *Publilius*, being continued by the people, at the motion of their tribunes, at the head of the ſame army he had commanded the year before, with the title of proconſul, took at length *Palæpolis*, by a ſtratagem laid and executed by two of the citizens. Four thouſand *Samnites* and two thouſand of the inhabitants of *Nola*, a city of *Campania*, having got into the town before it was inveſted, under pretence of ſtrengthening the gariſon, kept the inhabitants in a cruel ſtate of ſlavery, and committed all ſorts of debaucheries, which they extended even to the wives of b that unhappy people and their children of both ſexes. In this diſtreſs the *Palæpolitans*, having long waited in vain for relief from the *Tarentines*, reſolved at length to have recourſe to their enemies, in order to deliver themſelves from the oppreſſion of their defenders. *Nymphius* and *Charilaus*, the two chief magiſtrates of the city, took upon them, with the conſent of the principal inhabitants, the execution of the enterpriſe. *Charilaus* eſcaped as a deſerter to the *Roman* camp, where he imparted to the proconſul the reſolution his countrymen had taken. *Publilius* received him kindly, and put him at the head of three thouſand *Romans*, who, at a proper time, were to attack the town in that part, where the *Samnites* defended it. In the mean time, *Nym-* c *phius*, who had ſtaid in *Palæpolis*, and all along kept a private correſpondence with his collegue, contrived another ſtratagem, and with his *Grecian* artifice ſo blinded the *Samnite* commanders, that they fell without any ſuſpicion into the ſnare he had prepared for them. He adviſed them to equip the fleet, which lay in the port, and make a deſcent in the *Roman* territories, in order to oblige the *Romans* to quit *Samnium* and the neighbourhood of *Palæpolis*. This motion being approved, *Nymphius* contrived to employ the *Samnite* troops in the laborious work of ſetting the ſhips afloat, which lay dry on the ſhore. By this means, that part of the wall, which the *Romans* were to attack, being but weakly guarded, *Charilaus*, being acquainted therewith by his collegue, advanced at the head of three thouſand *Romans*, and being favoured by his friends, made himſelf maſter of the place. The *Samnites*, who were employed on the ſhore, finding themſelves ſhamefully over-reached, fled with precipitation, for fear of falling into the hands of the *Romans*, and arrived in their own country, without either arms or baggage, where they were expoſed to the ridicule of all their neighbours, who continually reproached them with the equipment of the *Palæpolitan* fleet[q]. Some writers tell us, that the *Samnites*, and not the *Greeks*, delivered the place up to the *Romans*. But the authors of beſt note relate this adventure as we have done. Beſides, *Neapolis*, one of the chief cities of *Great Greece*, entered at this time into an alliance with *Rome*, a manifeſt proof that the *Greeks* ſurrendered voluntarily, and not compelled by any foreign force. For this ſucceſs, *Publilius*, in ſpite of the nobility, obtained a triumph, though he was neither conſul nor dictator. He was the firſt, as *Livy* obſerves, who was decreed a triumph for exploits performed in an inferior ſtation. But he was a plebeian and the idol of the people, and therefore triumphed in ſight of the conſuls of the year, who were refuſed that honour, though they had made conſiderable conqueſts in *Samnium*. Thus the plebeians revenged the affront they had received the laſt year, when a plebeian dictator was by the augurs obliged to lay down his office.

Palæpolis *taken by a ſtratagem.*

THE taking of *Palæpolis* ſtirred up new enemies againſt the *Romans* in *Great Greece*. The *Tarentines*, having loſt their protector, *Alexander* king of *Epirus*, and being jealous of the growing power of *Rome*, by an artful ſtratagem ſeduced the *Lucanians*, who had gone over to the *Romans*, into a league with the *Samnites*. They bribed a company of young *Lucanians* of good families to tear their backs with whips, and then ſhew themſelves to the people, pretending, that they had been treated in that cruel manner by order of the *Roman* conſuls, to whoſe camp curioſity had led them. The *Lucani*, who were but a ſtupid people, ſuffering themſelves to be impoſed upon by ſo groſs a cheat, immediately convened a national aſſembly, and, without examineing into the truth of ſo improbable a fact, decreed, that war ſhould be declared with the *Romans*, and their ancient alliance with the *Samnites* renewed. Purſuant to this reſolution, an embaſſy was ſent to the latter, who could ſcarce believe the deputation real;

The Lucanians *ſeduced by the* Tarentines *into a league with the* Samnites.

[q] Liv. l. viii. c. 23.

real; and therefore would not hearken to their propoſals, till hoſtages were delivered, and *Samnite* gariſons put into all their towns. The *Lucanians* complied with all their demands, without diſcovering the impoſture, till it was too late to repent.

Creditors diſabled from ſeizing the perſons of their debtors.

While the affairs of the republic were proſperous abroad, the poor debtors had the good fortune to ſhake off the only yoke, which now lay heavy upon them. By one of the laws of the twelve tables, creditors were empowered to ſeize their inſolvent debtors, and keep them in their houſes, till by their ſervices or labour they had diſcharged the ſum they owed. Theſe poor citizens were in all reſpects ſlaves, except in name. They were called *Nexi*, that is, *bound*, their liberty being, as it were, bound and ſuſpended for a time; whereas the ſlaves were called *Servi*. A young plebeian of extraordinary beauty and of a good family, by name *Publilius*, had voluntarily made himſelf a ſlave to one *L. Papirius*, in order to pay his father's debts. *Papirius*, conceiving a deteſtable paſſion for the young man, and not being able to get the better of his virtue by promiſes and careſſes, cauſed him to be whipped moſt unmercifully. After this cruel treatment, *Publilius*, having found means to make his eſcape, complained publicly of the inhuman uſage he had met with, and told the occaſion of it. The people, filled with compaſſion for the young plebeian, and with reſentment againſt his maſter, forced the conſuls to aſſemble the ſenate, and, preſenting *Publilius* before them with his back all bloody and torn, demanded juſtice on their knees. The ſenate had regard to their cries, and, without decreeing any thing againſt *Papirius*, whoſe crime was not ſufficiently proved, paſſed a decree, which was readily accepted and confirmed in the comitia. It enacted, *That for the future no perſon whatſoever ſhould be held in fetters or other bonds but for ſome crime that deſerved it, and only till the criminal had ſuffered the puniſhment due by law; and that creditors ſhould only have a right to attach the goods, and not ſeize the perſons, of their debtors.*

The Samnites and Brutii.

In the following conſulate of *L. Furius Camillus* and *D. Junius Brutus*, the *Veſtini*, a people on the coaſts of the *Adriatic* ſea, took arms againſt *Rome*, but were defeated by *Brutus*, who took from them two cities of *Cutina* and *Cinglia*. *Camillus*, who was to act againſt the *Samnites*, being ſick, named to the dictatorſhip *L. Papirius Craſſus*, who appointed *Q. Fabius Ruſticus* to be his general of the horſe. The dictator took the field againſt the *Samnites*, but ſoon after returned to *Rome*, on account of ſome religious ſcruples relating to the auſpices conſulted before his departure. Before he left the army, he forbad *Fabius*, whom he entruſted with the command of it, to venture a battle in his abſence. But *Fabius*, diſdaining to have his hands ſo tied up, notwithſtanding the dictator's prohibition, attacked the *Samnites*, and gained a complete victory, having killed above twenty thouſand of them on the ſpot. The young conqueror, elated with this ſucceſs, inſtead of lodging the ſpoils of the enemy in the quæſtor's hands, cauſed them all to be burnt, that they might not increaſe the pomp of the dictator's triumph. Beſides, he did not ſend any account of his victory to the dictator, under whoſe auſpices he had fought, but only to the ſenate. Hereupon the dictator ſet out in all haſte from *Rome* to puniſh his diſobedient general of the horſe. But *Fabius*, having timely notice of his coming, and of his deſign, called together the troops, and in a ſeditious harangue committed to them the defence of his life and fortune. His ſpeech was applauded by the legions; they all promiſed him their aſſiſtance, and proteſted, that nothing but death ſhould ſeparate them from a commander, under whoſe conduct they had gained ſo ſignal a victory. In the mean time, the dictator arrived, and, having aſſembled the troops, ordered the crier to call the general of the horſe to appear before him. *Fabius* obeyed the ſummons, and being queſtioned by the dictator concerning his diſobedience, returned only dark and confuſed anſwers. As he could offer nothing in defence of ſo bad a cauſe, *Papirius* ordered

Q. Fabius engages the Samnites, contrary to the orders of Papirius the dictator, and gains a complete victory.

Is condemned by the dictator, but reſcued by the ſoldiers.

the lictors to ſtrip him, and prepare their rods and axes. But while the executioners were tearing off his cloaths, he found means to eſcape out of their hands, and to retire among the *Triarii*. A loud ſhout was immediately heard from the place whither *Fabius* had fled, which was anſwered by the whole army. The ſoldiers all to a man declared in his favour; but expreſſed their ſentiments very differently. Some threatened the dictator; others begged pardon for the offender. Thoſe who ſtood next to the tribunal deſired, in a ſuppliant manner, *Papirius* to ſpare the life of his general of the horſe, and not condemn all the troops in him. The lieutenant-generals of the army, who ſurrounded the dictator, intreated him to put off the execution till the next day, to give the ſoldiers time to cool, and to take ſome time himſelf to calm his mind. But the dictator continued inflexible; nay, he commanded, with

a an angry tone, the lieutenant-generals to leave the tribunal. Hereupon the ſedition increaſed, and the ſoldiers grew more furious. The dictator commanded ſilence, but neither he nor his criers could be heard. The legionaries were ready to offer violence to their general, but night coming on put an end to the tumult. *Fabius*, not thinking it prudent to ſtand another trial, eſcaped to *Rome*, where his father immediately got the ſenators aſſembled, in order to obtain a favourable decree for him. But *Papirius*, arriving on a ſudden, took his place in the ſenate, and ordered the lictors to ſeize young *Fabius*. In vain did the ſenators intercede for the criminal; *Papirius* was inexorable. Hereupon the father, having no other reſource, appealed to the people in comitia. There had never yet been any inſtance of an appeal from the ſentence of the dictator. But nevertheleſs *Papirius* did not think fit to diſallow the

The father of Fabius *appeals from the dictator to the people.*

b ſuperior authority of the people, ſo that the cauſe was brought before the comitia aſſembled in the forum. Thither repaired the dictator with few attendants; but the *Fabii* were guarded by all the people of diſtinction in *Rome*. Both the *Fabii* aſcended the *roſtra* with the dictator. The ſon had a right to harangue the people from thence, as general of the horſe; but the father had no right, it being the privilege of magiſtrates only to appear there. *Papirius* therefore ſternly ordered him to be pulled down, as not being in office; and alſo the ſon, as a criminal, who had forfeited the privileges annexed to his office. The father, placing himſelf then at the foot of the *roſtra*, broke out into bitter invectives againſt the haughtineſs and cruelty of *Papirius*,

c cited the caſes of *Minucius* and *L. Furius*, who had not been ſo ſeverely puniſhed, though they had fought contrary to the advice of *Cincinnatus* and the great *Camillus*, dictators, and omitted nothing that could be ſaid in ſo bad a cauſe. He clamoured, he complained, he called upon the gods and men for help, and, embracing his ſon, wept a flood of tears. The whole aſſembly, ſays *Livy*, was on the ſide of the *Fabii*; but *Papirius* had on his ſide the military laws, the rules of diſcipline, which were deemed inviolable, the dignity of his office, the dictatorial edicts, *&c.* He reproached the *Romans* with a degeneracy from that heroic love of their country, which uſed to prevail over all paternal affection and private views; he urged the examples of *Manlius* and *Brutus*, who had courage enough to ſacrifice their own children for the ſake of

d the public good, expatiated on the evil conſequences to the republic of admitting appeals from the dictator to the people, and eſpecially in caſes of diſobedience in war, and concluded with aſking the tribunes, whether they were willing to anſwer thoſe conſequences with their heads. Theſe words threw both the tribunes and the people into great perplexity. They pitied the *Fabii*; but could not condemn the ſeverity of *Papirius*. The receiving of appeals from the ſentence of the dictator would indeed increaſe the power of the plebeians; but they were afraid of the conſequences of ſo dangerous an incroachment on a ſovereign authority. Inſtead therefore of taking upon them to judge in the affair, they became interceſſors for the criminal, humbly beſeeching the dictator to pardon his general of the horſe. The *Fabii* themſelves fell

e proſtrate at the dictator's feet and implored his clemency. Upon this the dictator, cauſing ſilence to be made, ſpoke thus from the *Roſtra*: Both military diſcipline and the authority of generals are preſerved inviolate. The temerity of *Fabius* expoſed both to great dangers: but he has not been judged innocent; only pardon is aſked for him. This I readily grant in deference to the *Roman* people, and to the interceſſion of their tribunes. They have not pronounced him innocent as judges, but intercede for him as friends. Live then, *Quintus Fabius*, more fortunate in this unanimous conſent of all orders in the republic to ſave you, than in the victory you lately gained. Live, *Fabius*, though you have dared to commit a crime, which your father himſelf, had he been in my place, would have expiated with your blood. You

The dictator at the requeſt of the people pardons the offender.

f ſhall be received again into my favour at your pleaſure. But as to the *Roman* people, to whom you owe your life, you can never expreſs your gratitude to them better, than by punctually and implicitly obeying, whether in peace or in war, your lawful commanders. Go; you are at liberty. Theſe words were followed by univerſal acclamations, ſome congratulating *Fabius*, others expreſſing their gratitude to *Papirius*. Both the dictator and his general of the horſe were conducted back to their houſes by crouds of people of all ranks[r]. The many triumphs, with which we ſhall ſee him hereafter honoured, will prove him worthy of the zeal which *Rome* ſhewed for his deliverance.

WHILE

[r] Liv. l. viii. c. 34.

While *Papirius* ſtaid in *Rome*, the *Samnites*, taking advantage of his abſence, a
inſulted the *Roman* army, knowing that they would not ſtir out of their camp to engage
them, for fear of meeting with the ſame fate as young *Fabius*. And indeed *M.*
Valerius, one of the lieutenant-generals, ſuffered a detachment of *Romans*, who were
eſcorting a convoy, to be cut in pieces, though he might eaſily have reſcued them,
ſaying, that he dreaded the ſeverity of the dictator, more than the enemy's forces.
This accident greatly contributed to increaſe the hatred of the ſoldiery to their general,
who ſoon after arriving in the camp, with his new general of the horſe, *L. Papirius*
Craſſus, a relation of his own, found his men ſo exaſperated againſt him, that he loſt
all hopes of making any great progreſs. The *Samnites*, informed of the preſent
diſpoſition of the *Roman* army towards their general, immediately marched out and b
offered him battle. *Papirius*, thinking himſelf obliged in honour to accept the chal-
lenge, drew up his men, and, in order to ſupply the want of affection in his ſoldiers
by his ſkill in war, poſted them ſo advantagiouſly, that it was not poſſible for them
to be intirely defeated. They fought indeed very faintly for fear of increaſing the
glory of their general; but after all they did not loſe the battle, there being more
Samnites killed than *Romans*, though the number of the wounded was much greater
on the ſide of the latter. After the battle *Papirius* acted a part which ſurpriſed every
body. Not one officer, or ſoldier, who had behaved negligently in the engagement,
was ſo much as reprimanded. Laying aſide the ſeverity and majeſty of a dictator,
he went about with his lieutenants, viſiting the wounded ſoldiers, put his head into c
their tents, aſked them how they did, and charged their tribunes to take particular
care of them. As in this ſudden change he did not diſcover the leaſt affectation, the
army, which had always had a great eſteem for him, came in a ſhort time to ſhew
him a moſt tender affection. The people in the city, being informed of this unexpected
Papirius *defeats the* Samnites, *and obliges them to ſue for peace.* alteration, thought fit to continue him ſix months longer in his employment, during
which time he gave the enemy a total overthrow, over-ran *Samnium*, and reduced
the enemy to ſue for peace. This the dictator granted them on theſe three prelimi-
nary conditions; 1. that they ſhould cloath all his troops: 2. that they ſhould give
them a year's pay: and, 3. that they ſhould get the treaty confirmed by the ſenate.
Papirius on his return to *Rome* was decreed a triumph, after which he preſided at the d
election of the new conſuls, *C. Sulpicius Longus* and *Q. Aulus Cerretanus*, and then
reſigned his dignity. The *Samnites*, to whom the ſenate had only granted a year's
truce, no ſooner heard that *Papirius* had quitted the dictatorſhip, than they took the
field. As the *Apulians* declared for them againſt *Rome*, the forces of the republic
were divided between the two conſuls. *Aulus* marched againſt the *Apulians*, and *Sul-*
picius againſt the *Samnites*; but little progreſs was made in the war this year, both
Samnites and *Apulians* keeping themſelves cloſe in their ſtrong-holds. But the next year,
when *Q. Fabius*, who had been general of the horſe to *Papirius*, and *L. Fulvius Curvus*
The conſuls Q. Fabius *and* L. Fulvius Curvus *gain a complete victory over them.* were conſuls, the *Samnites*, having raiſed a formidable army, ſurprized the *Romans*
commanded by the two conſuls, in a very diſadvantagious poſt, and obliged them to e
hazard a battle, which laſted many hours without either ſide's giving way. At
length the imprudence of the *Samnite* cavalry turned the fortune of the day in favour
of the *Romans*. For the conſuls, having deſignedly ſent away the baggage of the
army under a ſmall guard, the enemy's horſe, not being aware of the ſnare, wheeled
off to ſeize it. But when they had put themſelves into diſorder, and loaded their
horſes with the plunder, the conſuls detached all the *Roman* cavalry with orders to fall
upon them; which they did with ſuch ſucceſs, that few of them eſcaped. Then the
Roman cavalry, marching a great way about, fell on the rear of the *Samnite* infantry,
which had not yet given ground. This unexpected attack ſtruck them with terror,
and threw them into confuſion. The *Romans*, purſuing their advantage, cut all thoſe f
Samnites, who kept their ground, in pieces. Thoſe who fled were for the moſt
part put to the ſword by the horſe, and among the reſt the general himſelf. The
Samnites, after this defeat, repenting of their breach of the truce, endeavoured to
pacify the *Romans*, by making reſtitution of what plunder they had taken contrary
to the faith of the treaty. They likewiſe paſſed a decree, that *Brutulus Papius*, a
man of diſtinction among them, but the chief author of the breach, ſhould be delivered
up to the *Romans*. But he having laid violent hands on himſelf, his dead body was
carried to *Rome* with all the captives and ſpoil taken in the time of the truce. After this
the conſul *Fulvius* returned to *Rome*; but his collegue led an army into *Apulia*, where
he muſt have been attended with ſucceſs, ſince he is ſaid in the *Faſti Capitolini* to have
triumphed

triumphed over the *Samnites* and *Apulians*, and his collegue *Fulvius* over the *Samnites* only. One *A. Cornelius* was chosen dictator this year to preside at the games in the absence of the consuls, and during the sickness of the prætor for the year. And hence comes the mistake of some memoirs, which *Livy* followed. That writer, finding that the government was in the hands of a dictator at the time of the defeat of the *Samnites*, ascribes to him all the glory of that exploit. But the *Fasti Capitolini* inform us better, and, upon their authority, we have rectified the mistake of the *Latin* historian [s].

a

The *Samnites*, being refused a peace, notwithstanding the satisfaction they had made for the breach of the truce, made the necessary preparations for carrying on the war with vigour. They appointed one *Pontius*, an able and experienced officer, to command their troops. He was the son of *Herennius*, who had been at the head of their armies in his younger days, but now led a private life, and was on account of his wisdom looked upon as a kind of oracle. On the other hand, the *Romans* in their comitia chose *T. Veturius* and *Sp. Posthumius* consuls, who, putting themselves at the head of the army, took their rout to *Calatia*, a city of *Campania*. When they arrived at that place, *Pontius*, who had encamped among the woods and mountains, in the neighbourhood of *Caudium*, a little town in *Samnium*, about a league from *Calatia*, caused a report to be spread, that the *Samnite* army was laying siege to *Luceria* in *Apulia*; and the more effectually to deceive them, he sent ten of his soldiers in the habit of herdsmen to lead flocks into different parts between *Caudium* and *Calatia*, with instructions to agree all in the same report, when taken by the enemy. The stratagem had the desired effect; and the *Romans* in a council of war resolved to march into *Apulia* and relieve *Luceria*. Some were for marching the shortest way about, through the open country; others, fearing lest the place should in the mean time fall into the enemy's hands, preferred the shortest way to the safest; and their opinion prevailing, the army began to march through narrow passes, and climb up rocks, which seemed inaccessible. At length they came to the fatal place, which has been since known by the name of the *Caudine Forks*. The consuls marched their troops through a narrow hollow way, having on each side thick forests; and from thence descended into a valley, so surrounded with hills that it looked like an amphitheatre. The hills were so covered with trees and briars, as to be absolutely unsurmountable. The valley itself was very marshy, being continually watered by torrents, rolling down from the rocks, and frequent springs. There was but one way out of it, which was narrow and steep; and the *Samnites* had taken care to stop it with huge stones and trees laid across. The consuls gave orders to clear it; but finding it quite impracticable, and discovering at the same time great numbers of the enemy on the tops of the eminences, they began to fear an ambuscade. To avoid therefore being invested, they instantly turned back, and endeavoured to get out of the valley by the hollow way, through which they had entered it. But in vain, for the *Samnites* had already blocked up the passage with trees cut down in haste and vast heaps of large stones. The legions, finding themselves thus shut in, without a possibility of escaping, stood immoveable, fixing their eyes on one another, and wishing to discover some signs of hopes in their companions faces. The consuls, to put a good face upon the affair, pitched their tent, and ordered fortifications to be raised, as if they had a mind to continue there. The soldiers laughed at this fruitless precaution, but nevertheless raised a rampart along the water, though they were all the while scoffed at and insulted by the enemy from the tops of the eminences. As soon as the army was encamped, the chief officers repaired of their own accord to the consuls tent; but the time of the consultation was rather spent in lamentations, than in finding out wholesome expedients, the gods themselves not being able, as *Livy* says, to deliver them without a miracle. In the mean time, night came on, which the soldiers, instead of taking their rest, spent in discoursing about the unhappy situation of their affairs. On the other hand, the *Samnites*, elated with this surprising success, could not agree among themselves what use to make of it. In this irresolution, it was unanimously agreed in a council of war to consult old *Herennius*, the general's father and the oracle of the nation. A messenger was therefore dispatched to him with a letter, informing him of the extremity, to which his son had, by his address, reduced the *Roman* army, and desiring him to advise them how they should treat an army, hitherto invincible,

b

c

The Caudine Forks.

d

The Roman *army surrounded by the enemy.*

e

f

[s] Fasti Capitol. Vell. Paterc. l. i & Liv. l. viii. c. 37.

invincible, but now intirely at their mercy. The wiſe old man returned by the meſ- a
ſenger the following anſwer: *I adviſe my ſon to open a paſſage for the* Romans, *and to let them return home without doing them the leaſt harm.* The officers, ſurpriſed at this anſwer, and imagining the meſſenger had miſunderſtood *Herennius*, ſent him back to him; and then the old man gave a very different anſwer from the former: *Tell the council*, ſaid he, *that I would not have them ſpare the life of one* Roman; *let them be all put to the ſword without diſtinction.* The ſtrange difference between theſe two anſwers made the *Samnites* imagine, that there was ſome myſtery in the matter, and preſs *Pontius* to have his father brought to the camp to explain himſelf. When the wiſe *Herennius* was come and introduced to the council, he told them, that *Rome* was a
powerful ſtate, from whoſe affection they might promiſe themſelves the greateſt b
benefits, and from whoſe enmity they had reaſon to fear the greateſt misfortunes. If we gain her affection, ſaid he, by a ſignal act of generoſity, we ſecure to ourſelves a happy and laſting tranquility. On the other hand, if we cut off all the flower of her youth at one blow, we ſhall be ſafe, at leaſt for a time. In good policy, there is no medium between theſe two extremes. Either ſave the *Romans* in ſuch manner as to make them your friends, or deſtroy them ſo effectually as to render them leſs formidable enemies. But *Pontius* and his officers, rejecting this advice, choſe a middle way, not ſo generous as the former, nor quite ſo rigorous as the latter. They ſpared their lives, but at the ſame time treated them as conquered enemies.

While the *Samnites* were thus deliberating about the fate of the *Romans*, the ſcar- c
city of proviſions increaſed daily in the inveſted camp; and no hopes of relief appeared, or poſſibility of eſcaping. Some ſoldiers indeed attempted to get out of the ſnare, but were met and driven back by the enemy's parties. In this deſperate condition, the conſuls ſent a deputation to the *Samnites* to deſire a peace upon equitable terms, and in caſe of refuſal to invite them to a battle. *Pontius*, with a haughty air, gave the deputies the following anſwer: We have no battles to fight; the victory is already gained. Not a man of your legions ſhall eſcape, till you have all been diſarmed, and paſſed one by one under the yoke. This is a preliminary, which I abſolutely inſiſt upon. Beſides this, the *Romans* ſhall leave *Samnium*, and withdraw their colo- d
nies from all the cities which they have taken from us. Tell your conſuls this from me; and, if they do not accept the terms propoſed, appear no more in my preſence. This anſwer occaſioned as great a conſternation in the camp, as if they had received advice that they muſt die. Nothing was heard but ſighs and lamentations. The conſuls, ſtruck dumb, durſt not declare themſelves for ſo ſhameful a treaty, and yet could not reject it in the extremity to which they were reduced. While they were thus heſitating, *L. Lentulus*, an officer of diſtinction, who by his wiſe conduct had raiſed himſelf to one of the chief poſts in the army, and had been at the head of the depu- e
tation to the *Samnites*, broke ſilence, and in a long harangue ſhewed the neceſſity of complying with the conditions impoſed, if they deſired to ſave their own lives, or had any regard to the preſervation of *Rome*. His advice was followed; and the con- f
ſuls ſignified to the *Samnite* general, that they conſented to lay down their arms and paſs under the yoke; upon which they obtained a conference with him. In this interview, *Pontius* deſired to conclude a treaty of peace and friendſhip with *Rome*; but the conſuls declared, that they could not conclude any that would be bind- g
ing, without the approbation of the people and the miniſtry of the *Feciales*. Our power, ſaid they, extends no farther than to make promiſes, which we are ready to ſtrengthen by giving hoſtages. The ſtipulation was accepted, and, on the day appointed, the conſuls, lieutenant-generals, quæſtors, and military tribunes went to the camp of the *Samnites* to ſign it. They promiſed to quit *Samnium*, evacuate the places where they had planted colonies, and ſuffer the *Samnites* to live in peace, ſ
according to their own laws. To ſecure the performance of this convention, the *Samnites* demanded ſix hundred *Roman* knights as hoſtages, with this condition, that they might cut off their heads, if the republic did not perform the conſuls promiſes. Upon the return of the conſuls, ſorrow and rage filled the hearts of the *Roman* ſoldiers. They could ſcarce refrain themſelves from offering violence to their generals, and cut- ting them in pieces. They formed dreadful ideas of their future diſhonour, and were ready to eſcape it, by laying violent hands on themſelves, and periſhing by each others ſwords. At length the fatal hour came. The ſix hundred knights marched
The Roman *army paſſes under the yoke.* firſt out of the camp, unarmed and with their under garment only. Theſe were put into the enemy's hands, who conducted them to a place of ſafety. The two con-
ſuls

a fuls appeared next, and were ordered to pull off their *paludamenta*, or military clokes, the enſigns of their dignity. At this ſight the ſoldiers, though full of rage againſt their generals, turned away their eyes, and changed their anger into compaſſion. They could not ſee officers of ſo high a rank treated with ſo much indignity, without the utmoſt concern. While the legions were lamenting their hard fate, the conſuls paſſed firſt under the yoke, ſtripped off their habits and half naked; the inferior officers followed according to their rank, and at laſt the ſoldiers, one by one. The *Samnites* inſulted them as they paſſed; and if any *Roman* returned but a fierce look, he was immediately knocked down or killed. When they had all paſſed thus under the yoke, they were allowed to depart; and might have reached *Capua* the ſame b day; but, partly out of diſtruſt of that city, though allied to *Rome*, and partly out of ſhame to be ſeen there in ſo miſerable a condition, they threw themſelves on the ground at ſome diſtance from that city, with a deſign to paſs the night in the open air, without food or refreſhment. But the *Capuans*, being informed of their misfortune and forlorn condition, immediately ſent cloaths, horſes, arms, and even lictors and faſces to the conſuls, with great plenty of proviſions for the whole army. And when, the next day, they drew near the city, the ſenate and people went out to meet them, with all demonſtrations of friendſhip and kindneſs. But the conſuls and their troops, overwhelmed with ſhame, ſeemed unaffected with this friendly hoſpitality. With their eyes fixed on the ground, they perſiſted in ſilence and ſhunned all diſcourſe. c They were attended by the flower of the *Campanian* nobility to the frontiers of their country; but they ſtill obſerved the ſame behaviour, and ſhewed the ſame dejection of mind; which made the *Capuans* conclude, that the *Roman* courage was for ever loſt and paved the way for a revolt. One of them, however, a venerable old man, by name *Oſilius Calavius*, judged differently of the dull confuſion of the *Romans*. Their eyes, ſaid he, fixed on the ground, ſhew much they are bent on revenge; and their refuſing to be comforted is a proof, that they will never forgive the affront they have received.

d At *Rome* the people began to be in pain for the conſular army. News had been brought thither, that it was ſurrounded by the enemy, and ſome levies had been made to march to their aſſiſtance. But, in the mean time, the ſenate receiving an account of the ſhameful peace, a ſtop was put to all further preparations. The people, as ſoon as it was communicated to them, put on the deepeſt mourning, without waiting for orders from the ſenate. The adminiſtration of juſtice was neglected; the ſhops in the forum were ſhut up; the *Roman* matrons laid aſide their jewels and gold-rings, the magiſtrates their robes, *&c.* In ſhort, the city was in as great conſternation as the army. Every one made moſt bitter invectives againſt the cowards, as they ſtyled them, and the authors of ſo ſhameful a treaty. The multitude were even for ſhut- ting them out of the city, as wretches who did not deſerve to ſee their native coun- try again. But the indignation of the *Roman* people was ſoon turned into pity. For their unhappy countrymen no ſooner appeared at the gates, but the whole city flocked out to ſee them, every one lamenting with tears in their eyes the misfortunes of thoſe unhappy men. However, they did not enter the city till night, and then every one ſtole home, and hid himſelf in his own houſe. Even the conſuls, looking upon themſelves as diſgraced and in a manner degraded, baniſhed themſelves from public ſociety, and only performed one function of their office, which was indiſpenſible; that is, they named a dictator to preſide in the comitia for the election of new con- ſuls, thinking themſelves unworthy to appear at the head of the republic in the *campus Martius*. The dictator they nominated was *Q. Fabius Ambuſtus*, who choſe *Ælius Pætus* for his general of the horſe; but, ſome defect being found in his nomination, f *Æmilius Papus* was ſubſtituted in his room; and the general of the horſe he choſe was *Valerius Flaccus*. But the people were ſo diſſatisfied with all the magiſtrates of this unfortunate year, that the latter promotion was as much diſliked as the former. Whence it was thought expedient to let the republic fall into an inter-regnum, in order to have a more fortunate preſident of the comitia than either of the dictators, whom ſuch cowardly conſuls had named. And now two of the greateſt men in the republic were unanimouſly choſen, viz. *Papirius Curſor*, a ſecond time, and *Publilius Philo*, a third time. They entered upon their office the very day of their election, which was a ſort of degradation to their predeceſſors, who had deſerved this affront by their ill conduct. The firſt buſineſs of the new conſuls was, to get themſelves g inveſted in their office by a decree of the ſenate, declaring, that in point of religion

there had been no defect in their inauguration. After this the treaty with the *Samnites* being laid before the ſenate, *Poſthumus*, one of the conſuls who had been parties to it, declared, that the *Roman* people were not bound by it, as not being made by their order. He added, that the honour of the republic would be ſaved, by ſurrendering him and the reſt of the officers concerned in the treaty to the *Samnites*; which he moved might be forthwith done. The ſenators were ſtruck with admiration at the generoſity of *Poſthumius*, and ſhewed no leſs compaſſion for him than eſteem. However, they approved of the propoſal and paſſed it into a decree. Two tribunes of the people, who had been raiſed to that office ſince their return from the *Caudine Forks*, oppoſed at firſt the decree, maintaining, that the ſatisfaction deſigned for the *Samnites* was no ways ſufficient to diſcharge the demands they had upon *Rome*, and that as to themſelves, they were ſacroſanct magiſtrates, inviolable, and, though concerned in the treaty, not to be delivered up to the enemy. But *Poſthumius* offered ſuch arguments, to prove the invalidity of the *Caudine* convention and the ſufficiency of the deſigned ſatisfaction, that the two tribunes conſented at laſt to follow the fate of their companions, and with that view laid down their office. The *Romans* talked of nothing now but *Poſthumius*; they compared his devotement to that of *Decius*, and thinking that their republic was obliged in juſtice to nothing more, than to deliver up into the hands of the *Samnites* thoſe who had ſigned the treaty, they began to make the neceſſary preparations for a new war. There needed no orders to raiſe troops; an army was ſoon formed almoſt wholly of voluntiers, the *Roman* youth burning with rage againſt the *Samnites*. The *Caudine* legions were again inrolled, and a powerful army, marching from *Rome* in a few days, arrived in the neighbourhood of *Caudium*.

The treaty with the Samnites *declared null.*

As the *Samnites* were incamped at a ſmall diſtance, preparations were made for ſurrendering up the *Roman* officers in due form by a fecialis. *Cornelius Arvina*, who was deputed by the republic to perform the ceremony, began with commanding *Poſthumius*'s hands to be tied. But the officer, who was to do it, not tying the cord hard enough, out of reſpect to ſo great a man, the generous *Poſthumius* reproved him. Why do you ſpare me, ſaid he? Tie me in ſuch a manner, that the enemy may have nothing to ſuſpect in my ſurrender. In this captive ſtate, the *Roman* officers were led to the *Samnite* camp, and preſented to *Pontius* by the fecialis, who expreſſed himſelf in theſe words, as he had been directed: Since theſe men undertook to conclude a peace with you without any commiſſion, and committed a crime in ſo doing, we deliver them up to you, in order to free ourſelves from any ſhare in the puniſhment, which they alone have deſerved. Upon this *Poſthumius*, as offended at what the fecialis ſaid, immediately gave him a blow on the thigh with his knee, and ſternly ſaid, I am now a *Samnite* and you an embaſſador of *Rome*. I have therefore by this blow violated the law of nations; and you are thereby authorized to make war upon us. But this little low artifice ſerved only to raiſe the indignation of the *Samnite* general, who laid before the fecialis and *Poſthumius* the injuſtice and baſeneſs of their proceedings. He told them, that they were obliged in juſtice either to obſerve the treaty, or ſend the *Roman* army again to the *Caudine Forks*. There, ſaid he, your conſuls may reject the peace, if they diſlike it. Your honour will then be untainted, and your fidelity, as well as the law of nations, will be preſerved inviolate. But ſhall the lives of your troops be ſaved, and you enjoy all the advantages of the peace, while we reap no benefit from our conventions? Are theſe the equitable maxims upon which your feciales are ordered to act? Is this the juſtice with which you proceed in treating with other nations? As for you, *Poſthumius*, do you think the gods will take you for a *Samnite*, and conſider the blow you have given, as an inſult offered to the *Roman* people by our nation? Is it thus that you ſport with religion and the faith of treaties? Are ſuch ludicrous tranſactions becoming the gravity of a conſul and the dignity of a great nation? Lictors, untie the priſoners, and leave them free to go where they pleaſe[t].

The conſuls, who had made the treaty, delivered up to Samnites.

Poſthumius and his company returned ſafe to the camp, where all things were getting ready to enter upon action. On the other hand, the *Samnites* kept cloſe within their entrenchments, having, as *Livy* ſays, a foreboding of the misfortunes which afterwards befel them. They repented, but too late, of their not having hearkened to the wiſe counſels of *Herennius*. So that *Pontius*, though conqueror, loſt in great meaſure his reputation, while *Poſthumius*, though conquered and obliged to paſs under the yoke, gained immortal glory among his countrymen. For the *Romans* looked on

[t] Liv. l. ix. c. 8—12.

a on the liberty he had gained them of making war as a certain victory. Not long after the inhabitants of *Satricum* revolted from the *Romans*, and, being ſupported by a detachment of *Samnites*, ſurprized *Fregellæ* a *Roman* colony. The *Fregellani*, running to arms, attempted to drive the enemy out of their city. All the inhabitants, women and children not excepted, ſtood up in defence of their lands, their altars, and their houſhold gods, and from the tops of their houſes made a dreadful ſlaughter of the enemy. The *Samnites* and *Satricani*, fearing they ſhould be obliged to abandon the city, cauſed a proclamation to be made, offering quarter to all thoſe who ſhould lay down their arms. Upon this many ſubmitted; but the *Samnites*, not thinking themſelves obliged to keep their word with any of the *Roman* name, cauſed all, who

b had ſurrendered, to be burnt alive. Only a ſmall number of the *Fregellani*, who had not hearkened to the enemy's promiſes, retired fighting, and with their ſwords cut themſelves a way through the midſt of the *Samnite* troops. At the ſame time, ſome of the chief citizens of *Capua* entered into a ſecret plot to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke. Theſe commotions induced the republic to have recourſe to the uſual remedy in times of great danger; a dictator was named, viz. *C. Mænius*, who appointed *M. Foſlius*, ſurnamed *Flaccinator*, to be his general of the horſe. The dictator's commiſſion was, contrary to cuſtom, confined to the enquiring into crimes againſt the ſtate and puniſhing them. The terror of a judge, from whom there lay no appeal, ſo terrified the heads of the conſpiracy in *Capua*, that they killed themſelves to avoid a more

c ſevere death. As it is common for perſons, who are charged with an extraordinary commiſſion, to ſtretch their power to the utmoſt extent, the dictator pretended, that this authority extended, not only to the traiterous practices of the *Capuans*, but to all conſpiracies, whatſoever, and whereſoever, formed againſt the *Roman* ſtate. By conſpiracies the dictator, who was a plebeian, as well as his general of the horſe, meant all intriguing and canvaſſing for offices; and accordingly ſummoned ſeveral of the patricians to appear before him on accuſations of that kind. Hereupon, not only the accuſed, but the whole body of the nobility, taking the alarm, threatened to proſecute the dictator and his general of the horſe, as ſoon as their magiſtracy ſhould be expired, for the ſame crime which was laid to their charge. Our birth alone, ſaid they, leads us to the higheſt poſts. It is only for the common people, and ſuch upſtarts, as the

d dictator and his general of the horſe, to raiſe themſelves by intrigues. *Mænius*, tho' free from guilt, yet fearing leſt his reputation ſhould ſuffer by the reports that began to be ſpread abroad, aſſembled the people, and, having laid before them the uprightneſs of his intentions, abdicated the dictatorſhip, that he might be brought to a trial. *Foſlius* likewiſe reſigned his office for the ſame purpoſe. The ſenate by a ſpecial commiſſion appointed the conſuls to be their judges. Thoſe of the nobility, who appeared againſt them, were examined; and upon a full hearing the accuſed were acquitted in a very honourable manner [u].

Fregellæ *ſurprized by the* Samnites.

C. Mœnius *dictator.*

It appears from ſeveral paſſages in *Livy* and from the *Faſti Capitolini*, that the

t operations of the campaign this year were carried on by *Cornelius Lentulus*, dictator, and *Papirius Curſor*, not in quality of conſul, but of general of the horſe to *Cornelius*. Theſe two divided their forces; *Cornelius*, at the head of the troops that had paſſed under the yoke, encamped near *Caudium*; while *Papirius* marched with the reſt of the army to *Luceria* in *Apulia*, where the ſix hundred *Roman* knights, who had been delivered up to the *Samnites* as hoſtages, were kept. *Pontius* would have willingly marched to the relief of *Luceria*; but, on the other hand, he could not leave his own country open to the *Romans*; and beſides, he was afraid the dictator would fall on his rear. He therefore reſolved to put all to the iſſue of a battle, and accordingly, marching out of his intrenchments, he drew up his men. As ſoon as the *Samnites* appeared in order of battle, the dictator aſſembled his men, in order to exhort them, as was uſual on ſuch occaſions, to behave themſelves valiantly. But the ſoldiers, animated with an eager deſire of revenge, demanded a battle with ſuch clamours, that the general's harangue could not be heard. When they drew near the *Samnites*, they preſſed their ſtandard-bearers to march faſter, and fell upon the enemy with ſuch fury, as cannot be expreſſed. It was then uſual to begin general actions with ſome diſcharges of darts and ſtones; but the ardor of the *Romans* was ſo great, that they threw down the darts they had in their hands, and without orders drew their ſwords, and ruſhed upon the enemy with an impetuoſity, that ſeemed a kind of madneſs. This irregular animoſity,

[u] Liv. l. ix. c. 12.

Cornelius Lentulus *gives the* Samnites *a great overthrow.*

animosity, or rather rage, did more than could have been expected from the wisest conduct. Nothing could stand before them; the *Samnite* army was put to the rout at the first onset, and their camp taken and plundered. All the *Samnites* found in the camp were put to the sword, and as great a slaughter of them was made there as in the battle.

After this victory the dictator marched his army into *Apulia*, to assist his general of the horse in the reduction of *Luceria*. And indeed the arrival of the victorious army proved very seasonable, *Papirius* being greatly straitened for want of provisions. The dictator dispersed his legions about the country, and by that means facilitated the bringing of provisions to the camp, and at the same time intercepted the convoys that were sent to the besieged. The *Samnites*, who had likewise an army b near *Luceria*, finding it impossible for the besieged to hold out long, resolved to give the besiegers battle, which *Papirius* did not decline. But while every thing was getting ready for a general action, embassadors arrived from *Tarentum*, ordering both parties to put a stop to all further hostilities, and protesting, that their state would declare against that nation, which should obstinately persist in carrying on the war. *Papirius* was not a man to be terrified with the threatenings of the *Tarentines*. But nevertheless, he pretended to pay a regard to them, and answered the embassadors, that he would confer with the dictator. And indeed the two generals had a conference; but it was only about the most proper measures to be taken with relation to the engagement. While the *Romans* were sacrificing, as was customary before a battle, the embassadors came for their answer. *Papirius* accosted them, and with an air, which shewed how little account *Rome* made of the menaces of so insignificant a people, The chickens, said he, feed perfectly well: the gods too are much pleased with our sacrifices: under their protection therefore we are going to fight, as you perceive. He

The Samnites *defeated in* Apulia.

then led his troops out of the camp, in order to engage the enemy. But the *Samnites*, being seized with a sudden fright at their approach, declared, that they would keep themselves within their camp upon the defensive, out of respect to the *Tarentines*. The legionaries, encouraged by this timorousness of the enemy, attacked their intrenchments with such vigor and resolution, that they soon forced them, and put all to the sword, who came in their way, sparing neither men, children, slaves, nor even d the beasts of burden. Scarce any of the *Samnites* would have escaped, had not the generals restrained the fury of the soldiers, thirsty of blood, in regard to the six hundred knights in *Luceria*, whom the besieged, if reduced to despair, might put to death, for the sake of having the barbarous pleasure of sacrificing them, before they perished themselves [w].

Nothing now remained, in order to put a glorious end to the campaign, but the reducing of *Luceria*, which was vigorously defended both by the inhabitants, and by those *Samnites*, who had escaped from the battle and taken refuge in the besieged city; among whom was, as some authors tell us [x], *Pontius* himself. But notwithstanding this reinforcement, the garison, being greatly distressed by famine, offered e to capitulate, and to release the six hundred hostages, on condition that the *Romans* would raise the siege. But *Papirius* peremptorily insisted, that all the soldiers in the

Luceria *taken by* Papirius Censor.

place, to the number of seven thousand, should, unarmed, and, with one garment each, pass under the yoke, and *Pontius* at the head of them. These conditions were accepted, and the *Romans* had the pleasure of retaliating upon *Pontius* and his *Samnites* the ignominy, which he had made them and their consuls undergo at the *Caudine Forks*. But their greatest satisfaction was the recovery of the hostages, which had been delivered up to the *Samnites*, as securities for the execution of a shameful treaty.

The next year *Papirius* was raised to the consulate, a third time, and *Q. Aulius Cerretanus*, a second time. The latter defeated the *Samnites* in *Apulia*, and made himself f master of *Ferentum*, which was either subject to, or in alliance with, them. The former reduced *Satricum*, and put all the *Samnites*, who were there in garison, to the sword. The chief authors of the revolt were first beaten with rods, and then beheaded, and a strong body of troops was left in the place to keep the inhabitants in awe. *Papirius*, after the reduction of this important place, returned to *Rome*, where he received the honours of a triumph, which he had not obtained the preceding year for far greater exploits, because he had acted under the auspices of a superior magistrate. The people were overjoyed to see him enter *Rome*, with all the pomp due to a man,

[w] Liv. ibid. c. 14. [x] Oros. l. iii. c. 15.

a man, who had recovered the luſtre of the *Roman* name. *Livy* repreſents *Papirius* as a hero who would have been a match for *Alexander the Great*, had he attempted the conqueſt of *Italy*. But be that as it will, it is certain, that no general in *Italy* equalled him in military ſkill, or ſurpaſſed him in courage. He was very remarkable for his ſtrength of body and wonderful ſwiftneſs in running, whence he had the ſurname of *Curſor*. He was a man of a tall ſtature and majeſtic mein, indefatigable in military labours, and always in motion, ſharing with the common ſoldiers the ſevereſt toils of war; and whether it was owing to his robuſt conſtitution, or continual exerciſe, no man exceeded him in eating and drinking. No general ever kept his troops to harder ſervice. We are told, that his cavalry having one day declined a little relaxation from their fatigues, after they were returned from a ſucceſsful expedition, he pleaſantly anſwered; Yes, by all means, nothing is more juſt; when you alight from your horſes, I excuſe you from the trouble of ſtroaking their backs. Such was the character of the famous *Papirius*, a man greatly celebrated by all the *Latin* writers[y]. *His character.*

In the following conſulate of *L. Plautius* and *M. Foſlius*, many of the *Samnite* cities ſent deputies to the *Roman* ſenate to aſk peace; but could only obtain a two years truce. In *Apulia* the conſul *Plautius* ſpread ſo much terror, that the cities of *Teanum* and *Canuſium* ſurrendered and gave hoſtages. At this time *Capua* was ſo divided by inteſtine broils, that the inhabitants deſired the *Romans* to give them a governor and new laws to keep them in order; and it was on this occaſion, that the *Romans* turned *Campania* into a præfecture, and ſent thither a præfect. Two new tribes were formed this year, one in *Campania*, perhaps to make the *Campanians* ſome ſort of amends for their liberty, which they had voluntarily given up: this was called the *Falernian* tribe, no doubt from the hill *Falernus*. The other was eſtabliſhed in the country watered by the *Uſens* on the confines of *Latium*, and therefore called *Tribus Uſentina*; ſo that the *Romans* had now thirty-one tribes, all with the right of ſuffrage in the comitia by tribes[z]. This year ended with a cenſus, taken by *L. Papirius Craſſus* and *C. Manius*, cenſors; by which it appeared, that the number of men in *Rome* fit to bear arms amounted to two hundred and fifty thouſand. *The Samnites obtain a two years truce.* *Campania turned into a præfecture.*

The next year, *Q. Æmilius* and *C. Junius* being conſuls, all *Apulia* was ſubdued; ſo that this year proved no leſs proſperous for the republic than the former. At the ſame time *Antium* followed the example of *Capua*, in having recourſe to *Rome* for a governor and laws, which the republic readily granted (W). The ſucceeding conſuls, *Sp. Nautius* and *M. Popilius*, no ſooner entered upon their office, but they were obliged by the ſenate to nominate, contrary to cuſtom, a dictator to carry on the war. Perhaps the people had but an indifferent opinion of their ability in warlike affairs. At leaſt, it is certain, that they did not appear at the head of the army, but continued at *Rome* the whole time of their adminiſtration. *L. Æmilius*, who was appointed dictator and choſe *L. Fulvius* for his general of the horſe, received the command of the legions from the preceding conſuls, and with thoſe troops began the campaign, by laying ſiege to *Saticula*, a city of *Campania* in alliance with the *Samnites*, who came with a very numerous army to relieve the place. But the dictator defeated them in a pitched battle, after which they abandoned their camp in the night, and left the *Saticulans* without any hopes of relief. However, the beſieged made ſuch a vigorous reſiſtance, that the dictatorſhip of *Æmilius* expired, before he could make himſelf maſter of the place. The new conſuls were the famous *Papirius Curſor* and *Publilius Philo*, both choſen the fourth time. They had both triumphed more than once over the *Samnites*, were men of diſtinguiſhed merit, and the greateſt and moſt experienced generals the *Romans* had. But nevertheleſs, they had the mortification to ſee the carrying on of the war committed to another general, while they continued inglorious and in a manner out of office at *Rome*. Such mortifications are often given to men of the greateſt merit in popular governments. The people obliged the conſuls of the preceding year to raiſe to the dictatorſhip *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who had been formerly general of *All Apulia ſubdued.*

[y] Vide Liv. l. ix. c. 19. & Aurel. Vict. de Viris Illuſtr. [z] Liv. l. ix. c. 20. Diodor Sicul. l. xx.

(W) *Antium* was not made a *præfecture*; nor was any ſingle magiſtrate ſent thither to give her laws. This was left to the patrons of the colony, it being then cuſtomary, not only for private families, but for cities and whole provinces, to have patrons, who were often of the chief nobility of *Rome*. The patrons of the municipia were generally of the families of thoſe conſuls and generals who had conquered them; and the patrons of the colonies were the children of thoſe who had received the commiſſion to plant them.

of the horſe to *Papirius*, and ever ſince his implacable enemy. The new dictator immediately ſet out for *Saticula*, where he received the command of the legions, not from the conſuls, but from *Æmilius* the dictator, whoſe office was expiring. No ſooner had the *Roman* army changed its general, but the *Samnites*, who after their defeat had laid ſiege to *Pliſtia*, a city in alliance with *Rome*, returned to *Saticula*, in order to try their ſtrength with the new general. *Fabius*, without being alarmed in the leaſt at the great number of their troops, continued his attacks with the infantry, while his cavalry guarded the camp, under the command of *Aulius Cerretanus* his general of the horſe. The *Samnites* having one day advanced to the very gates of the camp, and there inſulted the *Roman* cavalry, *Aulius*, without conſulting the dictator, ſallied out with the *Roman* knights. This was a breach of diſcipline, like that which *Fabius* himſelf had been formerly guilty of. *Aulius* at firſt repulſed the enemy, but the *Samnite* general rallied his troops, revived their courage, and led them back to the charge. *Aulius* diſcovering him, ruſhed on him, and laid him dead on the ground with one blow. The *Samnites*, not in the leaſt diſheartened at the death of their general, thought of nothing but revenge. *Aulius*, having penetrated too far into the enemy's ſquadrons, could not retire. Whereupon the *Samnites*, having ſurrounded him on all ſides, called upon their general's brother, that he might have the glory of revenging his death. Accordingly, he diſmounted *Aulius*, and, full of rage, ſtabbed him as he lay on the ground. It was then thought a ſingular honour to get poſſeſſion of the body of a general, who had been ſlain in battle. The *Samnites* therefore exerted their utmoſt efforts to carry off the body of *Aulius*. Hereupon the *Roman* knights alighted from their horſes to recover it, and free *Rome* from ſo terrible a reproach. The example of the *Roman* cavalry was followed by the *Samnites*; ſo that a battle was fought between them on foot, in which the *Romans* at length prevailed, and carried back to the camp the body of their general. After the loſs of the battle, the *Samnites* returned to the ſiege of *Pliſtia*, which they took by aſſault. *Fabius* purſued that of *Saticula*, which at length capitulated. From *Saticula* the dictator, without loſs of time, marched to beſiege *Sora*, a city in the country of the *Volſci*, which had declared for the *Samnites*, after having maſſacred a *Roman* colony ſettled in their territory. The *Samnites*, after the reduction of *Pliſtia*, followed him; which *Fabius* no ſooner underſtood, than he turned back to meet them, and came to an engagement with them near the narrow paſs of *Lentulæ*, not far from the *Pomptin* marſhes. Night put an end to it before either party could claim the victory; and both armies the next day continued their march to *Sora*, the one to attack, the other to defend, it. In the mean time, the dictator having choſen a new general of the horſe, *L. Fabius*, a relation of his own, he ordered him to go to *Rome*, to bring freſh levies from thence, and, concealing his march from the enemy, to wait, in ſome ſecure place near *Sora*, the ſignal for entering upon action. The dictator's orders were obeyed, and *Fabius* ſoon arrived with a ſtrong reinforcement. Hereupon the dictator, pretending fear, kept cloſe in his intrenchments, in order to draw the enemy's army near his camp. Accordingly, the *Samnites* marched up to the very rampart, when the *Roman* general all on a ſudden, without informing his legions of the ſuccours *Rome* had ſent him, hung out a red ſtandard over his tent, which was the ſignal for battle. By the fright the dictator ſhewed and his ſudden reſolution of giving battle, the ſoldiers thought themſelves in great danger, and imagined they had no remedy left but to make a briſk ſally on the enemy. The dictator confirmed them in this opinion, by telling them, that their caſe was ſuch, that they muſt either conquer or periſh; that he had ordered fire to be ſet to their baggage and tents; but that they might ſoon make up the loſs by the plunder of the cities, which had ſhaken off the *Roman* yoke and ſided with the enemy. However, he gave private orders to ſet fire to thoſe tents only which were next to the ramparts; and this was the ſignal for the general of the horſe to put his troops in motion, and fall upon the enemy's rear. As every thing was executed with wonderful harmony, the enemy was at the ſame time attacked in the front and the rear with ſuch fury, that they were forced to give way, and leave the *Romans*, not only maſters of the field, but alſo of their camp, which was taken and plundered. After this the dictator led his troops back to their own camp, where, to their great joy and ſurprize, they found that only a ſmall number of their tents had been burnt. After this victory, *Fabius* laid ſiege to *Sora*, which was continued by his ſucceſſors in the command of the army, *M. Petilius Libo* and *C. Sulpicius Longus*, the new conſuls. We know not what motives could induce the public to diſappoint *Fabius* of the honours of a triumph, which he had

The Samnites defeated by Fabius, dictator, and Saticula taken

The Samnites once more defeated by Fabius.

had well deſerved, but did not obtain on his return to *Rome*. The two conſuls incamped cloſe to the walls of the beſieged city, in order to keep the gariſon continually in play. But the inhabitants, not in the leaſt intimidated, either by the nearneſs of the *Romans*, the number of their troops, or the late defeat of the *Samnites*, defended themſelves with incredible bravery. While the conſuls were under great perplexity, as not knowing in what part to make their attacks, the walls being every-where well guarded, a deſerter from the town came to the *Roman* camp, and offered to put the place into their hands with the help of ten choſen men only. The conſuls, having examined and approved of his ſcheme, removed by his advice their camp ſome miles from the city, which brought the gariſon into a kind of ſecurity. Then the deſerter, at the head of his ten men, ſtealing in the night time into a part of the upper city, where the wall was unguarded, becauſe thought inacceſſible, placed them in a narrow ſteep path, leading from the citadel to the lower town. This done, he ran down into the lower town, crying, *To arms, to arms; the enemy are in poſſeſſion of the fortreſs.* The inhabitants, ſeized with fear, thought of nothing but ſaving their lives by flight. men and women, leaving their houſes, ruſhed in confuſion out at the gates, which the *Romans* on their approach finding open, entered the city without reſiſtance, and put all thoſe to the ſword whom they met in the ſtreets. The conſuls ſent the authors of the revolt and of the maſſacre of the *Roman* colony to *Rome*, where they were all, to the number of two hundred and twenty-five, by an order from the ſenate, firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded. From *Sora* the conſuls marched into the country of the *Auſones*, and upon an accuſation, without proof, of their having formed a deſign to revolt, ſent detachments to ſurpriſe their three chief cities, *Auſona*, *Minturnæ*, and *Veſcia*. As the troops employed in this enterprize were out of their commanders ſight, they ſet no bounds to their fury. The three cities were taken, on the ſame day and at the ſame hour; the *Roman* ſoldiers, having got into them under various diſguiſes, put all the inhabitants to the ſword without diſtinction of ſex or age; and this upon the bare ſuſpicion of a rebellion. *Luceria*, which had revolted and maſſacred the colony which *Rome* had ſent thither, was taken the ſame year by aſſault; and both the inhabitants and *Samnites*, who defended it, put to the ſword. The ſenate was at firſt inclined to raze a city, which had ſo often revolted; but it was afterwards reſolved, that a colony of two thouſand five hundred men ſhould be ſent thither from *Rome*, to ſecure that important city, which kept all *Apulia* in awe [a].

Sora *taken.*

Three cities of the Auſones ſurpriſed in one day.

Luceria *retaken.*

THE *Campanians*, notwithſtanding theſe examples of ſeverity, prepared once more, as they were a reſtleſs and factious people, to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke. *Rome* therefore thought fit to name a dictator to keep the inhabitants in ſubjection, by arms and the fear of an abſolute magiſtrate. *C. Mœnius* was raiſed to that dignity the ſecond time; and he choſe the ſame general of the horſe, *M. Foſlius*, whom he had named to that poſt in his former dictatorſhip. The dictator entered *Campania*, and encamped near *Capua*, while the conſul *Sulpicius*, at the head of another army, drew near *Caudium*, where the *Samnites* waited for the inſurrection of the *Campanians*. The two armies came ſoon to an engagement, in which the *Samnites* gained at firſt the advantage; but, by the prudent conduct of the conſul *Sulpicius*, were in the end entirely defeated, with the loſs of thirty thouſand men killed or taken. After this victory the conſul marched to *Bovianum*, one of the chief cities of *Samnium*, and, having poſted his troops round it in quarters of refreſhment, returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph [b].

C. Mœnius *dictator.*

The Samnites *overthrown with the loſs of thirty thouſand men.*

THE enſuing year *L. Papirius Curſor*, a fifth time, and *C. Junius Brutus*, a ſecond time, were raiſed to the conſulate. But nevertheleſs, a dictator was nominated to carry on the war againſt the *Samnites*. The perſon honoured with that dignity was *C. Pœtilius Libo*, ſirnamed *Viſolus*, who, having choſen *Pœtilius Libo*, one of the laſt year's conſuls, for his general of the horſe, ſet out for *Bovianum*, where the legions were cantoned; but in a ſhort time quitted that poſt to retake *Fregellæ*, which the enemy abandoned at his approach. After he had placed a ſtrong gariſon in it, he led his army againſt *Nola*, which he quickly reduced, as he did likewiſe the cities of *Atina* and *Calatia*, both in the ſame province. The following year, when *M. Valerius Maximus* and *P. Decius Mus* were in the conſulate, the *Romans*, being alarmed with the apprehenſions of a war with all *Hetruria*, appointed *C. Sulpicius Longus* dictator to conduct it. But, the *Hetrurians* continuing quiet within their own bounds, no hoſtilities

[a] LIV. l. ix. c. 23--26. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xix.

[b] LIV. ibid. FASTI CAPITOLINI.

hoſtilites enſued on either ſide, the dictator being unwilling to ſtir up new enemies againſt his republic.

AT home the city was greatly diſturbed by the innovations of *Appius Claudius*, at this time cenſor. He was a man extremely wedded to his own opinion, and had boldneſs enough to undertake any thing, and ſtedfaſtneſs to maintain whatever he undertook. He was an able civilian, and looked upon as the oracle of *Rome* in all knotty points of law; but a lover of reformations, and one who took delight in overturning the moſt antient inſtitutions and ſetting up for a legiſlator. This great man, for he was really ſo notwithſtanding ſome faults, in his cenſorſhip took upon him to humble the pride of the ſenate. It belonged to the cenſors to draw up and read, after every luſtrum, a liſt of thoſe citizens, who had a right to ſit and vote in the ſenate. Hitherto none but patricians, or the moſt conſiderable among the plebeians, had been admitted into it. But *Appius* introduced the *libertini*, that is, the ſons of thoſe who, having been ſlaves, had obtained their liberty. Having thus debaſed the ſenate, he attacked the prieſthood, which was confined to the nobility alone. The moſt ancient prieſthood in *Rome* was that of the temple of *Hercules*, and of the altar, which had been conſecrated to him under the name of *Ara Maxima* by *Evander*, in memory of his victory over *Cacus*. This prieſthood, when firſt inſtituted, had been conferred upon a venerable old man of the *Aborigines*, named *Potitius*, and had continued ever ſince in his family. But *Appius* prevailed upon the *Potitii* to reſign this venerable prieſthood to the ſlaves belonging to the public, a moſt contemptible race of men. By this means he gave the nobility a fatal blow, the prieſthood being the only dignity, which the plebeians at this time did not ſhare with the patricians. *Livy*, who has affected to fill his hiſtory with wonderful events, ſpeaks of a tradition, that the whole name of the *Potitii*, conſiſting of twelve families, in which were thirty perſons, at or paſt the age of puberty, periſhed within the year, *Hercules* thus revenging himſelf on the family which had deſpiſed him. The ſame author adds, that *Appius* was ſtruck blind ſome years after by the angry gods, as a puniſhment for his profaneneſs. But *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that *Appius* confined himſelf to his houſe, and that he only pretended to be blind, leſt, if he appeared in public, he ſhould be reproached by the patricians, whom he had highly exaſperated.[c] Thus *Appius* brought a blemiſh on the ſenate and prieſthood; but made his country amends by the uſeful works he undertook with ſucceſs. For, by an aqueduct ſeven miles long, he ſupplied *Rome* with plenty of wholſome water, which it wanted before, and made the famous road from *Rome* to *Capua*, which laſted intire above eight hundred years. The remains of this wonderful work are the admiration of all the nations in *Europe* to this day (X).

Appius Claudius diſcovers and aſſerts the power of the people and debaſes the prieſthood.

His aqueduct and high-way.

THE

[c] LIV. l. ix. c. 29. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xix. FEST. voce Potitius.

(X) The aqueduct of *Appius* began ſeven miles from *Rome*, and, after having run a great way under ground, diſcharged part of its waters between the gates *Capena* and *Trigemina*, and conveyed the reſt quite to the *campus Martius*. It was dug under-ground and laid very deep, ſays (16) *Frontinus*, either becauſe the art of levelling was not then brought to perfection; or becauſe the *Roman* territory was yet too much expoſed to the incurſion of her enemies, who might have deſtroyed the ſtately arches, and intercepted the water. This water was for many ages called *Aqua Appia* from the cenſor's name. The other work he undertook was equally uſeful to the republic. The road from *Rome* to *Capua* was almoſt impaſſable, eſpecially for the *Roman* armies, which were often obliged to croſs the *Pomptin* marſhes to make war in *Samnium* and in the eaſt of *Italy*. The cenſor therefore levelled a way through rocks and hills, and built bridges over the rivulets and marſhes for the conveniency of the troops and of travellers. This road was called *the Appian way*, and alſo *the queen of roads*. *Procopius* gives us the following deſcription of it (17): This way was made, ſays he, nine hundred years ago, by the order and direction of *Appius Claudius*, who was then cenſor. It reached from *Rome* to *Capua*, that is, about a hundred and forty two miles. It was broad enough for two chariots to go abreaſt without incommoding each other. The ſtones, which *Appius* employed in this great work, were brought from a great diſtance, and as hard as flints. Theſe great pieces of rock were ſquared and ſmoothed by the moſt ſkilful workmen. The ſtones were ſo artfully joined together without any cement, that they looked like one ſingle ſtone for ſeveral miles together. This vaſt work continues intire to this day without having received the leaſt injury from carts and carriages. Thus far *Procopius*. This famous road began at the gate *Capena*, and did not for a great while reach farther than *Capua*, though the author of the *lives of illuſtrious men* gives *Appius* the honour of carrying it from *Rome* quite to *Brundiſium*, in the extreme parts of *Italy* on the *Adriatic* ſea. But that writer is herein certainly miſtaken, the provinces through which he muſt have carried this work, in order to bring it to the ſea, not being at that time ſubject to the *Romans*. In the beginning of *Auguſtus*'s reign it reached indeed to *Brundiſium*, that is, two hundred thirty-eight miles further. But no hiſtorian tells us who was the author or manager of this ſecond work. Moſt writers gueſs, that it was done by *Julius Cæſar*; for *Plutarch* tells us, that

(16) *Frontin de Aquæductibus.* (17) *Procop. de Bell. Gothic. l. i.*

THE ſucceeding conſuls, *C. Junius Brutus*, a third time, and *Q. Æmilius Barbula*, a ſecond time, cancelled, with the conſent and approbation of the people, the new liſt of ſenators, which *Appius* had made, and reſtored that venerable body to its former luſtre. This ſame year the people recovered a privilege, which the conſuls and dictators had uſurped from them. A law had been formerly made, by which the people aſſembled in the comitia were empowered to chuſe ſix legionary tribunes (Y), out of the twenty-four in the conſular armies conſiſting of four legions. Each conſul had two legions under his command, which made a conſular army; and each legion was commanded by ſix tribunes. The generals had for ſome time taken upon them to nominate all the legionary tribunes, without any regard to the right of the people. *L. Attilius* therefore and *C. Marcius*, two tribunes of the people, got a decree paſſed in the comitia, empowering the people, not only to chuſe ſix tribunes, as formerly, but ſixteen out of the twenty-four. But this law was not of long duration. Though the republic at this time ſtood in no need of a fleet, having no wars to maintain but with the *Samnites* and *Hetrurians*, yet the people, at the motion of *Decius Mus*, one of their tribunes, appointed two officers, ſtyled by the *Latin* hiſtorians *Duumviri Navales*, to take upon them the care of naval affairs [d].

Duumviri Navales.

IN the mean time, the two conſuls took the field, *Brutus* againſt the *Samnites*, and *Æmilius* againſt the *Hetrurians*. The latter found the enemy ready to lay ſiege to *Sutrium* with a very numerous army, all the leucumonies, except that of *Arretium*, having furniſhed their contingents of troops. The conſul no ſooner appeared, but the *Hetrurians*, depending on their numbers, offered him battle, which *Æmilius* did not decline. Both *Romans* and *Hetrurians* behaved with extraordinary courage and reſolution. The latter, being obſtinately bent to conquer or die, fell in great numbers round their colours, without giving ground or being put into diſorder. The battle laſted till night put an end to it, when both armies retired in good order to their reſpective camps. But as the *Hetrurians* had loſt more men than the *Romans*, they thought fit to retire in the night, and leave the conſul maſter of the field. *Livy* robs *Æmilius* of the glory of a triumph for this victory, which he repreſents as very inconſiderable; but it is certain from the *Capitoline* marbles, that he entered *Rome* triumphantly on the ides of the month *Sextilis* [e]; whence we are inclined to think, that this victory was more complete than that writer makes it. As for the other conſul, he took from the *Samnites* firſt *Cluvia*, and then *Bovianum*. All thoſe in the former, who were able to bear arms, were put to the ſword; the latter was given up to be plundered by the ſoldiers, but the lives of the citizens were ſpared. And now the *Samnites* had no refuge but in artifice; they endeavoured to draw the *Romans* into new *Caudine Forks*, and with this view ſpread a report in the *Roman* camp by their emiſſaries, that they had conveyed all their proviſions and effects into the foreſt of *Avernus*, between *Cumæ* and *Puteoli* in *Campania*. The *Roman* troops, allured by the hopes of booty, entered the foreſt, where they were all on a ſudden ſurrounded by the enemy's forces, who lay concealed among the buſhes. But the legions, rallying in an inſtant, threw all their baggage in a heap, and, without waiting for the word of command, drew up in battalia, and falling upon the enemy, obliged them to ſeek an aſylum in thoſe very woods, which they intended to have rendered fatal to the *Romans*. As the *Samnites* could not eaſily retire on account of the brambles and thicknels

The Romans *and* Hetrurians *come to an engagement.*

Cluvia *and* Bovianum *taken from the* Samnites.

Junius Brutus *gives the* Samnites *a great overthrow.*

[d] LIV. l. ix. c. 30.

[e] FASTI CAPITOL.

the *Roman* people committed the inſpection of the *Appian* way to him, and that he ſpent great ſums of money upon that work. The *Appian* way is ſtill in many places for ſeveral miles together as intire as when it was firſt made (18). It was paved with ſeveral beds of great ſtones, and bounded on each ſide with a deep ditch to receive and carry off the water.

(Y) There were, generally ſpeaking, ſix legionary tribunes in each legion, which they commanded by turns; that is, firſt, two of theſe tribunes commanded in chief at a time, and then were ſucceeded by two others; and ſo round. *Varro* tells us, that theſe officers were called *tribunes* from the beginning of the monarchy, becauſe a legion then conſiſted of three thouſand men only, and had but three tribunes, there being as many legionary tribunes as thouſands of men in each legion. *Polybius* tells us, that of the twenty-four tribunes, who were in each conſular army, conſiſting of two legions, fourteen were choſen out of the *equites* or *knights*, who had ſerved five years, and the other ten out of ſuch as had ſerved in the foot full ten years. The former were called *Tribuni Juniores*, and the latter *Tribuni Seniores*. But theſe qualifications were not rigorouſly inſiſted on till the latter ages, when the *Roman* diſcipline became more regular.

(18) *See Dr.* Burnet's *letters, letter* 4.

neſs of the foreſt, the *Romans* maſſacred them without mercy, and left twenty thouſand of them dead upon the ſpot. For this victory *Junius Brutus* enjoyed the honours of a triumph, though *Livy* does not mention it, on the nones of the month *Sextilis*[f]. During the adminiſtration of the following conſuls, *Q. Fabius*, a ſecond time, and *C. Marcius*, the cenſor *Appius* obſtinately refuſed to quit his office, though his eighteen months, the legal time for its duration, were expired, preſuming on the favour of the people, who were greatly pleaſed with his aqueduct and new road. Nevertheleſs, *Sempronius Sophus* cited him to appear before the people for this infraction of the law. Seven of the tribunes were for committing him to priſon; but the other three taking him under their protection, he carried his point, and kept the cenſorſhip alone, his collegue having reſigned it in compliance with the law, more than three years longer.

Q. Fabius gives the Hetrurians a total overthrow and penetrates into the Ciminian foreſt.

During theſe diſturbances, the *Hetrurians*, having drawn together all their forces, encamped in the neighbourhood of *Sutrium*. But the conſul *Fabius* falling upon them gave them a total overthrow, took thirty-eight ſtandards from them, and made himſelf maſter of their camp and all their baggage. Thoſe, who eſcaped the ſlaughter, took refuge in the *Ciminian* foreſt. Whereupon *Fabius* propoſed in a council of war to purſue the conquered, even into the moſt impenetrable parts of the wood. But not one officer was for marching in queſt of the *Hetrurians*, at the hazard of finding the *Caudine Forks* of *Samnium* in *Hetruria*. And indeed the *Ciminian* foreſt, ſays *Livy*, was at that time more impaſſable and dreadful than the *Hercynian* foreſt in *Germany*. No body, not even the merchants, had ever attempted to paſs through it. However, *Fabius* reſolved to enter it, thinking his victory was not complete, ſo long as the enemy could conceal themſelves in this thick foreſt. He had then with him a near relation, by name *Cæſo Fabius*, who, knowing perfectly well the *Hetrurian* language, as he had been brought up at *Cære*, undertook to examine the foreſt and places about it. He took only one ſlave with him, who, having been brought up with him, had learnt the language of the country, as well as himſelf. Before they ſet out, they diſguiſed themſelves in the habit of ſhepherds, bearing each a hatchet and two javelins, after the manner of the peaſants. But their chief ſecurity againſt a diſcovery was, the general notion that no ſtranger would dare to enter that foreſt. In this diſguiſe they ſet out, and travelled as far as *Camerinum* in *Umbria*; where *Fabius* diſcovering himſelf to be a *Roman*, treated with the magiſtrates of the place in the name of the conſul, and obtained a promiſe, that if the *Roman* army ſhould come into thoſe parts, they would ſupply it with a reinforcement of men and thirty days proviſions. Upon the report made by *Fabius* at his return, the conſul reſolved to enter the foreſt, and carry the war that way into the very heart of *Hetruria*, and executed his deſign with a great deal of addreſs. He ordered all his baggage to be removed out of the camp in the evening, and the infantry to follow it to the place where he deſigned to enter the foreſt. He continued himſelf in the intrenchments with the cavalry, which he marched early in the morning to the ſkirts of the wood, where the enemy had placed ſome centinels. Having by this means kept the enemy in play, he returned, after ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes, to his camp; but ſoon marched out of it again by another gate to join his infantry, which he came up with before night, and together with them entered the narrow paſſes on the oppoſite ſide to the enemy. The next morning by day-break he reached the top of the hill *Ciminus*, which gave name to the foreſt. From thence he ſurveyed with pleaſure the vaſt and fruitful plains of *Hetruria*; was charmed that he had broke through a barrier, which had been hitherto impenetrable to the *Romans*, and promiſed himſelf much ſpoil and great conqueſts. From mount *Ciminus* he ſent a detachment of legionaries, who not only brought off an immenſe booty, but defeated a tumultuous army, that had got together to reſcue it out of their hands. After this expedition *Fabius* returned to his camp, where he found two tribunes of the people ſent thither to forbid him, in the name both of the ſenate and people, to venture upon ſo dangerous an expedition. But the tribunes, expremely pleaſed to find that the prohibition was come too late, and that the ſucceſs of the project had put an end to the public fears, returned to *Rome*, with the joyful tidings that a way was opened into *Hetruria*.

The detachments, which *Fabius* had ſent out to plunder, having alarmed all *Hetruria* and the people on the confines of *Hetruria*, theſe two nations took the field together, and came to the camp before *Sutrium*, where they drew up in the plain, and offered

[f] Fasti Capitol.

offered the *Romans* battle. But *Fabius*, pretending fear, kept cloſe within his intrenchments, and having by this means lulled the enemy into a falſe ſecurity, he drew up his men, about the fourth watch of the night, within the intrenchment of the camp, cauſed the ramparts to be levelled, and the ditch to be filled, and then marched out and ſurpriſed the enemy, while half aſleep and lying ſcattered over the plain. Of the *Hetrurians* were ſixty thouſand men ſlain, or taken priſoners. Their camp was ſeized and plundered, thoſe, who had the good luck to eſcape, flying to the wood. Hiſtorians do not agree about the place where this important victory was gained, ſome contending that it was beyond mount *Ciminus* near *Peruſia*. But be that as it will, this overthrow was ſo great, that the three leucumonies of *Cortona*, *Arretium*, and *Peruſia* immediately ſent deputies to *Rome* to deſire a ſuſpenſion of arms, which they obtained for thirty years.

The Hetrurians *overcome by* Fabius.

The conſul *Marcius* was not attended with the ſame ſucceſs againſt the *Samnites*. For, though at firſt he gained ſome advantages over them, and took *Allifæ*, a conſiderable place on the *Vulturnus*, with ſeveral other caſtles and villages, he had the mortification to hear of the misfortune which befel the *Roman* fleet, the firſt *Rome* had ever put to ſea. It was commanded by *P. Cornelius*, who having made a deſcent at *Pompeii* beyond cape *Palinurus*, ſuffered his troops to penetrate too far into the country, and thereby gave the inhabitants time to aſſemble and cut off their retreat. The *Romans* were forced to relinquiſh their booty; ſeveral of them were ſlain, and thoſe who eſcaped were driven to their ſhips. This news, with a report ſpread among the *Samnites*, that *Fabius* had met with the *Caudine Forks* in the *Ciminian* foreſt, revived their courage to ſuch a degree, that they gave *Marcius* battle, which is allowed by all hiſtorians to have been a very bloody one, and to have coſt both parties very dear. At *Rome* the *Romans* were thought to have loſt it. A great number of the *Roman* knights and ſeveral legionary tribunes were killed; one of the lieutenant-generals was left dead upon the ſpot, and the conſul himſelf was dangerouſly wounded. In order therefore to prevent the misfortunes which were thought imminent, the republic judged it neceſſary to chuſe a dictator, and caſt her eyes on *Papirius Curſor*, whoſe fate it was to be the refuge of his country in times of public danger. The difficulty was how to get him nominated. It was doubted whether the conſul *Marcius* was alive; and beſides, the *Samnites* had ſtopt up all the avenues to his camp. As for *Fabius*, it was much queſtioned whether he could be prevailed upon to raiſe his mortal enemy to the dictatorſhip, and whether *Papirius* would accept of that dignity from the hands of his old rival in glory. Under theſe difficulties the ſenate thought fit to paſs a decree, commanding *Fabius* to nominate *Papirius* to the dictatorſhip, and enjoining *Papirius* to accept it. This decree was ſent by the ſenate to *Fabius*'s camp at *Sutrium*, with a deputation of their own body, conſiſting of ſuch perſons as had all been conſuls. When they read to him the decree of the ſenate, he was ſtruck with ſurpriſe and confuſion; but kept his temper, and retired to his tent without coming to any determination. At length his love for his country getting the better of his private reſentment, at midnight, according to the ſuperſtitious cuſtom, he declared *Papirius* dictator; who, having appointed *C. Junius Bubulcus* to be his maſter of the horſe, without loſs of time marched away with an army, which had been ſuddenly raiſed upon the alarm of *Fabius*'s danger in paſſing the *Ciminian* foreſt, and arrived at *Longula* on the frontiers of the *Volſci*, where *Marcius* delivered up to him the troops under his command. *Papirius* offered the enemy battle, but they declining it, both armies continued ſome days quiet in their camps watching each other.

The Samnites *gain conſiderable advantages over the* Romans.

Papirius Curſor *dictator.*

In the mean time, *Fabius*, who was continued in the command of the army in *Hetruria* with the title of proconſul, carried the war into *Umbria*, at that time in alliance with the *Hetrurians*, and gained a complete victory over the *Umbrians*, who no more appeared in the field. While *Fabius* was waging war in *Umbria*, the *Hetrurians* aſſembled the moſt numerous army they had ever raiſed, on the banks of a little lake called *Vadimonius*. All the ſoldiers, who compoſed it, had made a vow to conquer or die. At leaſt this is ſuppoſed to be the meaning of their *ſacred law*, by which they are ſaid to have bound themſelves. But, whatever we underſtand by it, it is certain, that the *Hetrurians* ſhewed by their obſtinacy in maintaining the fight, how much power their *ſacred law* had over their minds. What helped to promote unanimity and create emulation among their troops was, the leave which was given to every private man to chuſe himſelf a companion to fight by him. But *Fabius* was not afraid to engage an enemy who had even made it a point of religion not to give way. Both armies

armies were ſo warmly bent on trying each other's ſtrength, that, as ſoon as they drew near, they ruſhed upon one another ſword in hand, without loſing time in throwing darts, as was uſual, by way of prelude to the battle. The ſucceſs was long doubtful, and this uncertainty increaſed the ardor of both parties. The *Romans* could ſcarce believe, that they were contending with the ſame people they had ſo often conquered. On the ſide of the *Romans*, their firſt line was cut in pieces and ſecond repulſed; ſo that the proconſul was obliged to bring his triarii to the charge, which was never done, but in the utmoſt extremity. Nor was even this ſufficient; it became neceſſary for the *Roman* cavalry to diſmount and ſupport the foot. But when the *Roman* knights, who were quite freſh, paſſing over heaps of dead bodies, had placed themſelves in the front of the battle, they fell upon the enemy with ſuch fury, that the *Hetrurians* began at length to give way. Hereupon the legions, ſhattered and fatigued as they were, returned to the charge, overpowered the enemy, and obliged their whole army to fly in the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion. The *Hetrurians* loſt the flower of their youth in this action; their camp was taken and plundered, and their whole nation thrown into the utmoſt conſternation [g].

The Hetrurians *overcome by* Fabius

The dictator *Papirius* was no leſs ſucceſsful againſt the *Samnites*, whoſe general, to raiſe the courage of his men, had given them finer arms than uſual. He divided his army into two bodies, one of which he cloathed in ſtuff of various colours and furniſhed with gilt bucklers; the other was armed with ſilvered bucklers and clad in white habits. That this novelty might not ſurpriſe the *Roman* ſoldiers, their officers put them in mind, that true glory conſiſted in martial courage, that gold and ſilver were of no uſe in battle but to inrich the conquerors, and that thoſe, who at the beginning of an engagement were the pooreſt, often proved the richeſt at the end of it. The officers having thus raiſed the courage of their men with the hopes of booty, *Papirius* drew up his army in the plain. He commanded the right wing himſelf, and his general of the horſe, *Junius Bubulcus*, the left, which faced the white battalions. *Bubulcus*, advancing with his legions, cried out, *I devote all theſe white men to the black* Pluto; and immediately falling upon them, forced them to give ground; which the dictator obſerving, cried out, *What! will you, who have a dictator at your head, ſuffer the chief glory of the action to be gained by another?* This ſaid, he preſſed his ſoldiers to advance, and encouraged them with his example. At the ſame time his two lieutenants, *M. Valerius* on the right and *P. Decius* on the left, who had both commanded armies in chief as conſuls, putting themſelves at the head of the cavalry, each on his own ſide, attacked with great fury the enemy in flank. Then the *Samnites*, ſeized with terror, broke their ranks and fled with all ſpeed to their camp. All the plain was covered with gilt and ſilvered arms, and dead bodies in white cloth and ſtuffs of various colours. The victory was ſo complete, that the *Samnites* abandoned their camp, which before night was taken and burnt. *Papirius*, having thus retrieved the glory of the *Roman* arms in *Samnium*, returned to *Rome*, where he was decreed a triumph, which was embelliſhed with the fine arms he had taken from the *Samnites*. About the ſame time *Fabius* arrived from *Hetruria*, and triumphed the ſame year as the dictator; the former on the ides of *November*, and the latter on the ides of *October*. *Papirius*, after his triumph, retired for the reſt of his life from public buſineſs; whence we ſhall not ſee him appear on the ſtage any more. The circumſtances and time of his death are unknown; but all agree, that in him *Rome* loſt one of the greateſt generals ſhe ever had [h].

Papirius *gains a complete victory over the* Samnites.

When *Papirius*'s dictatorſhip was expired, *Q. Fabius*, the third time, and *Decius Mus*, the ſecond time, were raiſed to the conſulate. *Samnium* fell by lot to the former, and *Hetruria* to the latter. *Fabius* took *Nuceria*, which had ſome time ſince joined the *Samnites*; whom he defeated afterwards in a battle, but without gaining any great advantage over them. As for *Decius*, he was attended with ſuch ſucceſs in *Hetruria*, that the whole nation deſired an alliance with *Rome*. But as the way was now open for making the conqueſt of this rich country, the conſul granted them only a truce for one year; and even that coſt them dear: for *Decius* made them pay his troops, and furniſh every ſoldier with two ſuits of cloaths. While all was quiet in *Hetruria*, the *Umbrians*, having armed all their youth, without concerning themſelves about the conſul who was in *Hetruria*, formed a deſign of marching directly to *Rome*. This put both the conſuls in motion. The prudent *Decius*, leaving *Hetruria*, by long marches

Nuceria *taken from the* Samnites.

[g] Liv. l. ix. c. 39. Flor l. i. [h] Liv. ibid. Fasti Capitol.

marches came and incamped in a place called the *Pupinian* field, lying in the way between *Umbria* and *Rome*, and there quietly waited for the arrival of the enemy. But the bold and enterprising *Fabius* no sooner received orders from the senate to cover *Latium*, than he left *Samnium*, crossed *Sabinia*, and entering *Umbria*, encamped in the very heart of the country near a city called *Mevania*, on the banks of the *Clitumnus*. His sudden and unexpected appearance among them so terrified them, that some retired into their strong-holds, and others fled to the woods. However, a considerable body of the most resolute had courage enough to offer the consul battle, in which they behaved more like women than men. The *Romans* rushing upon them, beat them down with their bucklers, without making any use of their swords. They took the standards from those who guarded them, and carried the standard-bearers to the consul. They even surrounded whole bodies of troops, and made them prisoners without striking a blow. For the words, *Lay down your arms*, were no sooner heard in the ranks, but they all obeyed, and even delivered up to *Fabius* the authors of the war. So that little or no blood was spilt, but the whole army were made prisoners, and the rest of the nation soon after submitted to *Rome*. After this *Fabius* hastened back to *Samnium*, to oppose the enterprises of that warlike people [i].

The Umbrians *vanquished.*

When the time came for the electing of new consuls, *Appius Claudius*, who had kept the censorship five years in direct defiance to the laws, stood candidate for the consulate. He was no soldier, and it seemed very improper at that time to bestow the fasces upon any but great commanders. However, *Appius*, being supported by the people, carried his point, and was promoted to the consulate the first time with *L. Volumnius Flamma*. But, as he was not qualified for the command of the army, the senate obliged him to continue in the city, and left *Fabius* in quality of proconsul at the head of the army, which he had commanded the year before. *Appius*, upon what motives we know not, did all that lay in his power to prevent *Fabius* from having the sole command of the army, and advised the senate to appoint him a colleague. But his proposal was rejected; and *Fabius* continued without any associate in the command of all the troops in *Samnium*, where he made the campaign with great success. The *Samnites* had advanced as far as *Allifæ* on the banks of the *Vulturnus*, and there the proconsul attacked them and gained a complete victory. The conquered fled to their camp, which *Fabius*, as the day was already far spent, did not attack then, but kept it invested all night. Early next morning, while he was preparing to force it, the *Samnites* thought fit to capitulate and surrender upon articles; the chief of which was, that all the natives of *Samnium* should have their lives spared and be sent home; but that they should march out of the camp with only one garment, and pass under the yoke. As for the allies of the *Samnites*, the proconsul made no terms with them; so that they were all, to the number of seven thousand, made slaves and sold by auction. The *Hernici* were separated from the rest, and sent to *Rome* to be examined, whether they had joined the *Samnites* as voluntiers, or by a public order of their nation. The conscript fathers, after having examined them, kept them as slaves, and distributed them about in the villages and municipal towns near *Rome* [k].

Appius Claudius *chosen consul.*

Q. Fabius *gains a complete victory over the* Samnites.

While *Fabius* was thus employed against the *Samnites*, the consul *Volumnius* made war on the *Salentines* in the farthest part of *Italy*; with whom he fought some battles with success, and paved the way for his successors to make an intire conquest of that fruitful country. In the mean time, the consular year being expired, the fasces were transferred to *Q. Marcius Tremulus* and *P. Cornelius Arvina*, and at the same time *Appius* was created prætor, a post, which, as he was an able civilian and eloquent orator, well suited his talents. *Marcius* marched against the *Hernici*, who had taken up arms, provoked at the severe treatment which some of their countrymen, made prisoners in the late battle with the *Samnites*, had met with at *Rome*. The *Hernici*, formerly so formidable, were now, it seems, become a contemptible people. For *Marcius* in a few days took three different camps from them, and obliged them to surrender at discretion. The consul, having ended this war, hastened to join his colleague, who stood in great want of his assistance, having suffered himself to be invested by the *Samnites* in narrow passes, where all his convoys were intercepted. The enemy, hearing of his march, went to meet him, and gave him battle, while his troops were fatigued with long marches and in some disorder. The battle began with the usual fury of men under a necessity of conquering or dying; both the *Samnites* and *Romans* fighting

The Hernici *subdued.*

[i] Liv. l. ix. c. 41. Diodor. Sicul. l. xix. [k] Liv. l. ix. c. 42.

fighting with incredible reſolution. As the attack was made not far from the camp of *Cornelius*, by the ſhouts he heard and the clouds of duſt which were raiſed, he judged that his collegue was engaged with the enemy. Whereupon he immediately ordered his troops to arms, marched out of his intrenchments, and falling upon the enemy in flank, broke through them, and made his way to their camp, and ſet fire to it. At the ſight of the flames the *Samnites* were ſo diſcouraged, that they betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight, every man ſhifting for himſelf in the beſt manner he could. The *Romans* purſued them, cutting them in pieces, till they were tired with ſlaughter, and then returned to their camp. In this action the *Samnites* loſt thirty thouſand men. While the *Roman* generals were congratulating each other on their victory, news was brought that a new body of *Samnites* appeared near the field of battle. Theſe were new levies raiſed all over *Samnium*, and ſent to recruit the army. They no ſooner appeared, than the victorious legions, forgetting the fatigues they had already undergone, aſſembled before they had received the conſuls orders, drew up in battalia, and falling upon the new-comers, diſperſed them with great ſlaughter. The *Samnites*, now quite diſheartened, ſent deputies to the conſuls to ſue for peace. The conſuls referred the ſuppliants to *Rome*, after having obliged the vanquiſhed to ſupply, by way of preliminary, the two armies with three months proviſions, to give them a year's pay, and furniſh each ſoldier with one habit [1].

The Samnites defeated with the loſs of thirty thouſand men.

b

The two conſuls being in the field, when the time came for electing new magiſtrates, *P. Cornelius*, ſurnamed *Barbatus*, was appointed dictator to preſide in the comitia. He choſe *Decius Mus* for his general of the horſe, and the people *Poſthumius Megillus* and *Tib. Minucius Augurinus* for their next year's conſuls. At the ſame time the ſenate determined the fate of the *Hernici*. The cities of *Alatrium*, *Ferentinum*, and *Verulum*, which had continued faithful to the *Romans*, were allowed to chuſe, whether they would be governed by their own laws, or have the right of *Roman* citizens; and they preferred the former. The inhabitants of the other cities were obliged to be governed by the laws of *Rome*, and declared *Roman* citizens, but without the right of ſuffrage. They were forbid to hold any aſſemblies, or to marry out of their own cities. This law the *Romans* uſed to impoſe on conquered nations to prevent a too ſtrict union among them. At this time deputies arrived from *Carthage* with a compliment and preſents, which the republic accepted, and made others in return. The new conſuls were both ordered into *Samnium*, each at the head of a conſular army, that is, of an army conſiſting of two legions. The *Samnites*, notwithſtanding their loſſes, had entered *Campania* and laid waſte the fruitful country of *Falernum*. *Marcius* therefore encamped in the neighbourhood of *Bovianum*, and *Poſthumius* took his rout towards *Tifernum*. The latter came to an engagement with the *Samnites*, the ſucceſs of which being equal, *Poſthumius* pretended to be worſted, and, in order to deceive the enemy, decamped in the night-time and retired to the mountains. The *Samnites* followed him, and poſted themſelves within two miles of his camp. Hereupon *Poſthumius*, having finiſhed his intrenchments with the utmoſt diſpatch, and left a ſufficient number of troops to defend them, marched out at midnight with the reſt of his army, and joined his collegue *Minucius*, who lay in ſight of another body of *Samnites*. *Minucius*, being thus reinforced, marched with his two legions alone into the plain, and offered the enemy battle; which they accepted, not knowing that the other conſul was arrived. The victory was diſputed with great warmth on both ſides. But when the *Samnites* were much fatigued, *Poſthumius* and his troops falling upon them with freſh vigor, they could no longer hold out, but were forced to ſave themſelves by flight. The *Romans* made a dreadful ſlaughter of them, and took one and twenty enſigns. After this victory the conſuls without delay led their victorious troops to *Poſthumius*'s camp, and from thence ſallied out upon the body of *Samnites*, which was poſted there. This battle was more bloody than the former; the conſul *Minucius* was killed in it, and *Statius Gellius*, the *Samnite* general, made priſoner. At length the *Romans* carried the day, and took twenty-ſix enſigns from the enemy. Upon the news of *Minucius*'s death the people at *Rome* immediately appointed *Fulvius Curvus* to ſucceed him, who took *Bovianum* and other cities, for which he triumphed on his return to *Rome*. Why *Poſthumius*, who ſeems to have deſerved the ſame honour, did not triumph with him, we know not. The *Faſti Capitolini* do not allow him this honour, though *Livy* does; but as that author makes him triumph with *Minucius*, who

The fate of the Hernici *determined.*

The Samnites *enter* Campania;

But are defeated in two battles.

Minucius *the conſul killed.*

c d e f

1 Liv. l. ix. c. 43.

who was killed in the battle, we have choſe to follow the *Faſti* [m]. In the ſucceeding conſulate of *Sempronius Sophus* and *P. Sulpicius Saverrio*, the *Samnites*, quite exhauſted with the war, ſent deputies to *Rome* to deſire a renewal of their ancient confederacy with the republic. The ſenate granted them their requeſt, after they had given certain proofs of their ſincerity, by receiving every-where the conſular army under the command of *Sempronius* with marks of reſpect, and ſupplied the troops with all ſorts of proviſions. The conſuls, being now diſengaged from the *Samnitic* war, marched againſt the *Æqui*, who, ſeduced by the bad example of the *Hernici*, had declared againſt *Rome* and joined the *Samnites*. They were no more that formidable nation, which had often ſtruck terror into the *Roman* legions; long inaction had enervated them, ſo that they had not courage enough to keep the field, but ſheltered themſelves behind the walls of their cities, which the two conſular armies inveſted, overrunning their country, and laying it every-where waſte. The conquerors made themſelves maſters of forty-one towns in fifty days, moſt of which they razed or burnt, and thereby almoſt exterminated the whole nation of the *Æqui*. Theſe rapid conqueſts ſpread ſuch terror among the neighbouring nations, that the *Marſi*, *Peligni*, *Frentani*, and *Marrucini*, ſent to demand an alliance with *Rome*, which they eaſily obtained. By this memorable expedition the conſuls merited, and obtained, the honours of a triumph.

The Samnites *obtain a renewal of their ancient alliance with* Rome.

The Æqui *ſubdued.*

THE renowned *Q. Fabius*, being this year cenſor with *P. Decius Mus*, reformed an abuſe introduced by *Appius*, who had diſperſed great numbers of freedmen and the meaneſt of the people among the country-tribes, and by that means had got a great influence in all elections, thoſe men being intirely devoted to him. *Fabius* re-incorporated into the four city tribes the rabble *Appius* had taken from thence, ſo that for the future they could influence no more than four tribes, and in theſe their party was not the ſtrongeſt. This reformation was ſo agreeable to the republic, that the *Romans* gave *Fabius* for this ſingle act the ſurname of *Maximus*, a title which he had not acquired by ſubduing the *Hetrurians*, the *Samnites*, and the *Umbrians*. This ſurname was ever after preſerved in his branch of the *Fabian* family. The next year, when *Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Genucius* were conſuls, was ſpent chiefly in ſending colonies to the conquered cities. In the ſucceeding conſulate of *Livius Denter* and *Æmilius Paulus*, the art of painting was introduced at *Rome* by *C. Fabius*, afterwards conſul, who painted the walls of a new temple dedicated to the goddeſs of *Health*, and thence got the ſurname of *Pictor*, or, *The Painter*. The following year the republic had no conſuls, but was governed by two dictators ſucceſſively created, *Q. Fabius* and *Valerius Corvus*. The former marched an army againſt the *Marſi*, who had revolted, and by one ſingle victory brought them back to their duty. The latter was created dictator to conduct a war againſt the *Hetrurians*, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, though fluſhed with the advantage which they had gained a few days before over *Sempronius Sophus* his general of the horſe, who had fallen into an ambuſh, and loſt a great number of men and ſome ſtandards. The *Hetrurians*, humbled by this overthrow, ſued for peace, but could obtain only a truce for two years. *Valerius* on his return entered *Rome* in triumph the fourth time, on the tenth of the calends of *December*.

Q. Fabius, *being cenſor, acquires the ſurname of* Maximus.

The Marſi *reduced, and the* Hetrurians *defeated.*

AT the next election *Valerius Corvus* was promoted a fifth time to the conſulate, and *Q. Apulius Panſa* appointed to be his collegue. During their adminiſtration, all being quiet abroad, two tribunes of the people of the ſame family, and probably brothers, endeavoured to ſtir up the people againſt the nobility. The one was named *Quintus Ogulnius*, and the other *Cneius Ogulnius*. Theſe two complained, that all the pontifices and augurs were created out of the patricians, and urged, that the plebeians might alſo partake of thoſe offices. The nobility were highly offended with this propoſal, which tended to deprive them of the only diſtinction between them and the plebeians; but made no great oppoſition to this new incroachment, knowing that their attempts to exclude them from theſe dignities would prove fruitleſs, the people having carried their point in all their ſtruggles with the nobility. However, the famous *Appius Claudius*, though wholly devoted to the plebeian party, became on this occaſion, no doubt out of pure caprice, a moſt zealous defender of the nobility. He had debaſed the ſenate by introducing the ſons of freedmen into it, and profaned the prieſthood by lodging it in the hands of the public ſlaves. But now he exerted all his eloquence in favour of the nobility. On the other hand, *P. Decius Mus*, a plebeian

[m] Liv. l. ix. c. 45.

bcian of great diſtinction, who had been twice conſul, once dictator, and once cenſor, ſpoke in behalf of the people, with all the weight and dignity, which his employments, his credit, and the reputation of his virtue gave him. The debate was in the aſſembly of the curiæ; but the tribes being afterwards ſummoned, the affair was almoſt unanimouſly determined by them in favour of the plebeians, and a decree paſſed for chuſing four new pontifices and five new augurs out of the plebeians; ſo that the college of the pontifices was made now to conſiſt of eight perſons, and that of the augurs of nine; which regulation continued to the dictatorſhip of *Sylla*, who increaſed the number both of the pontifices and augurs to fifteen. *Decius Mus* was choſen one of the new pontifices [n].

Plebeians admitted to the pontificate and augurate.

The *Ogulnian* law was the work of the two tribunes: but the conſul *Valerius* undertook to revive another law, which had been made by *Valerius Poplicola*, and had afterwards been revived by another of his anceſtors. By this law it was enacted, that in capital cauſes the accuſed ſhould have a right of appealing to the tribunal of the people. The patricians had by their intereſt rendered this law ineffectual, and often prevented the execution of it; ſo that it was become obſolete. *Valerius* therefore now reſtored it once more, and drew it up in more diſtinct terms than before. But the only puniſhment denounced againſt the tranſgreſſors of it was, that they ſhould be deemed guilty of a diſhoneſt action. A ſlight puniſhment indeed for a more corrupt age, but ſufficient at this time to reſtrain the *Romans*, who piqued themſelves on their virtue, and were never choſen for great employments, unleſs they had preſerved their reputation pure and untainted.

Other laws revived in favour of the people.

The conſuls choſen for the new year were *M. Fulvius Pætinus* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*. The former marched into *Umbria* to carry on the ſiege of *Nequinium*, which *Apuleius*, one of the former conſuls, had begun. This city was, with regard to its ſituation, one of the ſtrongeſt in *Italy*. It was built upon the edge of a ſteep rock, and ſurrounded in great part by the river *Nar*. But the treachery of two *Nequinians* facilitated the taking of a place, which was deemed impregnable. Theſe traitors from their houſes, which were near the ramparts, dug by dint of hand-labour a paſſage under-ground, quite to the advanced guard of the *Romans*, on the ſide of the town where there were no rocks. The conſul before whom they appeared quite unexpected, after having examined them, detained one of them as an hoſtage, and ſent the other back to the city through the ſubterraneous paſſage with two *Roman* ſoldiers. Their upon their return made ſuch a report as increaſed the confidence of the conſul, who ordered three hundred choſen men to follow them, and inlarge the way under-ground; which they did accordingly, and, having entered the city in the night, ſeized one of the gates, and let in the reſt of the army. The conſul having by this means made himſelf maſter of the city without ſtriking a blow, for the *Nequinians* immediately threw down their arms, obliged the inhabitants to receive a *Roman* colony, which might keep the reſt of *Umbria* in awe. This was the only puniſhment he inflicted upon them. The colony changed the infamous name of *Nequinium*, derived from *Nequitia roguery*, into that of *Narnia* from the river *Nar*. For this exploit *Fulvius* was rewarded with a triumph, which he obtained on the ſeventh of the calends of *October* [o]. In the ſame conſulate the *Hetrurians* broke their truce with *Rome*; but, while they were preparing to enter the *Roman* territories, they were obliged by an irruption of the *Gauls* to ſuſpend the execution of their deſign. However, their animoſity againſt the republic was ſo great, that they choſe rather to gain over theſe new enemies by money, than to repel them by force. Accordingly, they paid them large ſums, on condition that they ſhould not only forbear pillaging *Hetruria*, but join them againſt *Rome*. The *Gauls* accepted the offers made them, took the money, and left *Hetruria* in tranquility. But when they were to march towards *Rome*, they excuſed themſelves, unleſs the *Hetrurians* would ſecure them a retreat in their country, by aſſigning them lands to ſettle on. This the *Hetrurians* abſolutely refuſed. The *Romans*, being informed of theſe negotiations between the *Hetrurians* and *Gauls*, ordered the conſul *Manlius* to march into *Hetruria*, and puniſh the inhabitants for their breach of faith. But *Manlius* being killed by a fall from his horſe, the centuries met to appoint him a ſucceſſor; and all to a man, which had never happened ſince the foundation of *Rome*, gave their ſuffrages in favour of *Valerius Corvus*, who was now the ſixth time raiſed to the conſulate. The *Hetrurians* no ſooner underſtood that the formidable *Valerius* was marching againſt them,

Nequinium taken from the Umbrians.

Valerius Corvus declares against Hetruria

[n] Liv. l. x. c. 8. [o] Liv. l. x. c. 10. Flor. epit. 89. Frontin. ſtrat. l. xi. Fast. Capit.

them, than they quitted the field, and retired within the walls of their cities. The brave conſul over-ran the whole country, committing every-where great devaſtations, in order to draw the enemy into the field. But they, more concerned about preſerving their lives than their eſtates, kept cloſe within their ſtrong-holds. This was a kind of victory, which brought great glory to *Valerius*, and was the laſt of his exploits. On his return to *Rome*, as he was now in a very advanced age, he retired to enjoy the tranquillity of a private life, after ſo many labours and ſo plentiful a harveſt of glory. In what year he ended his days is not known; but it is certain, that he lived above an hundred years. He was a true pattern of the zeal men in public ſtations owe their country. He was twenty-one times promoted to offices, that intitled him to ſit in the curule chair, which can be ſaid of no *Roman* but himſelf. When the republic ſeemed to forget him, he took advantage of thoſe intervals of reſt to improve his paternal eſtate and manure his lands. He was great in peace, and greater in war, and may be ſaid to have appeared eminent among thoſe heroes, whom *Rome* produced in her moſt glorious and virtuous age [p].

TOWARDS the cloſe of this year, the republic, whether by the death of *Valerius* or ſome other accident is unknown, fell into an inter-regnum. When the comitia were aſſembled to elect new magiſtrates, *Appius* took it into his head to prevent any plebeian from being choſen to the conſulate. But *Curius Dentatus*, one of the tribunes, withſtood the eloquence and authority of *Appius*, and obliged the ſenate to confirm the cuſtom of chuſing one of the conſuls out of the plebeians; ſo that *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, a plebeian, were raiſed to that dignity. During their adminiſtration, the republic was engaged in a war with the two moſt formidable nations in her neighbourhood, the *Hetrurians*, who had broken the truce, and the *Samnites*, who, notwithſtanding their treaty of alliance, had openly declared war. *Scipio* marched againſt the *Hetrurians*, who met and engaged him in the plains of *Volaterræ*. The battle laſted all day, and when night put an end to it, the victory was ſtill doubtful. But an unaccountable terror ſeizing the enemy, they retired in the night-time in ſmall companies to their reſpective leucumonies. Hereupon the conſul plundered and laid waſte the whole country. This is the account *Livy* gives of the campaign in *Hetruria*. But a more authentic monument than *Livy*'s hiſtory aſcribes the defeat of the *Hetrurians* to *Fulvius* the plebeian conſul; and adds, that having finiſhed his expedition againſt the *Hetrurians*, he haſtened into *Samnium*, and there obtained a complete victory over thoſe antient enemies of his republic, while his colleague *Scipio* continued inactive at *Rome*. On his return a triumph was decreed him for having conquered the *Samnites* and *Hetrurians*. He triumphed on the ides of *November* [q]. A report being ſpread, before the comitia aſſembled for electing new conſuls, that both the *Hetrurians* and *Samnites* were making mighty preparations to repair their loſſes, the firſt care of the *Romans* was to chuſe conſuls of valor and experience, to diſappoint the deſigns of the two nations, more enraged againſt *Rome* than ever. The centuries immdiately caſt their eyes upon *Fabius*; but he, from what motive is hard to gueſs, declined the honour, and would not accept of it, till he was in a manner forced by the people and their tribunes. He then deſired, that they would oblige him ſo far, as to give him a collegue to his own mind, and propoſed to them *Decius Mus*, who was at his requeſt unanimouſly choſen. While the two new conſuls were preparing to take the field, the *Hetrurians* came to a reſolution to aſk a peace. Hereupon the conſuls marched both into *Samnium*, *Fabius* by the territory of *Sora*, and *Decius* through the country of the *Sidicini*. *Fabius* was informed on his march, that the *Samnites* lay in an ambuſh on the banks of the *Tifernus*, and there waited for his coming into a deep valley, with a deſign to attack him from the hills. This advice did not make the brave *Fabius* change his rout: he choſe to ſurpriſe and attack the enemy in their ambuſcade. Accordingly, having lodged his baggage in a ſafe place, he marched with his troops in battle-array towards the enemy, who, finding their project diſcovered, left their ambuſh and drew up in the plain. Their firſt onſet was terrible: they had aſſembled all the forces of their country, and, looking upon this battle as the deciſive ſtroke, exerted their utmoſt efforts. The brave reſiſtance of the enemy gave *Fabius* no ſmall uneaſineſs. He therefore commanded the cavalry to ruſh full ſpeed on their battalions. But this proved ineffectual, the *Samnite* infantry ſtill keeping their poſts without loſing an inch of ground. *Fabius*, finding he could not

The Hetrurians *and* Samnites *renew the war; but are defeated.*

[p] PLIN. l. vii. c. 48. VAL. MAX. l. viii. c. 13. CIC. in Cat. Major. PLUT. in Mario. [q] FAST. CAPIT.

not by force break thoſe impenetrable battalions, had recourſe to ſtratagem, and ordered *Scipio*, one of his lieutenants, to march with the *haſtati* ſilently round the foot of a neighbouring hill, and from thence to fall on the enemy's rear. The conſul's orders were executed with ſuch addreſs, that neither the *Samnites* nor *Romans* perceived this motion. In the mean time, the former, proud of having repulſed the *Roman* cavalry, took new courage, and obliged the firſt line of the conſular army to give way, and retire through the ſpaces of the ſecond line. Then the *principes*, who formed that line, engaged in their turn, and, as they were quite freſh, put a ſtop to the impetuoſity of the *Samnites* for ſome time. But they likewiſe were obliged in the end to give way. When the *Samnites* thought themſelves ſecure of the victory, they diſcovered at a diſtance the enſigns of a body of troops, which advanced in good order to the field of battle. This was the detachment commanded by *Scipio*, coming down the hill to attack the enemy's rear. The conſul, in ſeeing it, cried out, *What unexpected good fortune! I ſee my collegue* Decius *haſtening to our aſſiſtance.* The general's words, paſſing from legion to legion, were ſoon carried through the whole army, and heard by the enemy's battalions. The *Romans* took freſh courage; but the *Samnites*, already tired with fighting and afraid to engage another conſular army, were ſo diſcouraged, that, without waiting for their general's orders, they diſperſed and fled in confuſion, leaving only three thouſand four hundred men dead upon the plain, a very inconſiderable loſs. The *Romans* took twenty-three ſtandards. On the other hand, *Decius* gained a conſiderable victory over the *Apulians*, as they were marching to join the *Samnites*. After this the two conſular armies entering *Samnium*, laid the whole country waſte. *Decius* changed his camp forty-five times, and *Fabius* his eighty-ſix. By this means the fields were every-where laid waſte, and the country, which had been in a flouriſhing condition during a pretty long interval of peace, utterly ruined. *Fabius* took alſo the city of *Cimetra* and razed it. Two thouſand four hundred priſoners were taken in theſe expeditions, and all the inhabitants, who were found with arms, put to the ſword.

Fabius *by a ſtratagem gains a complete victory over the* Samnites.

Samnium *laid waſte.*

Appius *attempts to exclude the plebeians from the conſulate.*

The campaign being ended, *Fabius* was recalled to preſide in the comitia for the election of new conſuls. Upon his arrival he found, that *Appius* had once more formed a ſcheme to exclude the plebeians, and confine the conſulate to the patricians. In order to this, having ſecured his own election beyond a poſſibility of failing, he engaged the centuries to continue *Fabius* in his office for the enſuing year. As the *Romans*, eſpecially the patricians, had a great eſteem and veneration for that able commander, the firſt centuries, conſiſting chiefly of the nobility, unanimouſly voted in his favour. But *Fabius* himſelf oppoſed his election, proteſting, that he would never give the republic ſo pernicious a precedent, as to ſuffer himſelf to be elected in the comitia where he preſided. The whole body of the patricians ſurrounded his tribunal, conjuring him to reſtore the conſulate to its antient luſtre. But *Fabius* could not by any means be prevailed upon to fall into *Appius*'s ſcheme; ſo that *Volumnius Flamma*, a plebeian, was joined with *Appius* in the conſulate. However, *Fabius* and his collegue *Decius* were continued, with the title of proconſuls, in the command of the armies in *Samnium* for ſix months longer; which *Fabius* ſpent in keeping in awe the *Lucanians*, who had revolted, and preventing them from joining the *Samnites*. As for *Decius*, after having laid waſte all *Samnium*, he purſued the ſmall army that unhappy people had ſtill on foot from place to place, in order to draw them to a battle, and ſo haraſſed them, that they were at length obliged to diſband and retire into the neighbouring countries. Then *Decius*, having no enemy in the field to contend with, laid ſiege to their cities, and made himſelf maſter of *Murgantia*, *Romulea*, and *Ferentinum*, three important cities; in the firſt he made two thouſand one hundred and ten priſoners; in the ſecond he put two thouſand three hundred of the inhabitants to the the ſword and took ſix thouſand; in the third about three thouſand men, who defended the place and made a deſperate reſiſtance, were killed upon the ramparts. Thus *Samnium* was reduced to the laſt extremity; and, to complete the deſtruction of this unhappy country, the new conſul *Volumnius* entered it with another army of two legions and fifteen hundred auxiliaries [r].

Several cities taken from the Samnites.

The *Samnites*, being thus driven out of their own country, took refuge in *Hetruria*; where, in a diet held at their requeſt, they prevailed upon the ſeveral leucomonies to join in a war againſt *Rome*, and offered to ſerve under them at their own expence.

[r] Liv. l. x. c. 16

expence. The *Hetrurians*, looking upon this reinforcement as ſent them from heaven, raiſed a formidable army, and even engaged with ſums of money ſome troops of *Gauls* to join them. The ſenate, being informed of theſe motions, diſpatched *Appius*, to whom *Hetruria* had fallen by lot, to make head againſt ſo powerful an enemy, with an army conſiſting of two legions and twelve thouſand auxiliaries. *Appius* came and poſted himſelf within reach of the enemy. But, as he neither knew how to time a battle nor to chuſe his ground, he was worſted in every ſkirmiſh and ſlight action, in which he ventured to engage. Theſe ſmall advantages increaſed the enemy's confidence, and gave them certain hopes of victory in a general action. In ſhort, things were come to that paſs, that the ſoldiers diſtruſted their general, and the general his ſoldiers. In this extremity, *Appius* is ſaid [s], for the fact is not abſolutely certain, to have written to his collegue, begging him to leave *Samnium*, and haſten to his aſſiſtance. *Volumnius*, upon the receipt of the letter, immediately came and joined him, to the inexpreſſible joy of the troops of *Appius*. But *Appius* himſelf, pretending to be ſurprized, aſked his collegue ſternly, what had brought him from *Samnium*, diſowned his letter, and told him, that he had acted a diſhonourable part in quitting his own province, in order to gain credit by giving aſſiſtance to others, who did not want it. Hereupon *Volumnius* was for returning immediately into *Samnium*; but the officers of both armies prevailed upon him to ſtay in *Hetruria*, where the common cauſe called for his aſſiſtance, and to deſpiſe the reproaches and unaccountable behaviour of *Appius*. At the requeſt of the officers the two conſuls afterwards had an interview, in that part of the camp where the generals uſed to harangue their ſoldiers, and there in the preſence of the army made their complaints of each other. *Volumnius*, though naturally no orator, ſpoke on this occaſion with great eloquence; for he had the better cauſe. Upon which *Appius*, who had had *Volumnius* for his collegue in the conſulſhip ten years before, could not forbear rallying him: Wonderful indeed! ſaid he, I have made a dumb man ſpeak. *Volumnius* in our firſt conſulate ſcarce opened his mouth for ſome months. He had then no tongue; but now is become eloquent, a perfect maſter of oratory. What a miraculous change have I wrought in him! Since you have taught me to ſpeak, replied *Volumnius*, I wiſh I could, in return for your kindneſs, teach you to fight. In our preſent ſituation it is of ſmall importance to be able to talk well. If you have a mind to know which of us underſtands beſt the conduct of an army, we have wars to carry on in two places, *Samnium* and *Hetruria*; make your choice; it is indifferent to me in which province I command. At theſe words the ſoldiers cried out with one voice, that both conſuls ſhould carry on the war in *Hetruria*. *Volumnius* anſwered, that he was willing to ſtay, but deſired the troops to ſignify to him their inclinations by a general ſhout. Inſtantly the army made ſuch loud acclamations, as were heard in the enemy's camp, who, taking the alarm, drew up in order of battle. *Volumnius* immediately marched out with his troops to engage them. But *Appius* was for ſome time in ſuſpenſe, whether he ſhould join in the battle or not; and nothing determined him but the fear of being deſerted by his troops, who ſhewed a ſtrong inclination to follow *Volumnius*, in defiance of their general's orders. It fell to *Volumnius* to engage the *Hetrurians*, and to his collegue to oppoſe the *Samnites*, who, full of rage, andvanced againſt him. Emulation for glory and the ſhame of being obſcured by a rival rouſed *Appius* to ſuch a degree, that he behaved himſelf with more courage than could have been expected. He gave his orders like a good commander, fought with intrepidity, inſpired his men with ardor, and in ſhort equalled his collegue both in bravery and conduct. The united *Samnites* and *Hetrurians*, not being able to withſtand two conſular armies, were entirely defeated, and their camp taken and plundered. The enemy left ſeven thouſand three hundred men dead upon the field of battle, and two thouſand of them were made priſoners. It muſt be owned, that *Appius* bore a good ſhare in this glorious action, and that if he inſpired *Volumnius* with eloquence, *Volumnius* inſpired him with courage. After this victory, which put an end to the miſunderſtanding between the two conſuls, *Volumnius* was obliged to return into his own province and oppoſe the *Samnites*, who, notwithſtanding their late loſſes, had raiſed a new army and were actually ravaging *Campania*. *Volumnius* ſurpriſed them near the *Vulturnus*, ſlew ſix thouſand of them, and recovered all the ſpoil they had taken [t].

Appius *reduced to great ſtraits in* Hetruria.

Appius *and* Volumnius *defeat the united* Hetrurians *and* Samnites.

THE

[s] TRES. annales citati a Livio, l. x. c. 18. [t] Liv. l. x. c. 20.

The republic, being alarmed by accounts from *Appius* of the vaſt preparations for a war, which the *Hetrurians* and their allies, the *Umbrians*, *Gauls*, and *Samnites*, were making, turned their eyes again upon *Fabius*, and in the comitia, which were held ſoon after, raiſed him the fifth time to the conſulate. The collegue they deſigned to give him was *Volumnius* who preſided in the comitia; but *Fabius* refuſing to accept the office, unleſs he had again *Decius* for his collegue, *Volumnius*, though the firſt tribes had already voted for him, approved of *Fabius*'s requeſt; and making a fine elogium upon *Decius*, exhorted the tribes to chuſe him; which they did accordingly, beſtowing that honour upon him the fourth time. *Appius*, who was then in *Hetruria*, was appointed prætor; and *Volumnius* continued in the command of the army in *Samnium*, with the title of proconſul. It was cuſtomary for the new conſuls to draw lots for their reſpective provinces; but it was natural to ſuppoſe, that *Decius* would compliment *Fabius* with the command in *Hetruria*, where the ſtreſs of the war lay, induced thereunto by gratitude, as well as by the age and ſuperior merit of his collegue: and this he was very willing to do; but the patricians making it a point of honour not to permit any other than *Fabius* to have the conduct of the *Hetrurian* war, the plebeians would not ſuffer him to have it, unleſs it fell to him by lot, fearing leſt the patrician conſul ſhould, for the future, claim a right of chuſing his province. How difficult is it for a man to avoid being carried away by the ſtream of a party in which he once engages! The pacific *Decius* was compelled, contrary to his temper and inclination, to go with the current of his party, and inſiſt on its being determined by lot, whether he or *Fabius* ſhould command in *Hetruria*. The affair was firſt brought before the ſenate, where it was determined in favour of *Fabius*. Hereupon *Decius* appealed to the people; and the comitia being aſſembled, the two competitors pleaded each his own cauſe, more like ſoldiers than orators. When they had both done ſpeaking, the people began to vote, when *Fabius* riſing up again, deſired them, in a few words, to hear *Appius*'s letters read, before they decided on the preſent diſpute. *Appius*, in the letters he had lately written from *Hetruria*, had painted the danger with which the republic was threatened in very lively colours, and given a very particular account of the four armies which were to fall upon *Rome*. The bare relation of the danger determined the people to have recourſe to the ſureſt remedy; and *Fabius* was inſtantly appointed to command the army in *Hetruria*. And now all the *Roman* youth were eager to ſerve under ſo great a commander; but he would carry with him no larger a reinforcement than four thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe. At the head of this ſmall body he marched towards the camp, which the fearful *Appius* was ſtill ſtrengthening with new fortifications. As he drew near it, he met a detachment ſent to cut wood in a neighbouring foreſt. Whither are you going, fellow ſoldiers? ſaid *Fabius*. The ſoldiers anſwered, To cut wood to fortify our camp. What! replied the general, is it not already fortified? We are already ſurrounded, returned the ſoldiers, with a double ditch and a double rampart, and yet we are ſtill afraid. Since that is the caſe, ſaid *Fabius*, return to the camp and level the firſt rampart. The detachment immediately returned, and put their new general's orders in execution; which greatly alarmed *Appius*: but *Fabius* arrived the ſame day, to the inexpreſſible joy of the army, every one hoping affairs would take a better turn under ſo able a general. The next day *Appius* ſet out for *Rome*, to take upon him the prætorſhip, which had been aſſigned, and better ſuited his talents than the conduct of an army. *Fabius*, inſtead of ſhutting up his ſoldiers within lines, which, he ſaid, betrayed fear, kept them in conſtant motion, by frequent marches and counter-marches; but, before he entered upon action, he returned to *Rome*, for what reaſon is uncertain. Upon his arrival, the ſenate, alarmed at the dreadful repreſentation, which *Appius* had made of the enemy's forces, judged it neceſſary to ſtrengthen him by a ſecond army. *Fabius*, when this was firſt propoſed to him, told the conſcript fathers, that he ſhould acquieſce in what they thought proper, on account of the fears of others, not his own; but deſired, that, if another general was to be joined with him, *Decius* might be the perſon, ſhewing thereby, that his late conteſt with him had not leſſened the eſteem he had for ſo great a man. The ſenate and people readily granted him his requeſt; and then the two conſuls, before they left *Rome*, made the following regulations: they ſent the proconſul *Volumnius* with two legions into *Samnium*, and, in order to cover the city on the ſide of *Hetruria*, directed two camps to be pitched, one near *Rome* on the hill *Vaticanus*, and the other on the banks of the *Tiber* in the country of the *Falifci*. After theſe regulations, the two conſuls ſet out for the camp in *Hetruria*.

Fabius *ſent againſt the united forces of the* Hetrurians, Umbrians, Samnites, *and* Gauls.

A. *ria.* Upon the road they were informed, that a legion, which *Fabius* had left under the command of *Scipio*, had been entirely cut off by the *Gauls* called *Senones*. However, the two generals, without being diſcouraged by this accident, continued their march; and as their army conſiſted of four legions, a good number of *Roman* knights, a thouſand *Campanian* horſe, and a body of auxiliaries, more numerous than all the *Roman* forces, they divided it into two parts, and encamped ſeparately, but within reach of each other, in the plain of *Sentinum*, about four miles from the enemy. We are told, that the forces of the *Gauls* and *Samnites*, who encamped together, amounted to one hundred and forty-three thouſand three hundred and thirty foot and forty-ſix thouſand horſe. What the number was of *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians*, who jointly made another camp, we find no-where recorded. As theſe confederates were ſeparated in their camps, they agreed, that the *Gauls* and *Samnites* ſhould engage the *Romans*, while the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians* attacked their two camps in the heat of the action. *Fabius*, being informed of this deſign by deſerters, immediately ſent orders to the two proprætors, *Fulvius* and *Poſthumius*, who commanded in the camps that covered *Rome*, to enter *Hetruria* without delay and lay it waſte. Hereupon the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians* haſtened to the relief of the unfortunate people, whoſe houſes were burnt and land ravaged. *Fabius*, having thus obliged the enemy to divide their forces, took advantage of the diverſion he had made, and, in the abſence of the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians*, brought the *Gauls* and *Samnites* to a battle. *Fabius* commanded the right wing, which faced the *Samnites*, and *Decius* the left, which engaged the *Gauls*. Both parties ſuſtained the firſt onſet with equal bravery, and the reſiſtance of the enemy made the *Romans* ſenſible, that they could never have withſtood the four armies, had they all engaged at once. The advantage firſt appeared in favour of the *Gauls*, who ſurprized the *Romans*, ſoon after the action began, with a new way of fighting, never heretofore uſed in the wars of *Italy*. They drove full ſpeed armed chariots againſt the *Roman* cavalry, which, with the noiſe of the wheels and the novelty of the ſight, frightened the horſes and put them into diſorder. They fell afterwards on the firſt line of the infantry and broke into the ranks, carrying every-where terror and confuſion. The conſul *Decius*, having in vain endeavoured to rally his terrified ſoldiers, reſolved to follow the example of his father, and in the ſame manner devote himſelf to the *dii manes*. Purſuant to this reſolution, he commanded the pontifex *M. Livius* to pronounce the words uſed in devotements; and, having repeated them after him, rode full ſpeed into the thickeſt of the enemy's battalions, where he was killed, after having received numberleſs wounds. How great is the power of credulity and ſuperſtition! The *Romans*, after the death of their general, looking upon the enemy as devoted to deſtruction, took new courage and returned to the charge, as it were to put the decrees of the gods in execution. The pontifex *Livius*, who was himſelf an able commander, taking advantage of their prejudices, put himſelf at their head, crying out, *We have conquered: the death of* Decius *has ſecured to us the victory*; *the* Samnites *and the* Gauls *are devoted to the* manes, *and muſt inevitably periſh*. Having thus ſpoke, he renewed the battle with great fury, and being ſeconded by ſome troops ſent by *Fabius* from the rear, under the command of *L. Cornelius* and *C. Marcius*, he ſoon changed the fortune of the day in favour of the *Romans* in the left wing.

Decius devotes himſelf.

In the right wing *Fabius* had attacked the *Samnites* but faintly, or rather kept himſelf upon the defenſive, till the enemy had quite ſpent their ſtrength and were exhauſted; and then becoming in his turn the aggreſſor, he ordered his cavalry to wheel about and flank the wings of the enemy, while he, at the head of the legions, attacked them in front. All the troops being thus put in motion at once, the ſhock was ſo violent, that the *Samnites*, not being able to ſtand it, fled in diſorder to their camp, leaving the *Gauls* to ſhift for themſelves. Theſe brave men, not diſheartened at the rout of their allies, ſtill kept their ground, and, covering their heads with their bucklers, formed a tortoiſe. *Fabius* therefore, to break theſe impenetrable troops, detached a body of five hundred *Campanian* horſe to fall upon their rear, ordering the principes to follow the detachment, and penetrate into their battalions, when once broken. This motion ſucceeded ſo well, that the *Gauls* were at length obliged to retire, which they ſeem to have done in good order; for *Livy* does not tell us, that they were put into confuſion, but only that they gave way, and left the *Romans* maſters of the field. *Fabius* did not purſue them; but led his forces againſt the camp of the *Samnites*, where he made a dreadful ſlaughter. Twenty-five thouſand of the *Samnites* and *Gauls* were killed

The Samnites *and* Gauls *defeated.*

killed in this action, and eight thouſand taken priſoners. Among the former was *Gellius Egnatius*, an eminent commander of the *Samnites*, who had negotiated the alliance of the four nations. On the ſide of the *Romans*, the number of the dead in the left wing amounted to ſeven thouſand; but in the right, where *Fabius* commanded, only twelve hundred were killed. As for the two proprætors, *Fulvius* and *Poſthumius*, they gained no ſmall advantages over the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians*; and the ſame year the proconſul *Volumnius* defeated the *Samnites* in a pitched battle at the foot of mount *Tifernus*. After all theſe ſucceſſes, *Fabius* returned to *Rome*, and triumphed the day before the nones of *September*. He had ſcarce left the country, when the *Hetrurians* raiſed a new army, which obliged him to lead his troops thither again. Upon his arrival, he attacked the *Hetrurians*, killed four thouſand five hundred of them on the ſpot, took one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty priſoners, and ſtruck the reſt with ſuch terror, that they made no further attempts that year. This was the laſt exploit of a hero, who did not leave off conquering, till age diſabled him from ſerving his country. He had a ſon, ſurnamed *Gurges*, that is, *the gulph*, on account of his exceſſive intemperance in his youth. After he had ſquandered away immenſe ſums in debauchery, he corrected his way of living, and became a zealous reformer of manners, in order to wipe off the ſhame of his paſt exceſſes. In his ædileſhip, he accuſed before the people a great many patrician women of adultery, and having convicted them, perpetuated the ſhame of the criminals, by building, with the money accruing from their fines, a temple to *Venus*, as a laſting monument of their infamy [u].

In the mean time, the *Samnites*, notwithſtanding their loſſes, brought two new armies into the field. With one they encamped on the banks of the *Vulturnus*; with the other they entered *Campania* and pillaged the territories of *Veſcia* and *Formiæ*. Hereupon *Appius* the prætor was ordered into *Samnium*, at the head of the army which *Decius* had commanded. The proconſul *Volumnius*, who was already on the ſpot, joined his forces to thoſe of *Appius*; and both theſe generals, by purſuing the *Samnites* from place to place, obliged them to unite their two armies in the *Campi Stellates*, between the *Vulturnus* and the *Savo*. There the *Samnites* reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle; and, as they looked upon it as a deciſive ſtroke, they behaved with extraordinary courage and reſolution: but the *Romans* at length prevailed, after having loſt two thouſand ſeven hundred men. Of the *Samnites* there fell in the battle and purſuit ſixteen thouſand three hundred.

The Samnites *again defeated.*

Rome had now made war with the *Samnites* for forty years, almoſt without interruption, and always with ſucceſs. The laſt campaign ſeemed enough of itſelf to extinguiſh their martial ardor. They had loſt four battles in one year; the braveſt of their generals had been killed; all the flower of their youth cut off; the *Hetrurians*, *Umbrians*, and *Gauls*, whom they had drawn into a confederacy, were not now in a condition to lend them any aſſiſtance. However, they were not ſo far diſcouraged, as to loſe all hopes of being able one day to conquer. They made great preparations to take the field once more. The ſenate being alarmed ordered the two new conſuls, *L. Poſthumius Megellus*, who was raiſed to that dignity a ſecond time, and *M. Attilius Regulus*, to carry the war jointly into *Samnium*; but *Poſthumius* falling ſick, the whole management of affairs was committed to *Attilius*, who, haſtening into *Samnium*, met the *Samnites* on the confines of *Campania*. The conſul was no ſooner encamped, than the enemy, tho' ſo often vanquiſhed, undertook to execute what the *Romans* themſelves would ſcarce have attempted; they formed a deſign of forcing the conſul's lines, and marching out of their camp undiſcovered, by means of a thick fog, ſurpriſed the advanced guards, made themſelves maſters of the *Decuman* gate, and penetrated to the quæſtor's tent, where the military cheſt was kept. In the mean time the alarm ſpreading to the general's quarters, he put himſelf at the head of ſome *manipuli*, and obliged the enemy to retire by the gate through which they had entered. The *Romans* would have purſued them; but *Attilius*, fearing ſome ambuſcade, would not ſuffer them to march out of their entrenchments. The *Samnites*, not doubting but fortune would favour their bold attempts another time, encamped cloſe to the *Roman* lines, and kept the conſular army ſo cloſely ſhut up, that they could not enter *Samnium*, to live upon free quarter there as they had deſigned; but were obliged to bring their proviſions from the countries behind them, to which alone they had acceſs.

But take the field anew.

The

[u] Liv. l. x. c. 24—30. Fast. Capit. Macrob. ſat. l. ii. c. 9.

a THE ſenate and people of *Rome*, alarmed at this diſadvantagious ſituation of the army, diſpatched *Poſthumius*, tho' not yet perfectly recovered, with another conſular army, to the aſſiſtance of his collegue. Upon his arrival, the *Samnites*, who were not in a condition to make head againſt two conſular armies, decamped in haſte and left their country a prey to the enemy. Hereupon the two generals ſeparated, to pillage and lay waſte the whole country. *Poſthumius*, having committed everywhere great devaſtations, made himſelf maſter of *Milionia* and *Triventum*, two places of great ſtrength. The former was taken by aſſault, after a vigorous defence, and given up to be plundered by the ſoldiers; three thouſand two hundred *Samnites* were cut in pieces on the ramparts, and four thouſand two hundred made priſoners. *Tri-*

b *ventum* was abandoned by the inhabitants; ſo that the conſul made himſelf maſter of it without ſtriking a blow [w].

Some of their cities taken.

WHILE *Poſthumius* was thus employed, *Attilius* marched to the relief of *Luceria* in *Apulia*, beſieged, as he was told, by the *Samnites*. On his march he met the enemy and came to a battle with them, the ſucceſs of which was ſuch, that neither army cared to try a ſecond engagement. The *Samnites* were wholly bent on decamping the next day and returning home; but as the place where they were encamped was a kind of defile, and the *Romans* were between them and *Samnium*, after much deliberation, they reſolved to march directly to the *Roman* camp, take their rout by the ſide of it, and thence advance into the plain. The conſul no ſooner perceived them,

c than he gave orders to his legions to prepare for battle, not doubting but they were coming to attack him. But now *Attilius* perceived how much the action of the day before had diſcouraged his troops; his officers told him, that they were ready to obey his orders; but that the ſoldiers were extremely fatigued and intimidated, and that they would certainly be overcome as ſoon as attacked. This gave *Attilius* great uneaſineſs; he went in perſon to viſit them in their tents, and endeavoured by ſoft words to rouſe their courage; but all to no purpoſe: he could not by any means prevail upon them to ſtir. In the mean time, the *Samnites* drawing near, the *Romans* obſerved, that they were loaded with ſtakes and faſcines. Whereupon the conſul, believing they deſigned to ſhut him up in his camp, proteſted, that he would march

d out and meet the enemy alone; and that, if he were cut in pieces, he ſhould at leaſt eſcape the mortification of ſeeing his camp at the mercy of a people ſo often conquered. His words and the ſhame of abandoning their general induced them at length to take to their arms and march out; which they did with great reluctance, and very ſlowly, the battalions not being cloſe, but broken in ſeveral places. This motion of the *Romans* was a great diſappointment to the *Samnites*, who were no leſs afraid than they, and equally deſirous to avoid a battle; but when they found it was neceſſary to fight, they acted like brave men, threw down all their baggage in a heap, and, placing it in the centre, drew up in battalia. When the two armies drew near, they both betrayed ſo little inclination to fight, that they would have retired

e without action, had they not feared, that the firſt which drew off would be attacked in the rear by the other. However, they charged at length each other, but in a very faint manner, and without drawing ſo near as to come to a cloſe engagement. The *Romans* ſoon began to give ground, which ſo encouraged the *Samnites*, that they now exerted their uſual vigor, and preſſing upon the legions, drove them back quite to their entrenchments, which they would have entered and left the *Samnites* maſters of the field, had not *Attilius* ordered a body of horſe to advance to the gate of the camp, with directions to kill every *Roman* who ſhould attempt to enter it. By this means the run-aways being obliged to return to the charge, rallied, and renewed the fight with ſuch vigor, that the *Samnites*, who purſued them, were forced to fly in

f their turn. Thus the victory fell in the end to the *Romans*, after they had loſt ſeven thouſand three hundred men. Four thouſand eight hundred of the *Samnites* were killed upon the ſpot, and ſeven thouſand taken priſoners, whom the conſul made all paſs under the yoke. The conſul *Attilius* would have gained but little honour this campaign, had he not repaired his loſſes by a new advantage; for, on his march homewards, having accidentally fallen in with a body of *Samnites*, loaded with the booty which they had made in the country of the *Volſci*, he cut them in pieces, recovered the booty, and releaſed many *Roman* priſoners, whom they had taken in the incurſion. After this, he left his army in winter-quarters, and returned to *Rome*, to preſide

Attilius gains a complete victory over the Samnites.

[w] Liv. l. x. c. 32.

preſide at the elections. In the mean time, *Poſthumius*, uneaſy to find nothing to a do in *Samnium*, left that country, without orders from the ſenate, and marching into *Hetruria*, where there was more booty and more glory to be gained, defeated the *Hetrurians*, took *Ruſſellæ*, and obliged the three leucumonies of *Volſinii*, *Peruſia*, and *Arretium* to ſue for peace. Nevertheleſs the ſenate, on his return, refuſed him a triumph, on account of his irregular proceedings; but he appealed to the people, who, in ſpite of the ſenate, decreed him a triumph, for his victories over the *Samnites* and *Hetrurians* x.

The Hetrurians *overcome by* Poſthumius.

In the new conſulate of *L. Papirius Curſor*, ſon of the famous *Papirius*, and *Sp. Corvilius*, *Samnium* became again the ſeat of war. That martial nation reſolved to make a new and more vigorous effort than ever. They publiſhed a law, commanding all, who were of age to bear arms, to appear upon the firſt ſummons from the general of their nation, upon pain of death. The heads of thoſe who diſobeyed this law were devoted to *Jupiter*, and it was lawful for any one to kill them, where-ever they were found. The general rendezvous was appointed in the neighbourhood of *Aquilonia*, a city of *Hirpinia*, whither fear brought all the youth of the country, to the number of forty thouſand and upwards. In order to inſpire them with courage, the heads of the nation obliged ſixteen thouſand of the braveſt men among them to take the following oath, which was adminiſtered to them with great ſolemnity; *May all the curſes of the gods fall upon me and my poſterity, if I do not follow my generals where-ever they ſhall lead me; if I ever turn my back, or do not kill thoſe whom I ſhall ſee attempting to fly.* Thoſe, who heſitated at loading themſelves and their poſterity with ſuch imprecations, were immediately ſtabbed, and their bodies thrown among the carcaſſes of the many victims that were ſacrificed on this occaſion. Thoſe who took the oath were called *legio linteata*, or *the linen legion*, becauſe they had bound themſelves by it under a canopy or covering of linen. Magnificent bucklers were given them, and, that they might the better be diſtinguiſhed in an engagement, their helmets were adorned with ſtately creſts. In the mean time, the conſul *Corvilius*, having left *Rome*, and put himſelf at the head of the army which *Attilius* had commanded, took his way towards *Samnium*, which he entered without oppoſition, the enemy not having yet finiſhed their preparations. His firſt exploit was the taking of *Amiternum*, a city in *Sabinia* but ſubject to the *Samnites*, where he cut in pieces two thouſand eight hundred men, and made four thouſand two hundred and ſeventy priſoners. On the other hand, *Papirius*, having haſtened his levies in *Rome*, took the field, made himſelf maſter of *Furconia*, in the neighbourhood of *Amiternum*, and then joined his colleague. After they had laid waſte that part of the *Volſcian* territory which was ſubject to the *Samnites*, they parted again, *Corvilius* turning off towards *Cominium*, on the confines of the eaſtern part of *Samnium*, with a deſign to beſiege it; and *Papirius* marching towards *Aquilonia*, the place of the enemy's general rendezvous. The latter encamped within ſight of the enemy, and tried their ſtrength and courage in ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes before he came to a general action; which he at length reſolved to venture, and therefore ſent an expreſs to his collegue, deſiring him to preſs the ſiege of *Cominium*, leſt the enemy ſhould ſend detachments from thence to reinforce their army near *Aquilonia*. He then called his troops together, and ſo animated them, that they all cried out to him, that they were ready to follow him whitherſoever he ſhould lead them. From the general to the meaneſt ſoldier all were equally eager to engage; they were only uneaſy to ſee the battle put off to the next day. Even the augur, whoſe buſineſs it was to obſerve the preſages, choſe rather to make a falſe report, than to check this general ardor. It was then cuſtomary to judge of the ſucceſs of battles before-hand, by the haſte or ſlowneſs with which the ſacred chickens picked up their food. The augur obſerved, that the chickens fed but ſlowly, which was a bad omen; but, as the miniſters of religion are not always the moſt ſcrupulous, or the moſt credulous, the augur, depending more on the ardor of the ſoldiers, than the greedineſs of his chickens, declared, that they had fed greedily. *Papirius* heard the augury with joy, and immediately ordered his men to prepare for battle; but the next day, when the army was ready to march out and engage, the report being ſpread among the troops, that the preſages were not favourable, the *Roman* knights, thinking it a matter of ſuch importance as ought to be communicated to the general, prevailed upon young *Papirius*, the conſul's nephew, to diſcover to him the error he was

The Samnites *raiſe a new army.*

x Liv. l. x. c. 31. Fast. Capit.

was in concerning the auguries. *Be of good courage*, anſwered the general, *and behave yourſelf in the action like a brave man. If the augur has made me a falſe report, he has drawn the vengeance of the gods upon himſelf by his irreligion. As for me, I conclude the augury to be favourable, ſince it was ſo declared.* Thus ſpoke *Papirius*, and then ordered the unfaithful keeper of the ſacred chickens to be placed at the head of the firſt line, where he was killed by an unknown hand, before the two armies came to a cloſe engagement. He was probably killed by order of the conſul, who, pretending to look upon his death as a ſtroke from heaven, cried out, when the news was brought him, *The vengeance of the gods has ſpent itſelf on the perſon who deſerved it. We have nothing more to fear from their anger.* In the beginning of the action, *the linen legion*, which lay under the moſt ſacred engagements not to give way, made a moſt gallant reſiſtance, and, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the *Romans*, kept their ground, till all on a ſudden they diſcovered, at ſome diſtance, a cloud of duſt, ſuch as is raiſed by the marching of an army, but was now occaſioned by the ſervants and muleteers of the *Roman* camp, whom the conſul had mounted upon mules and other beaſts of burden, ordering them to appear in the heat of the action, and raiſe as great a cloud of duſt as poſſible. *Papirius*, though the author of the ſtratagem, ſeemed to be ſurprized at this new ſight. As the ſervants of the army had provided themſelves with branches of trees, which they trained on the ground to raiſe the greater duſt, nothing could be ſeen but the tops of ſome ſtandards and lances, and ſomething like cavalry, which ſeemed to flank a body of infantry. While both armies were under no ſmall apprehenſion of this freſh body of troops, *Papirius* all on a ſudden cried out with an air of joy, Cominium *is taken, and my collegue is coming to my aſſiſtance. Courage, fellow-ſoldiers; let us gain the victory ourſelves, before another army comes to ſhare with us the glory and the ſpoils.* At theſe words, both the infantry and cavalry fell with new vigor on *the linen legion*, which was at length obliged to give way, the fear of the enemy, who had penetrated into the midſt of their battalions, not ſuffering them to attend to any other apprehenſions. Their example was followed by the reſt of the *Samnite* army; their foot in the left wing retired to *Aquilonia*, and thoſe in the right regained the camp; but their horſe, which conſiſted of the nobility of the country, fled to *Bovianum*, a city which was a great way from the field of battle. Twelve thouſand of the *Samnites*, according to *Oroſius*, were ſlain in this battle; but, according to *Livy*, above thirty thouſand. Their camp was taken, and ſoon after the city of *Aquilonia*, where moſt of the fugitives had taken ſhelter[y].

The Samnites *totally defeated.*

In the mean time, *Corvilius* made himſelf maſter of the ſtrong and important city of *Cominium*. The beſieged, after having made a vigorous defence, were at length obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, to the number of fifteen thouſand four hundred, after four thouſand three hundred and eighty had been ſlain in the attacks. After this, the two conſuls joined their forces to complete the deſtruction of the *Samnites*, who had no army to oppoſe them. Their ſcheme being approved by the ſenate, *Corvilius* took *Volana*, *Palumbinum*, and *Herculaneum*, all cities of great note. *Papirius* made himſelf maſter of *Sepinum*, a town ſituated at the foot of the *Apennines*, and deemed impregnable. But, in the mean time, the *Hetrurians* taking arms again, it was thought neceſſary to recal one of the conſuls with his army from *Samnium*. They were accordingly ordered to caſt lots for the conduct of the *Hetrurian* war, which fell to *Corvilius*, who thereupon haſtened to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph, and thence continued his march into *Hetruria*, where he took *Troſſulum* by aſſault, and obliged the *Faliſci* to ſue for peace, but granted them only a year's truce, for which he made them pay three hundred and ninety thouſand aſſes of braſs; after this he returned to *Rome*. *Papirius* arrived much about the ſame time from *Samnium*, and obtained a triumph, the chief ornaments of which were the ſpoils taken from the *Samnites*, eſpecially from *the linen legion*[z] (Z).

Cominium *taken, with many other cities.*

The Faliſci *ſue for a peace.*

In

[y] Liv. l. x. c. 41. Front. ſtrat. Val. Max. l. vii. c. 22. Oros. l. vi. [z] Liv. ibid. & Fast. Capit.

(Z) *Papirius*, on his return to *Rome*, dedicated a temple to *Quirinus*, which his father, when dictator, had vowed. Upon this temple was fixed a ſun-dial, the firſt that had ever been ſeen at *Rome*. The *Romans*, for ſome ages, marked only the riſing and ſetting of the ſun; afterwards they obſerved the hour of noon, but in a very groſs manner. When the ſun ſhone between the roſtra and the houſe appointed for the reception of embaſſadors, one of the conſuls heralds uſed to proclaim with a loud voice, that it was mid-day; but now they could mark the ſeveral hours of the day: and the water-clock, invented ſoon after, enabled them to reckon the hours of the night.

In the next election of conſuls, the perſons choſen by the centuries were *Fabius Gurges*, the ſon of *Fabius Maximus*, and *Junius Brutus*, ſurnamed *Scæva*, of an illuſtrious, though plebeian, family. It is undoubted, that *Fabius* the father, who was then prince of the ſenate, oppoſed the promotion of his ſon. Perhaps he did not think him well qualified for ſo high a ſtation, or was induced thereunto, as *Valerius Maximus* is of opinion [a], by a republican principle, judging it a pernicious precedent to heap ſo many honours on one family; for he himſelf had been five times conſul, and his father and grandfather had been likewiſe promoted to that dignity. *Junius Brutus*, the other conſul, was no better qualified for the conſulate than his collegue; ſo that now the government of the republic was in the hands of two perſons of ſmall abilities, eſpecially for war; which was at this time a very impolitic choice. They had ſcarce entered upon their office, when the *Faliſci* in *Hetruria*, encouraged by a plague which raged in *Rome*, broke their truce; and the old enemies of *Rome* the *Samnites*, taking arms again, entered *Campania*. The conſuls having drawn lots for their provinces, *Hetruria* fell to *Brutus*, and *Samnium* to *Fabius*. The former, being aſſiſted by *Corvilius*, whom the republic appointed to be his lieutenant, over-ran *Hetruria*, defeated the *Faliſci*, and returned to *Rome*, loaded with ſpoils. But, on the other hand, *Fabius*, having raſhly, and even without drawing up his troops, attacked the *Samnites*, was by them put to flight, after he had loſt three thouſand men in the action. The number of the wounded was greater, and moſt of them died for want of attendance, the conſul having left the ſervants of the army and the baggage a great way behind him. The news of an action ſo ill conducted exaſperated the people and ſenate to ſuch a degree, that the conſul was recalled, and would have been depoſed, had not his father ſpoke in his behalf, with all the dignity of a man of his age, merit, and employments, and even offered to ſerve under his ſon the remainder of the campaign, in quality of his lieutenant. This offer was immediately accepted, and *Fabius* ſet out with his ſon for *Samnium*, which they had ſcarce entered, when they were met by the enemy, who offered them battle. The *Samnites*, whom no adverſe fortune could diſcourage, made their firſt onſet with ſuch vigor, that the *Romans* could ſcarce withſtand them. *Pontius Herennius*, their general, elated with his firſt victory, made incredible efforts to gain a ſecond. On the other hand, the conſul, to wipe off the ſhame of his late defeat, fought as a private ſoldier in the firſt line. But *Pontius*, having broke through the troop which covered young *Fabius*, was ſurrounding him on all ſides; which the father perceiving, threw himſelf into the midſt of the enemy's battalions, and by his example animated the legions to exert themſelves with ſuch vigor, that *Gurges* was reſcued, and the enemy put to the rout. Twenty thouſand of the enemy were ſlain, and four thouſand taken priſoners. Among the latter was *Pontius* himſelf, who had done in this fatal engagement all that could be expected from an experienced commander and gallant ſoldier. *Rome* would have been more ſenſibly affected with this victory at any other time; but the plague, which made a dreadful havock of her citizens, much damped her joy. To appeaſe the wrath of the gods, recourſe was had to the uſual remedy, ſuperſtition. The *Sibylline* books were conſulted, and there it was read, that, to put a ſtop to the plague, the god *Æſculapius* ſhould be brought to *Rome* from *Epidaurus*, a city of *Peloponneſus*, where he was worſhipped under the figure of a ſerpent. An embaſſy was accordingly appointed for that purpoſe [b].

The conſul Fabius Gurges *defeated by the* Samnites.

But Fabius Maximus *gives them a dreadful overthrow.*

The conſular year being near expired, and the two conſuls buſied in carrying on the war in their reſpective provinces, a dictator was appointed to ſupply their room; but his nomination proving defective, the republic fell into an inter-regnum, when *L. Poſthumius*, one of the magiſtrates named to govern the ſtate till the new election, held the comitia, and, by his intrigues, got himſelf elected the third time. His college was *Junius Brutus*, ſurnamed *Bubulcus*. *Poſthumius*, who was a man of a haughty, enterpriſing, and untractable temper, aſſumed to himſelf the command of the war in *Samnium*, without drawing lots with his collegue, or waiting for a decree of the ſenate in his favour. About this time the god *Æſculapius*, who had been expected a whole year, arrived from *Epidaurus*, to the great joy of the people; and the plague is ſaid to have ceaſed ſoon after (A). The two conſuls ſet out for their reſpective

Æſculapius brought to Rome.

[a] Val. Max. l. iv. c. 1. [b] Liv. l. x. c. 47. Oros. l. viii. c. 22. Zonar. l. viii. Epit. 11.

(A) *Æſculapius* was a native of *Meſſene*, a city of *Peloponneſus*. As ſoon as he was born, his parents expoſed him, according to the barbarous cuſtom of thoſe times, in a foreſt, where he was found by ſome

a reſpective provinces, *Brutus* for *Hetruria*, and *Poſthumius* for *Samnium*. The former performed nothing which hiſtorians have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. In *Samnium* the two *Fabii* gained great advantages, and were actually beſieging *Cominium*, which the *Samnites* had rebuilt, when *Poſthumius* arrived with a new conſular army. *Fabius Gurges* had been continued in the command of the army in quality of proconſul; but nevertheleſs *Poſthumius* ſent him orders to deſiſt from the ſiege and leave that enterprize to him. *Fabius* had recourſe to the ſenate, acquainting the conſcript fathers with the orders he had received from the conſul; whereupon the ſenate immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to *Poſthumius*, injoining him to bend his forces another way, and not diſturb *Fabius* in the enterprize he was carrying on; but *Poſt-*
b *humius*, without paying any regard to the authority of the ſenate, gave their meſſenger this haughty anſwer, *Tell the conſcript fathers, that it is their duty to obey their conſul, and not his to ſubmit to their commands.* He then marched towards *Cominium*, reſolved to give the *Fabii* battle, if they did not yield to his obſtinate humour. Young *Fabius*, being warranted by the authority of the ſenate, was for ſuſtaining the attack of the raſh aggreſſor; but his father prevailed upon him, for the ſake of the public good, to give way to his imperious rival. Then *Poſthumius*, having a clear ſtage, preſſed *Cominium* with ſuch vigor, that he made himſelf maſter of it in a few days. From thence he turned his arms againſt *Venuſium*, an important place on the confines

Cominium *retaken from the* Samnites.

ſome hunters, who, touched with compaſſion, cauſed him to be ſuckled by a bitch. When he became capable of inſtruction, he was commited to the care of the famous *Chiron*, who taught him phyſic or ſurgery; for theſe two arts were then confounded. The diſciple ſoon excelled his maſter, and, being grown an able phyſician, ſettled at *Epidaurus*, a city of *Argos*, and practiſed his art there. He made ſome diſcoveries in the cure of diſeaſes and wounds; for he is ſaid to have invented the *probe*, to have firſt made uſe of *bandages*, and to have been the firſt who invented *purges* and the art of drawing *teeth*. For theſe diſcoveries the people were pleaſed to call him the ſon of *Apollo*, and, after his death to rank him among the gods. He had a temple erected to him in *Epidaurus*; and the prieſts, who preſided over the worſhip of this new god, bred one of thoſe ſnakes, which were eaſily tamed and taught to follow any perſons where they pleaſed. This ſnake the ſilly vulgar honoured as the god himſelf. His uſual hole was under the feet of the fine marble ſtatue of *Æſculapius*, which the famous ſculptor *Thraſymedes* of *Paros* had made; and whenever he came out of it, his appearance was underſtood to prognoſtic the cure of the ſick perſon. The *Roman* envoys were brought into the temple, and it is probable, that the *Epidaurians* made them pay dear for the relief they deſired, their reputation and intereſt being then very ſmall in *Greece*. But however that be, the *Epidaurians* ſuffered them to carry away the ſnake, which drew all the people in the neighbourhood into the city. We are told, that the ſnake came out of its hole, while the embaſſadors were viewing the ſtatue of *Æſculapius*, left the temple of its own accord, paſſed all through the city, went directly to the port, where the *Roman* ſhip was at anchor, and entering the veſſel, curled himſelf into ſeveral circles in the cabbin of *Ogulnius*, who was at the head of the embaſſy, and continued quietly there. The other adventures of the pretended *Æſculapius*, in his paſſage from *Epidaurus* to *Rome*, have been celebrated both by the poets and hiſtorians. It is pretended, that the voyage was exceeding proſperous and happy, till the veſſel approached the coaſts of *Italy*, when a violent ſtorm, ariſing all on a ſudden, forced the mariners to put in at the port of *Antium*, where there was a temple dedicated to *Æſculapius*. The ſnake, which had hitherto confined himſelf to *Ogulnius*'s cabbin, here made his eſcape, and gliding along came to the court of the ſanctuary where he was worſhipped. As the place was planted with myrtles and palm-trees, the pretended *Æſculapius* got upon one of the largeſt of them, and, twiſting his long body round it, continued there three days. At length he returned to the galley of his own accord, and ſuffered himſelf to be carried to the place intended. The joy the *Romans* ſhewed upon the arrival of this ſalutary god is not to be expreſſed. Altars were erected all along the banks of the *Tiber*, and numberleſs ſacrifices offered. The *Romans* deſigned to receive him within their walls, and there build him a temple; but the god is ſaid to have choſe his own abode in the midſt of the *Tiber*, on an iſland formed in the infancy of the republic by ſtraw, trunks of trees, ſand, and the rubbiſh of the city. Thither the ſerpent retired, ſwimming gently through the water. From that time it was called the iſland of *Æſculapius*, and a temple was ſoon erected to him there, and inriched with numberleſs preſents. It was built in the ſhape of a ſhip, the higher part of it reſembling the ſtern, and the lower the prow. *Pliny* tells us, that the *Romans*, who had an averſion to phyſicians and their art, would not ſuffer *Æſculapius* to be brought within their wall; and indeed it muſt be owned, that the *Romans* had not that regard for phyſic, which an art of that importance deſerves. For a long courſe of years they left the practice of it wholly to perſons of a ſervile condition or freedmen. This contempt for phyſicians was chiefly owing to the roguery and ignorance of the empiris or quacks, who, under the title of phyſicians, abuſed the credulity of the people, made their market of them, and at the ſame time much endangered the ſick under their care. However, the temple of the god of health was much frequented by the common people at *Rome*. The ſick came and paſſed a night in it; and either imagination, or the ſtrenth of nature, ſometimes wrought cures there, which were aſcribed to the power of the god. Thoſe who recovered ſacrificed to the god by way of thankſgiving a cock; for this bird was ſacred to *Æſculapius*, and a ſymbol of the vigilance, which is neceſſary for the cure of diſeaſes. It was in alluſion to this, that *Socrates* when condemned to die, and thereby delivered from all the evils and diſtempers attending this life, ordered a cock to be ſacrificed to *Æſculapius*. There were ſome remains of the ancient temple of *Æſculapius* to be ſeen in the ſixteenth century, near the church of St. *Bartholomew* in the iſland of the *Tiber* (19).

(19) *Cic. de nat. deor. l.* iii. *Val. Max. l.* i. *c.* 8. *Ovid Metamor. l.* xv. *Plin. l* xix. *c.* 1.

confines of *Apulia*, *Lucania*, and *Samnium*, and brought it under ſubjection to the *Romans*. He then wrote to the ſenate, giving them an account of his conqueſt, which, he hoped, would have reconciled the conſcript fathers to him, and made them forget his diſobedience. In the ſame letter he propoſed, that a colony might be ſent to *Venuſium*, to keep the neighbouring provinces in awe. His propoſal was approved, but occaſion taken from it to mortify him, and make him ſenſible, that the ſenate preferred obedience to valour. It was cuſtomary for the conqueror of a city to be one of the triumviri ſent thither to ſettle a colony; but, in the caſe of *Venuſium*, the ſenate, without any regard to *Poſthumius*, named three others, allowing him no ſhare in that honour. Nor was this all; to humble the proud *Poſthumius* yet more, they granted the honours of a triumph to young *Fabius* his rival, who entered *Rome* triumphantly on the calends of the month *Sextilis*. The brave *Pontius*, famous for having ſurprized the *Roman* legions and made them paſs under the yoke at the *Caudine Forks*, followed the chariot of the conqueror, and, by an act of inhumanity unworthy of a civilized nation, was condemned to loſe his head. While young *Fabius* was riding in his triumphal chariot, his father followed him on horſeback. He had formerly, in his firſt triumphs, carried his ſon in his chariot with him, and was now overjoyed to march after him, to mingle in the crowd, and to hear the acclamations of the people, and the ſongs of the ſoldiers, in praiſe of the triumphant victor; however, the ſpectators did him juſtice, ſaying, that the ſon was honoured with a triumph, but that the father deſerved it [c].

Pontius, *the famous* Samnite *general, put to death at* Rome.

Poſthumius, ſeeing his rival thus honoured, and himſelf treated with ſo much contempt, vented his rage in bitter invectives againſt the ſenate, and invented a new kind of revenge, which was to diſtribute among his ſoldiers all the booty he had taken in the two conquered cities, without lodging any part of it in the public treaſury. He then out of ſpite diſbanded his troops, before his ſucceſſor could arrive. His collegue *Brutus* preſided in the comitia, when *P. Cornelius Rufinus* and *Manius Curius Dentatus* were choſen. *Poſthumius* was no ſooner out of office, than he was brought to a trial before the comitia by tribes. Before he left *Rome*, he had employed a detachment of his troops in the ſervile work of grubbing up a foreſt in his own eſtate. His accuſation chiefly turned on his employing in ſo mean an office men of free condition, and who owed no ſervice but to the public. As this crime offended the people more than his diſobedience to the ſenate, they condemned him to pay a conſiderable fine [d].

The war with the *Samnites* had already furniſhed the *Roman* generals with matter for twenty-four triumphs, but had coſt the conquerors a great deal of blood, many fatigues, and vaſt expences; ſo that the republic was quite tired with engaging every year the ſame enemy. In order therefore to put an end to this tedious war, both conſuls were ordered into *Samnium*, where they acted ſeparately, each at the head of a conſular army, ravaged the country, took ſeveral cities, gained ſome battles, and at length obliged that gallant nation, which, after the loſs of their brave general and able governor *Pontius*, was no longer in a condition to oppoſe the progreſs of their arms, to ſue for peace. The republic readily conſented to enter into an alliance with them for the fourth time; but left the ſettling of the articles to *Curius Dentatus*, a man of great probity, and who, without any vanity or oſtentation, lived in that voluntary poverty and unaffected contempt of riches, which the philoſophers of thoſe times cried up and recommended. The *Samnite* deputies found him ſitting on a poor wooden ſeat near the fire, dreſſing his own dinner, which conſiſted of a few roots, and offered him a large ſum of money; but *Curius* expreſſed his indignation with a diſdainful ſmile. Without doubt, ſaid he, my poverty inſpires you with hopes of corrupting me; but your attempts are vain. I had rather command the rich, than be rich myſelf. Carry back with you this fatal metal, which men make uſe of only for their deſtruction; and tell your countrymen, that they will find it as difficult a matter to corrupt, as to conquer, me. The conditions *Curius* impoſed upon them are not known; but it is probable they were no-ways favourable to that warlike and reſtleſs nation. The treaty was no ſooner concluded, than the conſul returned to *Rome*, where he triumphed, to the unexpreſſible joy of the people, who found themſelves diſburdened of a war, which had laſted forty-nine years, and given the republic more trouble, than their wars with all the other ſtates of *Italy* together.

The republic enters into an alliance with the Samnites. *Year after the flood* 2714. *Before Chriſt* 285. *Of* Rome 463

And

[c] Liv. epit. 11. Fast. Capit. Plut. in Fab. & Val. Max. l. ix. c. 7. [d] Dio Hal. in excerpt Valeſii. Liv. epit. 11.

The Sabines reduced.

AND now the conqueſt of *Samnium* drew after it the intire reduction of the *Sabines*, whoſe confederacy with *Rome* was as ancient as the city itſelf; but, notwithſtanding their alliance with the republic, they had joined the *Samnites*. *Curius* being therefore ſent againſt them, brought the whole country under ſubjection; but as they were old allies, and had not aggravated their offences by any long revolt or obſtinate hatred, the weight of the yoke was leſſened, and the right of *Roman* citizenſhip beſtowed upon them, but without the right of ſuffrage. For the conqueſt of the *Sabines Curius* had a ſecond triumph decreed him the ſame year, an honour which no general before him had ever enjoyed. As *Curius* was by birth a plebeian, ſome patricians attempted to caſt a ſtain upon his reputation, accuſing him of appropriating to himſelf part of the ſpoils taken from the enemy. As the proofs were not clear, *Curius* was put to his oath, and then he confeſſed, that he had kept a little wooden oil veſſel for making libations to the gods; but proteſted that he had reſerved nothing more. Such was the character of his diſintereſtedneſs that he was believed, the malice of his accuſers ſerving only to heighten the luſtre of his virtue [e].

IN the following conſulate of *M. Valerius Corvinus* and *Q. Cædicius Noctua*, *Curius Dentatus* was ſent into *Lucania*, in quality of proconſul, to aſſiſt the *Thurini* againſt the *Lucanians*, who had invaded their territory. In this expedition, being attended with his uſual ſucceſs, he defeated the *Lucanians*, and obliged them to retire into their own country. The two conſuls ſpent their whole year in works of peace, and in ſending colonies to the conquered cities; namely to *Adria*, a maritime town, which is ſaid to have given name to the *Adriatic* ſea; to *Caſtrum* in *Picenum*, and to *Sena*, another city on the *Adriatic*, at the mouth of the *Seno*, in the country of the *Senones*. As men were grown more vicious, and the number of malefactors daily increaſed, as is uſual in time of peace, three new judges were appointed to relieve the prætor and try criminals. The puniſhments theſe judges could inflict were confined to pecuniary fines; but nevertheleſs they were ſtyled *triumviri capitales*, becauſe the care of the priſons, where the greateſt criminals were kept, was committed to them, and they had the direction of their execution. Theſe new magiſtrates were choſen annually in the comitia by tribes; and from their ſentence there lay no appeal. The time of this general peace was alſo thought a proper ſeaſon to take a cenſus of the *Roman* people, by which it appeared, that the number of *Roman* citizens fit to bear arms, amounted to two hundred and ſeventy-three thouſand [f].

Triumviri capitales.

THE fruit of this new peace was, trouble abroad, and diſſention at home. The people, oppreſſed by the uſuries of the rich citizens, revived a quarrel, which had begun near two hundred years before. They kept themſelves at firſt within bounds, only demanding, that ſome abuſes ſhould be reformed with reſpect to contracts, whereby creditors exacted an immoderate intereſt for money lent. But the year enſuing, when *Q. Marcius Tremulus* and *P. Cornelius Arvina* were conſuls a ſecond time, a new accident drove them to extremities. *T. Veturius*, one of thoſe unfortunate conſuls who had been ſurprized in the *Caudine Forks*, died inſolvent; and his ſon, who had been educated with great care and formed to virtue, borrowed a conſiderable ſum of one *C. Plotius*, to defray the expence of his father's funeral. *Plotius*, who had alſo lent great ſums to the father, ſoon after preſſed the ſon to pay both his father's debts and that which he had lately contracted himſelf. Young *Veturius*, having neither money nor credit, was forced to ſubmit to ſlavery, and work for his creditor, till he had diſcharged the whole debt. He bore his ſervitude with great conſtancy, and made it his ſtudy to pleaſe his creditor in every thing, till that infamous wretch ſolicited him, as he was a youth of great beauty, to gratify a brutal paſſion he had conceived for him; but then *Veturius*, remembring his birth and the leſſons he had been taught in his earlieſt infancy, rejected his ſhameful addreſſes with the utmoſt indignation. His conſtancy was immoveable, tho' his cruel maſter treated him moſt unmercifully for his virtuous reſiſtance. One day, being covered all over with blood and torn with ſtripes, he made his eſcape out of the houſe, appeared in the forum, and there ſhewed the people the marks of his barbarous creditor's cruelty, and diſcovered the infamy of his tyrant. The people laid hold of this opportunity to decry the uſurers, and to demand the abolition of the law, which impowered them to reduce inſolvent debtors to ſlavery. This inhuman law had been annulled once before on a like occaſion; but the patricians had, by their authority and intereſt, revived it. As for

The debtors murmur againſt the uſurers.

[e] FLOR. in epit. 11. Auth. de illuſt. viris. [f] LIV. epit. 11. FEST. POMP. l. xvii.

for the execrable *Plotius*, the tribunes accuſed him before the aſſembled centuries, and a got him condemned to death. The plebeians, not content with this firſt victory, inſiſted on the abolition of the above-mentioned law. The patricians oppoſed it to the utmoſt of their power: This is robbing us, ſaid they, of our ſecurity for what we have lent. Debts muſt be paid, according to the old law, either in body or goods. The people, finding the patricians obſtinate and inflexible, had recourſe to an expedient, which had ever proved effectual. They left the city and poſted themſelves on the hill *Janiculus*, with the *Tiber* between them and their proſecutors. By this removal of the people, the city being left deſtitute of artificers and labourers, and no proviſions being brought thither from the country, for the country-people had likewiſe their complaints, the patricians and rich citizens found themſelves obliged to b humour the multitude. The conſuls therefore of this year, *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *C. Nautius Rutilus*, were ordered to name a dictator, in order to appeaſe the revolted populace. The perſon they named was *Q. Hortenſius*, who, immediately entering into a treaty with the ſeparatiſts, made them the following conceſſions, *viz.* that the law in queſtion ſhould be repealed, and that two other laws, which had been formerly made but no-ways regarded by the patricians, ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved for the future. Theſe were, that the decrees made by the tribes ſhould be equally obſerved both by the patricians and plebeians; and that all laws ſhould firſt paſs in the ſenate, and be afterwards brought to the comitia, to be there approved or rejected. The country-people complained, that juſtice was not adminiſtered at *Rome* on market- c days; and that, when any cauſes were depending, they were forced to leave their work and return to the city again. This was rectified, and the dictator promiſed, that market-days ſhould no longer be vacation-days for the judges, that the huſbandmen might have their cauſes heard before they went home. When theſe articles were drawn up, and the people's minds began to be calmed, *Q. Hortenſius* died. It being therefore neceſſary to nominate another dictator, *Q. Fabius Maximus* was raiſed to that dignity, who choſe for his general of the horſe a famous plebeian named *Volummius Flamma*. By the interpoſition of theſe two great men, the work, which *Hortenſius* had begun, was ſoon accompliſhed; and the people, having attained to the higheſt pitch of their deſires, returned to the city, and thought only of enjoying the ſweets of d tranquillity. The balance of power leaned now rather to their ſide. The nobility had no other advantage over them but that of great riches, and the reſpect which is naturally paid to perſons of high birth. The peace of the city being therefore no more interrupted by inteſtine conteſts, we ſhall ſee the republic increaſe her dominions abroad with incredible rapidity. The great *Fabius* died ſoon after he had happily accompliſhed the accommodation. In his life-time he had been looked upon as a prodigy of valour, wiſdom, and virtue; and upon his death the people contributed to the expence of his obſequies with ſo much generoſity, that his ſon, with the victims offered at his funeral, gave a public entertainment to the whole city [e]. It is probable, that, after the reconciliation, the dictator *Fabius* preſided at the election of the new e conſuls *M. Valerius Potitus* and *C. Ælius Pætus*, whoſe year proved barren of remarkable events; as did alſo the following, when *C. Claudius Canina* and *M. Æmilius Lepidus* were conſuls. But in the following conſulate of *C. Servilius Tucca* and *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, the *Tarentines*, jealous of the proſperity of the *Romans*, and apprehending that they aimed at the conqueſt of all *Italy*, ſtirred up both old and new enemies againſt the republic, and engaged her in one of the moſt formidable wars ſhe had ever ſuſtained.

Secеſſion of the people.

Q. Hortenſius *dictator.*

Terms of reconciliation.

Fabius Maximus *dictator.*

The Tarentines *ſtir up new and old enemies againſt* Rome.

Tarentum was a city of *Great Greece*, which comprehended the greateſt part of the ſouth coaſt of *Italy*. Moſt of the cities in this great province had been founded by *Greeks*, who brought thither with them the *Greek* language, cuſtoms, and manners. The *Tarentines* in particular were a colony of *Spartans*, who, ſettling on the continent of *Italy* under the conduct of one *Phalantus*, made themſelves maſters of a city firſt called *Oebalia*, and afterwards *Tarentum*, from one *Taras*, or, as others will have it, *Tarentus*, who is ſaid to have increaſed and embelliſhed the city after the *Greeks* were maſters of it. Theſe tranſplanted *Spartans* ſoon forgot the ſevere diſcipline of *Sparta*, and plunged themſelves into all the debaucheries with which the reſt of the *Greeks* were reproached. The heat of the climate, the fruitfulneſs of the country, and the opportunity of ſupplying themſelves by ſea with all the delights of *Greece*, ſunk them into idleneſs,

[e] LIV. ibid. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 9. Auth. de vir. illuſt. CIC. in orat. pro Planco.

idleneſs, and all the vices that attend it. Their whole life was ſpent in feaſts, ſports, and public entertainments. Buffoons and proſtitutes governed the ſtate at their pleaſure, and often determined the moſt important affairs by a joke or an indecent geſture. They bore a mortal hatred to the *Romans* and dreaded their dominion, not ſo much out of fear of loſing their liberty, as of being diſturbed by that warlike and rough people in the purſuit of their pleaſures. They therefore employed all their *Grecian* ſubtlety to draw ſuch a number of enemies upon them, as ſtill to keep them at a diſtance from themſelves, and this without appearing to be concerned.

At the ſame time the *Senones*, having raiſed a formidable army, marched into *Hetruria*, with a deſign to beſiege *Aretium*, a city about forty leagues from *Rome*, at a ſmall diſtance from the *Arnus*. The *Aretines* had immediately recourſe to the *Romans*, who, they knew, would never ſuffer the *Gauls* to make conqueſts in *Hetruria*, and thereby open themſelves a way to *Rome*. The republic, alarmed at the leaſt motion of ſo powerful an enemy, diſpatched, without loſs of time, the conſul *Lucius Cæcilius* with an army to the aſſiſtance of the *Aretini*; but, before any act of hoſtility, a deputation was ſent to the *Senones*, to diſſuade them from their deſign. But the proud *Gauls*, inſtead of liſtening to the mediation of *Rome*, killed the deputies, and brought their troops before *Aretium*. Hereupon the conſul advanced with his army, and came to an engagement with the enemy, in which he himſelf was killed, with ſeven legionary tribunes, the beſt part of the *Roman* knights, and thirteen thouſand private men. Upon the news of this dreadful overthrow, the famous *Curius Dentatus* was ordered with new troops into *Hetruria*, to ſupply the place of the conſul *Cæcilius*; but that wiſe commander, inſtead of marching to the relief of *Aretium* and engaging the enemy fluſhed with their late victory, held his rout along the confines of *Hetruria*, and entering the country of the *Senones*, took advantage of the abſence of their beſt troops to ravage it without oppoſition. He plundered and burnt their houſes, laid waſte their fields, put all thoſe to the ſword who were able to bear arms, carried the women and children into captivity, and, in ſhort, reduced the whole country to a vaſt deſart, in which there ſcarce remained any appearance of its having ever been cultivated or inhabited [h]. Thus he took ample revenge for the murder of the *Roman* embaſſadors.

The Senones *kill the deputies of* Rome, *and defeat the* Roman *army.*

The next year, in the beginning of the adminiſtration of the new conſuls, *P. Cornelius Dolabella* and *Cn. Domitius Calvinus*, the *Boii*, the *Hetrurians*, and the *Samnites*, once more declared againſt the republic, being ſtirred up under-hand by the *Tarentines*; but, notwithſtanding this great confederacy, the ſenate and people repoſed ſo great a confidence in the new conſuls, that they did not think of creating a dictator, as was uſual in times of great danger. Nor was their confidence ill grounded; for *Domitius* taking the field and meeting the *Senones*, who had raiſed the ſiege of *Aretium* and were marching ſtrait to *Rome*, to revenge the devaſtations made in their country, gave them a total overthrow, and covered the field of battle with their dead bodies. Only a ſmall number of them eſcaped, and ſaved themſelves in the country of the *Boii*, whom they preſſed to take arms immediately and revenge the common cauſe of the *Gauls*. Accordingly the *Boii*, having raiſed all the young men in their territory who were able to bear arms, and being reinforced by a great body of *Hetrurians*, purſued the attempt which the *Senones* had begun, and marched towards *Rome*; but the conſul *Cornelius*, who waited for them on the banks of the lake *Vademonis* in *Hetruria*, now *il Lago di Baſſano*, engaged them, killed almoſt all the *Hetrurians* and the greater part of the *Boii*. The latter made ſome faint efforts againſt the *Romans* the next year; but, being defeated a ſecond time, they were forced to ſue for peace. As for the *Senones*, they were ſo utterly deſtroyed, that there ſcarce remained any footſteps in *Italy* of a nation, which had diſtinguiſhed itſelf ſo much by the taking of *Rome*.

The Senones *intirely defeated.*

And alſo the Boii *and* Hetrurians.

In the following conſulate of *C. Fabricius* and *Q. Æmilius Papus*, almoſt all *Italy* roſe in arms againſt the imperious republic; but *Fabricius* being ſent into *Lucania*, defeated there the confederate forces of the *Lucanians*, *Brutians*, and *Samnites*, and made himſelf maſter of their camp. Twenty-five thouſand of the enemy, with their general *Statilius*, were ſlain. The *Romans*, imagining that the god *Mars* had fought in perſon for them, returned him ſolemn thanks for his aſſiſtance by public ſupplications (B). As

[h] Polyb. l. ii. Dion. apud Ful. Urſinum.

(B) *Fabricius*, after having defeated the confederate army of the *Lucanians*, *Brutians*, and *Samnites*, found it a difficult enterprize to force their camp. The means, by which he ſucceeded in it, and which had

As for the *Tarentines*, though they were the real authors of this war, they had not yet appeared in the field, nor openly declared againſt *Rome*; but an accident made them at length throw off the maſk, and brought on, after a long ſeries of events, their utter ruin. *Valerius*, or, as others call him, *Cornelius*, one of the maritime duumviri, or admirals of the *Roman* fleet, happened to come to the mouth of their harbour with ten ſhips, while the idle inhabitants of the city were aſſembled, as uſual, in the theatre, which looked towards the harbour. The *Tarentines*, imagining that *Rome*, having at laſt diſcovered their ſecret plots, had ſent that fleet to puniſh them, they all, with one conſent, ran down to the port, fell upon the *Roman* fleet with the fury of madmen, ſunk one ſhip and took four, the other five eſcaping. All the priſoners fit to bear arms were put to the ſword, and the others ſold for ſlaves to the beſt bidder. The *Romans*, upon the news of this unexpected act of hoſtility, ſent a deputation to *Tarentum*, to demand ſatisfaction for the inſult offered to the republic; but the *Tarentines*, inſtead of hearkening to their demands, inſulted the embaſſadors in the moſt outrageous manner. They admitted them to an audience in the theatre, where *Poſthumius Megellus*, who was at the head of the embaſſy and had been thrice conſul, harangued the aſſembly in *Greek*. His advanced age, his perſonal merit, and, above all, the character of an embaſſador from a powerful people, ought to have gained him reſpect; but the *Tarentines*, heated with wine, not only gave no attention to his diſcourſe, but burſt into loud laughter, and impudently hiſſed him, whenever he dropped an improper expreſſion, or pronounced a word with a foreign accent. Nor was this all: when he began to ſpeak of reparations of injuries, they flew into a rage, and rather drove him out of the aſſembly, than diſmiſſed him. As he was walking off with an air of gravity and dignity, which he preſerved, notwithſtanding the reception they gave him, a buffoon, named *Philonides*, coming up to him, urined upon his robe, a new ſource of immoderate laughter to the mad and drunken multitude, who clapped their hands, applauding the outrageous inſolence. *Poſthumius*, turning about to the aſſembly, ſhewed them the ſkirt of his garment ſo defiled; but when he found that this had no effect but to increaſe the loudneſs of their contumelious mirth, he ſaid, without the leaſt emotion, *Laugh on*, Tarentines, *laugh on, now while you may*; *the time is coming when you will weep. It is not a little blood that muſt waſh and purify this garment*. This ſaid, he withdrew, left the city, and embarqued for *Rome*. When the *Tarentines* came to themſelves, and began to reflect on the enormity of their conduct, and at the ſame time on the inability of their neighbours to defend them againſt ſo powerful a republic, they caſt their eyes upon *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, whoſe great reputation for valour and long experience in war had gained him the reputation of one of the heroes of *Greece*. They therefore immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to him, but rather to ſound his diſpoſition and obſerve the ſituation of his affairs, than to enter, without farther deliberation, into any engagements with him. As *Pyrrhus* naturally loved action and the buſtle and hurry of war, the embaſſadors found him in a diſpoſition to hearken to any propoſal, which would furniſh him with employment worthy of his ambition [i].

The Tarentines, in a fit of mirth, fall upon the Roman fleet.

An inſult which one of the Tarentine youth put upon the Roman ambaſſadors.

They take Thurium.

In the mean time, the *Tarentines*, to amuſe the *Romans* till the return of their embaſſadors from *Epirus*, beſieged *Thurium*, which was defended by a *Roman* garriſon, and made themſelves maſters of it. This news was brought to *Rome* a little after the return of *Poſthumius* and the other embaſſadors, who had been ſo ill treated at *Tarentum*. The new conſuls therefore, *L. Æmilius Barbula* and *Q. Marcius Philippus*, having aſſembled the conſcript fathers, laid before them the ſituation of the affairs of the republic on one hand, and the ſhameful indignity which had been offered the embaſſadors on the other. It was dangerous to engage in a new war, when the republic had ſo many nations to contend with. The *Hetrurians* were ſtill in arms; the

[i] Dio. Hal. in legat. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 2. Zonar. l. viii. c. 2. Flor. epit. 12. Plut. in Pyrrho.

had ſomething of the air of a miracle, was probably a ſtratagem of his own contriving. While he ſeemed to be in ſuſpenſe what meaſures to take, a young man, full of ſtrength and vigor, wearing feathers in his helmet, appeared on a ſudden in the midſt of the legions, exhorted them to decline no danger for the honour of their country, and then ſeizing a ladder, advanced to the rampart through a ſhower of darts, planted his ladder againſt it, and mounted the wall. This bold action intimidated the confederates, and inſpired the *Romans* with ſuch intrepidity, that they ſoon made themſelves maſters of the camp. After the victory, the conſul ordered the young man to be ſought for, in order to reward him for having firſt mounted the rampart; and because he was not to be found, the *Romans* immediately imagined, that he was the god *Mars* him-

the *Samnites*, without regard to the faith of treaties, had declared anew againſt the republic; and the *Lucanians* and *Brutians* were grown more confident ſince the taking of *Thurium*. On the other hand, the hoſtilities committed by the *Tarentines* and the inſult offered to *Poſthumius*, whoſe robe was produced in the ſenate, left no room to deliberate, whether they ſhould enter into a war with that people or not. They were all unanimous as to the neceſſity of chaſtiſing them; but whether it was adviſeable for the republic to ſhew her reſentment immediately was doubted. Some of the ſenators were for declaring war forthwith; others for deferring it, till the provinces bordering on the *Tarentine* territories were ſubdued. Never was debate more tedious or more perplexing. The ſame queſtion was diſcuſſed and warmly debated, from ſun-riſing to ſun-ſet, for ſeveral days together. At length the opinion of thoſe, who were for beginning the war immediately, prevailed; and the decree of the ſenate being confirmed by the people, orders were diſpatched to the conſul *Æmilius*, who was on his march into *Samnium*, to lay aſide that expedition and turn his arms againſt *Tarentum*. The *Tarentines*, upon the approach of a conſular army, carried on their deliberations with more ſerioufneſs; and when the conſul ſent once again to demand ſatisfaction before he began hoſtilities, the better ſort of citizens declared for peace. *Æmilius* offered them moderate terms; and, after all, it was but equitable, that they ſhould repair the injuries, and wipe off the reproach they had thrown on a conſiderable republic without any provocation; but the populace, who had nothing to loſe, inſiſted on a war; and their clamours prevailed over the juſt reaſons of the wiſeſt men in *Tarentum*. The propoſal of bringing *Pyrrhus* into *Italy* was revived, and a decree paſſed for inviting that prince to *Tarentum*. One *Meton*, a citizen of good ſenſe, and no ways infected with the general corruption which prevailed in the city, endeavoured to divert his countrymen from this mad deſign (C); but was thruſt out of the aſſembly, and embaſſadors were immediately diſpatched into *Epirus*, not only in the name of the *Tarentines*, but of all the *Greek* colonies in *Italy*, with magnificent preſents for the king, and with inſtructions to acquaint him, that they only wanted a general of fame and experience; and that as for troops, they could themſelves furniſh a numerous army of twenty thouſand horſe and three hundred and fifty thouſand foot, made up of *Lucanians*, *Meſſapians*, *Samnites*, and *Tarentines*. As ſoon as the news of this deputation was brought to the *Roman* camp, *Æmilius*, who had hitherto made war on the *Tarentines* but gently, in hopes of adjuſting matters by way of negotiation, took other meaſures, and began to commit all ſorts of hoſtilities. He took cities, ſtormed caſtles, and laid the whole country waſte, burning and deſtroying all before him. The *Tarentines* brought their army into the field; but *Æmilius* ſoon obliged them to take refuge within their walls. However, to induce them to lay aſide the deſign of receiving *Pyrrhus*, he uſed the priſoners he had taken with great moderation, and even ſent them back without ranſom. Theſe highly extolled the generoſity of the conſul, inſomuch, that many of the inhabitants were brought over to the *Roman* party; and they all began to repent of their having rejected a peace and ſent for *Pyrrhus*. But, in the mean time, the *Tarentine* embaſſadors arriving in *Epirus*, purſuant to the powers they had received, made an abſolute treaty with the king, who immediately ſent before him the famous *Cyneas*, with three thouſand men, to take poſſeſſion of the citadel of *Tarentum*. This eloquent miniſter, whoſe character we have given in our hiſtory of *Epirus* [k], ſoon found means to depoſe *Agis*, whom the

They invite Pyrrhus into Italy.

Cyneas arrives at Tarentum.

[k] Vide Vol. III. p. 739.

(C) *Meton*, on the day that a public decree was to paſs for inviting *Pyrrhus* to *Tarentum*, and when the people were all placed in the theatre, putting a withered garland on his head, and having a flambeau in his hand, as was the manner of the drunken debauchees, came dancing into the midſt of the aſſembly, accompanied by a woman playing on the flute. This ſilly ſight was ſufficient to divert the *Tarentines* from their moſt important deliberations. They made a ring, and called out to *Meton* to ſing, and to the woman to play; but when they, expecting to be entertained with a ſong, were all ſilent, the wiſe citizen, aſſuming an air of great ſerioufneſs, You do well, *Tarentines*, ſaid he, not to hinder thoſe from diverting themſelves, who are diſpoſed to mirth; and, if you are wiſe, you will yourſelves take advantage of the preſent liberty you enjoy to do the ſame. When *Pyrrhus* comes, you muſt change your way of life; your mirth and joy will be at an end. Theſe words made an impreſſion upon the multitude, and a murmur went about, that he had ſpoken well; but thoſe who had ſome reaſon to fear that they ſhould be delivered up to the *Romans*, in caſe of an accommodation, being inraged at what he had ſaid, reviled the aſſembly for ſuffering themſelves to be ſo mocked and affronted; and crouding together thruſt *Meton* out of the aſſembly (20).

(20) *Plut. in Pyrrho.*

the *Tarentines* had chosen to be their general and the governor of the city, tho' a sincere friend to the *Romans*. He likewise prevailed upon the *Tarentines* to deliver up the citadel into his hands; which he no sooner got possession of, than he dispatched messengers to *Pyrrhus*, soliciting him to hasten his departure for *Italy*. In the mean time, the consul *Æmilius*, finding that he could not attempt any thing with success against the *Tarentines* this campaign, resolved to put his troops into winter-quarters in *Apulia*, which was not far from the territority of *Tarentum*, that was soon to become the seat of the war. As he was obliged to pass through certain defiles, with the sea on one side and high hills on the other, he was there attacked by the *Tarentines* and *Epirots*, from great numbers of barks, fraught with *baliſtæ*, that is, *engines for throwing ſtones of a vaſt weight*, and from the hills, on which were posted a great many archers and slingers. Hereupon *Æmilius* placed the *Tarentine* prisoners between him and the enemy; which the *Tarentines* perceiving, soon left off molesting the *Romans*, out of compassion to their own countrymen; so that the *Romans* arrived safe in *Apulia*, and there took up their winter-quarters. As for the consul, he repaired to *Rome*, where his collegue *Marcius* had a triumph on the calends of *April*, for having vanquished the *Hetrurians* [l].

The next year *P. Valerius Lævinus* and *Tib. Coruncanius* were chosen consuls. The latter was raised to the consulate purely for his merit; for he was of a mean descent, and not even a *Roman* by birth, but a native of *Camerium*, a *Roman municipium* in *Latium*. It fell to his lot to carry on the war in *Hetruria*, and to his collegue's to conduct that against the *Tarentines*. *Æmilius*, who had acted against the *Tarentines* the last year, was continued in the command of his own troops with the title of proconsul, and ordered to make war upon the *Salentines*, who had declared for the *Tarentines*. The present exigence of affairs obliged the *Romans* to inlist the *proletarii*, who were the meanest of the people, and therefore, by way of contempt, called *proletarii*; as being thought incapable of doing the state any other service than that of *peopling* the city, and *stocking* the republic with subjects. Hitherto they had never been suffered to bear arms, but were now, to their great satisfaction, inrolled as well as others. In the mean time, *Pyrrhus* arrived at *Tarentum*, having narrowly escaped shipwreck; and being conducted into the city by his faithful *Cineas*, was received there with loud acclamations. Thus began the memorable war between the *Romans* and that famous commander, the first foreigner they had to deal with. It was carried on with great vigor on both sides for the space of six years, during which time the following consuls were at the head of the *Roman* armies; the first year *P. Valerius Lævinus* and *T. Coruncanius*; the second *P. Sulpicius Saverrio* and *P. Decius Mus*, whose father and grandfather were both famous for their devotements; the third *C. Fabricius* and *Q. Æmilius*, two men of most distinguished merit; the fourth *Cornelius Ruffinus* and *C. Junius Brutus*, the former a man extremely covetous and self-interested, but nevertheless promoted by the interest of *Fabricius*, because he was a much abler commander than any of his competitors; the fifth *Q. Fabius Gurges* and *C. Genucius*; and lastly the sixth the famous *Curius Dentatus* and *L. Cornelius Lentulus*. But as, in our history of *Epirus*, we have given a very particular account of this war, and the various events which attended it, from the landing of *Pyrrhus* in *Italy* to his return into his own dominions [m], we shall here only relate what happened after the latter period, referring the reader for an account of the war itself to the above-mentioned history.

The arrival of Pyrrhus.

Pyrrhus having thought it advisable to leave *Italy*, after the last battle, in which he was defeated by *Curius Dentatus* with the loss of twenty-three thousand men, *Curius* returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph, it being the most magnificent one that had ever yet been seen; great quantities of rich spoil, vessels of gold, purple carpets, statues, pictures, and, in short, all the fineries of the *Greek* cities, were carried before him. Among the captives were *Epirots*, *Thessalians*, and *Macedonians*, not to mention *Lucanians*, *Brutians*, *Tarentines*, and other *Greek* nations. The appearance and dress of so many foreigners gave the spectators great pleasure; but nothing so much raised their admiration, as the elephants with towers on their backs, animals which had never before been seen in *Rome*. As for the triumphant victor, he rode in a chariot, and the acclamations the people gave him were very sincere; they thought they could never give him sufficient proofs of their gratitude. The senate impowered him

The triumph of Curius.

[l] Fast. Capit. Frontin. in stratag. Zonar. l. viii. [m] Vide Vol. III. p. 745.

a him to appropriate to himſelf fifty acres of the conquered lands; but he declined this favour, ſaying, That he ought to be looked upon as a dangerous ſubject, who could not live upon the produce of ſeven acres. Of all the ſpoils he reſerved only a little veſſel of beech for his domeſtic ſacrifices. This magnificent triumph of *Curius* was followed by that of his collegue *Lentulus*, who had made a ſucceſsful campaign in *Lucania*, and taken from the *Samnites* the famous city of *Caudium*. This happy conſulate ended with a cenſus and a luſtrum. The virtuous *Fabricius* and his conſtant collegue *Æmilius Papus* being cenſors, they made a new liſt of ſenators, and ſtruck out the names of all thoſe who led diſſolute lives; nay, *Cornelius Ruffinus*, who had been conſul and dictator, was excluded, only for having ten pounds weight of ſilver b in plate. Happy times for the republic, when riches and luxury were branded with ignominy! By the cenſus there appeared to be in *Rome* two hundred ſeventy-one thouſand two hundred and twenty-four citizens fit to bear arms[n].

THE *Romans*, apprehending that the king of *Epirus* would ſoon appear in *Italy* again, with a more numerous army than ever, continued *Curius Dentatus* in the conſulate for the next year, giving him for his collegue *Cornelius Merenda*. In the mean time, the *Tarentines*, being now well appriſed, that *Pyrrhus*, under pretence of going to fetch new ſupplies, had intirely deſerted them, obliged *Milo*, whom the king had left in the city with a ſtrong gariſon, to confine himſelf to the citadel. Theſe diviſions made *Curius* believe, that the *Tarentines* and *Epirots* would deſtroy each other; c and upon this belief he neglected to beſiege *Tarentum*, and turned his arms againſt the *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, who retired for refuge to their mountains; but they appeared again in the field the next year, when *C. Fabius Dorſo* and *C. Claudius Carina* were conſuls. The latter defeated them, once at leaſt, in a pitched battle; for we read in the *Faſti Capitolini*, that *Claudius Carina* triumphed over the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, and *Brutians* on the day of the *Quirinalia*, or the feſtival of *Romulus*, that is, on the ſeventeenth day of *February*. And now the reputation of the *Romans* being ſpread into foreign countries, *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, king of *Egypt*, ſent embaſſadors to congratulate the republic on her ſucceſs, and to aſk the friendſhip of the *Roman* people. The *Romans*, not to be outdone in civility, ſent four embaſſadors to *Egypt*, d choſen, with the utmoſt circumſpection, by a ſenate ſtudious to preſerve their reputation abroad intire. *Fabius Gurges* was at the head of this embaſſy, and with him were joined three curule ædiles, two of them brothers of the *Fabian* family, and the third *Q. Ogulnius*. Their reception was equal to their merit and worthy of ſo magnificent a prince. He invited them to his table, and preſented each of them with a crown of gold; which they accepted, being unwilling to diſoblige the king by a refuſal; but placed them the next morning on the heads of the king's ſtatues, that were erected in the public places of the city. This contempt of riches gained the *Romans* great reputation in *Egypt*; however, the king would not ſuffer them to depart without new preſents, both for themſelves and their republic; which they, upon their return to *Rome*, depoſited in the public treaſury; but the ſenate and people ordered the quæſtors to reſtore to the embaſſadors what had been given them for their own uſe.

Embaſſadors from Ptolemy Philadelphus.

THE next year, the *Romans*, ſtill under the apprehenſion that *Pyrrhus* would once more return into *Italy*, raiſed to the conſulate two great men, who had already bore that office, and commanded with great reputation the armies of the republic. Theſe were *L. Papirius Curſor*, the worthy ſon of an illuſtrious father, and *Sp. Corvilius*, ſurnamed *Maximus*. Theſe generals had ſcarce entered *Samnium* with two armies, when a certain account came of the death of *Pyrrhus*. This news threw the *Samnites* into deſpair; they now looked upon their liberty as loſt, and, like men in that unhappy ſituation, f put all to the hazard of a battle, in which they were intirely defeated. An hiſtorian, in ſpeaking of this victory, ſays it was ſo complete, that *Samnium* itſelf was no more[o]. And thus ended this bloody war, which had laſted ſeventy-two years, and procured the *Roman* generals thirty-one triumphs. After the intire reduction of *Samnium*, the *Lucanians* and *Brutians* gave way in their turn and ſubmitted to the yoke; ſo that only *Tarentum* remained unpuniſhed; which the conſuls ſoon inveſted. There was a kind of civil war between *Milo* in the citadel and the *Tarentines* in the city; and the latter, as it is thought, had implored the aſſiſtance of the *Carthaginians*, who lay with a fleet before the town, pretending to have no deſign but againſt the *Epirots* and

The Samnites, Lucanians, *and* Brutians *ſubdued.*

[n] PLUT. in Sylla. VAL. MAX. l. iv. c. 4. [o] FLOR. l. i. c. 18.

and the citadel. The *Romans*, on the other hand, attacked the city, taking care to a
prevent the *Carthaginians* from reducing the citadel. With this view *Papirius* pri-
vately ſignified to *Milo*, that, if he would ſurrender the citadel to him, he and his
gariſon ſhould not only have their lives ſpared, but be ſafely tranſported, with all
their baggage and effects, into *Epirus*. *Milo* readily liſtened to this offer, and even
undertook to put the city as well as the citadel into the conſul's hands. Accordingly
he aſſembled the *Tarentines*, and prevailed upon them to depute him to the conſul,
promiſing to make ſuch advantagious terms for them, that they ſhould neither loſe
their lives nor their goods. *Milo* was as good as his word; for *Papirius*, in order to
hinder the *Carthaginians* from getting any footing in *Italy*, promiſed him all he aſked.
Tarentum ſurrenders. Year of the flood 2732. Before Chriſt 267. Of Rome 481
The *Romans*, being ſoon after admitted into the city, did no violence to the inha- b
bitants. As for the *Carthaginians*, when they found themſelves diſappointed, they
retired with their fleet, leaving the *Romans* under juſt ſuſpicions, that, notwithſtand-
ing their ancient alliance, they intended to rob the republic of a city, which, by right
of conqueſt, belonged to them. The *Tarentines* were all diſarmed, their ſhips taken
from them, and their city diſmantled and made tributary to *Rome*[p].

And now the *Sabines*, *Volſci*, *Campanians*, *Hetrurians*, and *Samnites* being utterly
ſubdued, the republic was at leiſure to wipe off the diſhonour thrown upon her by a
Campanian legion, ſoon after the arrival of *Pyrrhus* in *Italy*. While that prince was
at *Tarentum*, and the *Carthaginians* infeſted all the *Ionian* ſea, the inhabitants of *Rhe-*
gium, ſituated in the ſouthern extremity of *Italy* near *Sicily*, applied to the republic c
for a *Roman* gariſon to defend them from an invaſion. A legion was raiſed in *Cam-*
pania for that purpoſe, and ſent to them under the command of one *Decius Jubellus*.
Theſe ſoldiers, having been uſed to a laborious life, began ſoon to envy the inhabi-
tants the pleaſures and eaſe in which they lived; and it was not long before they formed
and executed a ſcheme to make thoſe advantages their own. They forged letters
from the *Rhegians* to *Pyrrhus*, importing an offer to put the place into his hands;
and under this pretence they maſſacred all the chief men of the city at a banquet, and
then falling upon the reſt, either put them to the ſword, or drove them out of the place.
As for the women, they obliged them to marry the murderers of their fathers and
huſbands. This news was brought to *Rome* at a time when the affairs of the repub- d
lic would not allow her to take vengeance of the perfidious legion; but the republic,
having now no enemies to fear, as ſoon as the new conſuls *C. Quinctius Claudius* and
L. Genucius Cleſſina entered upon their office, ordered the latter to turn his arms
againſt *Rhegium* and beſiege it. The uſurpers not only called to their aſſiſtance the
Mamertines, who were originally *Campanians* and had acted the ſame part at *Meſſina*,
as we have related in the hiſtory of *Sicily*, but opened an aſylum for all the profligate
wretches of the country, who flocked to the city in great crouds from all the neigh-
bouring countries. The *Campanians*, being thus reinforced, made a vigorous defence,
and held out, till, proviſions beginning to fail in the camp of the *Romans*, *Genucius*
was obliged to have recourſe to *Hiero* king of *Syracuſe*, who, by ſupplying him not e
only with the corn he wanted, but with a reinforcement of ſome *Sicilian* troops,
enabled him at laſt to make himſelf maſter of the place. Of about four thouſand men,
of which the guilty legion had at firſt conſiſted, only three hundred remained now
alive, the reſt having been killed in the ſeveral attacks made upon the city. Theſe, as
the *Campanians* enjoyed the privileges of *Roman* citizens, were ſent priſoners to *Rome* to
The perfidious legion at Rhegium *puniſhed.*
be tried there. The ſenate condemned them all to be firſt beaten with rods and then
beheaded; but, in order to prevent a mutiny, which ſo bloody an execution might
raiſe among the populace, the criminals were put to death on different days in the
forum, by fifty at a time. By this means *Rome* cleared herſelf of the ſuſpicion of
having ſent the *Rhegians* ſuccours, with no other view, but to ſeize their city. Such f
of the inhabitants, as had eſcaped the cruelty of the *Campanian* legion, were, by a
decree of the ſenate, reinſtated in the poſſeſſion of their eſtates, liberties, and laws[q].

The following year, *C. Genucius* and *Cn. Cornelius* were raiſed to the conſulate.
The Sarcinates defeated.
The former gained a victory over the *Sarcinates*, a people of *Umbria*, and was on that
account honoured with a triumph[r]. The ſucceeding conſuls, *Q. Ogulnius Gallus* and
C. Fabius Pictor, were ſent againſt one *Lollius* a *Samnite*, who, having made his eſcape
from *Rome*, where he was kept as a hoſtage, had ſeized a ſtrong place in *Samnium*, and,
being joined by the *Caricini* a people of that country, laid the neighbouring pro-
vinces

[p] Flor. epit. 15 Oros. l. iv. [q] Polyb. l. ii. c. 2. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 3. [r] Fast. Capit.

vinces under contribution. The conſuls beſieged the city of the *Caricini*, which made
a ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that they were very near failing in the enterprize; however,
being at length privately admitted into the city by ſome deſerters, they made themſelves maſters of it; but not without the loſs of many legionaries, the beſieged defending themſelves to the laſt with incredible bravery. Under the ſame conſuls, the *Romans*, who had hitherto uſed no money in commerce, except pieces of braſs, ſtamped with the figures of a bull, a ram, and a boar, began to coin ſilver and introduce it into commerce. The place appointed for the mint was the temple of *Juno Moneta*, of which we have ſpoken elſewhere; and hence came the word *money* [r].

Silver money coined at Rome.

The following conſuls, *P. Sempronius Sophus* and *Appius Claudius Craſſus*, ſon to
b the famous *Appius Claudius*, entered *Picenum* jointly; but new commotions in *Umbria* obliging them to ſeparate, *Appius* entered that country; and having made himſelf maſter of *Camerinum*, ſold all the inhabitants for ſlaves, contrary to his agreement with them, depoſited the money accruing from the ſale in the public treaſury, and ſeized all their lands. But the ſenate had too much equity to authorize ſo wicked a fraud; they cauſed all thoſe unhappy wretches to be carefully ſought out, allowed them the privileges of *Roman* citizens, granted them a place upon mount *Aventine* for their habitation, and allotted each of them as much land in property as they had loſt in *Umbria*. In the mean time, the other conſul, *Sempronius Sophus*, carried on the war againſt the *Picentes* with great ſucceſs. He gained a complete victory over them, which, however, coſt him very dear; for he loſt the greater part of his troops in the action (D). *Aſculum*, the capital of *Picenum*, ſubmitted to the conqueror, and the whole nation gave themſelves up to *Rome*; a great increaſe of power to the republic, this country alone being able to ſupply her armies with three hundred and ſixty thouſand men. After this the *Romans*, the better to ſecure their new conqueſts and keep the conquered nations in awe, ſent out two colonies, one to *Ariminum* in the country of the *Picentes*, and another to *Benventum* in that of the *Samnites*. This ſame year the *Sabines*, who had hitherto had no other privilege but that of being incorporated in the legions, inſtead of ſerving as auxiliaries, were admitted to the right of ſuffrage in the city, which made them intirely *Romans* [s].

Picenum *conquered.*

The conſuls of the following year, *L. Julius* and *M. Attilius Regulus*, began a
d war with the *Salentines*. Their pretence was, that this nation had favoured the deſcent of *Pyrrhus* and eſpouſed the cauſe of the *Tarentines*, a pretence invented by the ambitious republic to rob her neighbours of their liberty. The chief cities of the *Salentines* were *Hydruntum*, *Aletium*, and *Brunduſium*. This laſt port was what the *Romans* chiefly coveted. It was ſo advantagiouſly ſituated, that, by being maſters of it, they were in a condition to contend with the nations beyond ſea, and to carry war into *Africa*, *Aſia*, and *Greece*. The *Salentines* diſputed their country inch by inch; and tho' *Attilius Regulus* took *Brunduſium*, yet neither he nor his collegue had the glory of ſubduing that gallant nation. Their ſucceſſors, *Numerius Fabius* and *D. Junius Pera*, took *Aletium* and *Hydruntum*, with other cities, and by that means
t obliged the *Salentines* to ſubmit to the yoke. The ſame campaign they ſubdued the *Sarcinates* in *Umbria*; and, on their return to *Rome*, were honoured each with two triumphs for the reduction of two nations, a thing unheard-of before in the republic [t].

The Salentines *ſubdued.*

And now the republic was miſtreſs of all the countries in *Italy*, from the remoteſt part of *Hetruria* to the *Ionian* ſea, and from the *Tyrrhenian* ſea to the *Adriatic*. But theſe nations did not all enjoy the ſame privileges; ſome were intirely ſubject to *Rome*, and had no laws but what they received from thence; others retained their old laws and cuſtoms, but in ſubjection to the republic; ſome were tributary, and others allies, and were obliged to furniſh the *Roman* army with troops, and maintain them
f at their own expence. Some had the privilege of *Roman* citizenſhip, their ſoldiers were incorporated in the legions; others had likewiſe a right of ſuffrage in the elections made by the centuries in the *campus Martius*. Theſe different degrees of honour,

The extent of the Roman *dominions.*

[r] Plin. l. xxxv. c. 3. Suidas in voce Μονητα [s] Vell. Paterc. l. i. [t] Fast. Capit.

(D) We are told, that while the two armies were in ſight of each other and ready to engage, a ſudden earthquake greatly terrified the *Romans*, and damped their ardor for fighting; but *Sempronius Sophus*, not ſurprized at a natural effect, encouraged them, ſaying, That the earth ſhook only for fear of changing its maſters; and then vowing a temple to the goddeſs *Tellus*, they quickly recovered their former ardor, and fell upon the *Picentes* with their uſual intrepidity (21).

(21) *Frontin. ſtrat. l.* i. *c.* 12. *Flor. l.* i. *c.* 19. *Oroſ. l.* 4. *c.* 4.

honour, privileges, and liberty, were founded on the different terms granted to the conquered upon their ſurrender, and were afterwards increaſed, according to their fidelity and the ſervices they did the republic.

The Apollo-niates court the friendſhip of the republic

The fame of the *Roman* name being, after this great increaſe of power and dominion, ſpread into foreign countries, their friendſhip was courted by free cities and whole nations on the other ſide of the ſea. *Apollonia*, ſituated over-againſt *Brundiſium*, was the firſt city of *Macedon* that ſent embaſſadors to deſire the protection of *Rome*. Theſe embaſſadors were kindly received by the ſenate; but, upon ſome occaſion not mentioned in hiſtory, inſulted by *Fabricius* and *Apronius*, two young patricians and at this time ædiles. The republic would not ſuffer this breach of the law of nations to go unpuniſhed; they were both tried, and the ſentence paſſed upon them was, that they ſhould be put into the hands of the *Apolloniates*, carried into *Macedon*, and there puniſhed at the pleaſure of the people, whom they had offended in the perſons of their embaſſadors. The republic obliged the offenders to abdicate the aedileſhip, before they ſet out from *Rome*; and leſt the embaſſadors ſhould be inſulted on the road by the friends and relations of *Fabricius* and *Apronius*, they were conducted to *Brundiſium*, together with the priſoners, by a detachment of troops under the command of a quæſtor. This was ſhewing the *Apolloniates* great regard; and they, in their turn, ſhewed a prudent reſpect for the republic. The priſoners were hoſpitably received, and then ſent back to *Rome*. This event gave riſe to a law, which laſted as long as the republic, whereby it was enacted, that, if any citizen, of what quality ſoever, inſulted an embaſſador, he ſhould be delivered up to the injured nation [a].

Provincial quæſtors created.

The republic enjoying now a profound tranquillity both at home and abroad, the new conſuls, *Q. Fabius Gurges* and *L. Mamilius Vitulus*, applied themſelves wholly to the regulating of the public revenues. Theſe aroſe from the tributes each nation was to pay from the rents of certain arable and paſture lands, which the republick reſerved for herſelf as her demeſns, whenever ſhe diſtributed any conquered lands among the citizens; from the tenth of the produce of all lands which were dependent upon hers; and laſtly, from the impoſts upon all merchandize imported into her dominions. The four quæſtors, already appointed to receive and pay the public monies, were hardly ſufficient to go through the buſineſs, even before the late conqueſts. It being now therefore abſolutely neceſſary to augment the number of theſe officers, four new ones were created, with the title of *provincial quæſtors*, to take charge of the four provinces into which the republic had divided her conqueſts. The quæſtor of the firſt province reſided at *Oſtia*, and his quæſtorſhip reached from the ſprings of the *Tiber* and the *Arnus* to the mouth of the *Liris*, and comprehended *Hetruria*, *Latium*, *Sabina*, *Umbria*, and in ſhort all the coaſts of the *Tuſcan* ſea, and all the lands between that ſea and the *Apennines*. The quæſtor of the ſecond province reſided at *Cale* in *Campania*, and had under his juriſdiction all the country between the *Liris* and the gulf of *Tarentum*; that is, *Campania*, *Samnium*, *Lucania*, the country of the *Brutii*, and *Oenotria*. The third province reached from the *Apennines* to the ſhore of the *Adriatic* ſea, and was called the *Gallic* quæſtorſhip. It contained the countries formerly conquered by the *Gauls*, eſpecially the *Senones*, from the *Rubicon* to the *Æſis*, and alſo *Picenum*, the country of the *Frentani*, and all the other countries as far as *Apulia*. The fourth quæſtorſhip, of which we have not ſo diſtinct an account as of the other three, could only comprehend *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and the territories of the *Salentines*, *Meſſapians*, and *Tarentines*. For theſe four provinces *Rome* created four new quæſtors; and it was then ſettled, that all the eight quæſtors ſhould for the future be choſen in the comitia by tribes. After the elections, which were renewed every year, the eight quæſtors drew lots in the preſence of the people, to decide who ſhould have the *Roman*, who the military, and who the provincial, quæſtorſhips. The military quæſtors attended the conſuls in their expeditions, kept the military cheſt, paid the troops, and ſold the priſoners and ſpoils taken from the enemy. The *Roman* quæſtors had care of the public treaſury. The provincial quæſtorſhips were moſtly deſired by the ambitious, before *Rome* had extended her conqueſts beyond *Italy*; but little coveted after the republic had brought the eaſt and weſt under ſubjection, and great kingdoms were become ſo many provinces under her dominion.

We have often obſerved, that it was the fate of the *Romans* to be afflicted with domeſtic misfortunes, when they were not engaged in any war; and this was the caſe at preſent: a contagion broke out, which made a dreadful havock both in the city and

[a] Plor. in epit. 15. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 6. Dig. Parag. de legat

and country. Hereupon recourſe being had to the *Sybilline* books, according to cuſtom, it was there ſuppoſed to be found, that ſome ſecret crimes had drawn down the wrath of heaven upon the republic. A veſtal, named *Caparania*, was found, upon diligent inquiry, guilty of incontinence, and condemned to be buried alive without the gate *Collina*. The guilty veſtal, to avoid ſo cruel a death, ſtrangled herſelf; but the ſame ceremonies of interment were performed over the dead body, as if ſhe had been living [w]. Notwithſtanding the havock made by the plague, we are told, that, by a cenſus taken this year, the number of citizens fit to bear arms appeared to be two hundred ninety-two thouſand two hundred and twenty-four. Either the plague did not make great ravages in *Rome*, or in this enumeration the *Sabines* were comprehended, to whom the right of ſuffrage had been lately granted; for the number of citizens in this cenſus was greater than ever [x]. With this cenſus, and the luſtrum which followed it, ended the magiſtracy of the two cenſors, *C. Martius Rutilus* and *Cn. Cornelius Blaſio*, who had been now five years in their office, and were both men of great probity. The former had been, on account of his extraordinary merit, elected, contrary to cuſtom and his own earneſt remonſtrances, a ſecond time to this high ſtation; and hence he acquired in all likelihood the ſurname of *Cenſorinus*, which was perpetuated in his family. But, in order to put a ſtop to ſo dangerous a practice, *Marcius* got a law paſſed, forbidding any perſon to hold the cenſorſhip a ſecond time [y].

WHILE the two conſuls, *Fabius Gurges* and *Manilius Vitulus*, were employed at home in works of peace, an unexpected war ſprung up in the very bowels of the republic. *Volſinii*, one of the capital cities of the twelve *Hetrurian* leucumonies, had been allowed by the *Romans* to enjoy her ancient laws and form of government; but as the inhabitants no longer conſidered themſelves as a free and independent people, they deſpiſed the public offices, and ſuffered their freed-men to uſurp them, giving themſelves wholly up to their pleaſures. Theſe freed-men became by degrees tyrants in that little republic, and made it their whole buſineſs to humble their old maſters. They took away their wives from them by force, and carried their inſolence and licentiouſneſs ſo far, that they paſſed a law, that no virgin daughter of a man free-born ſhould be married to a huſband of the like condition, till ſhe had ſubmitted to the paſſion of a freed-man. To theſe indignities they added the baniſhments and proſcriptions of the moſt worthy citizens. The *Volſinienſes*, deſpairing of being able to redreſs their grievances themſelves, ſent deputies to *Rome*, to implore the aſſiſtance of the republic. The deputies ſet out privately, and carried on their negociations with great ſecrecy; but nevertheleſs the freed-men, getting notice of the whole, put the deputies to death upon their return; and when the conſul *Fabius*, who was ſent againſt them with a ſmall army of voluntiers, appeared before their city, they even ventured to face him in the field and give him battle. *Fabius* put them to the rout; but as he was entering the town with the runaways, he received a mortal wound from an unknown hand. Thus fell a great man, who had been honoured with triumphs, embaſſies, and three conſulates, and who, contrary to the expectation of the great *Fabius* his father, did no-ways degenerate from the virtue of his anceſtors. The conſul was no ſooner carried out of the croud, than the freed-men facing about fell upon the *Romans* with ſuch fury, that they obliged them to retire. Then *Decius Mus*, lieutenant to *Fabius*, inveſted *Volſinii*, and began to beſiege it in form; but it was not taken till the arrival of *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, one of the conſuls for the next year, who forced the freed-men to ſurrender at diſcretion, and put all thoſe who had acted any part in this ſcene of villainy to death. The ancient citizens, and thoſe who had not been concerned in the revolt, were tranſplanted to another place, and their city razed. This conduct of *Flaccus* was ſo agreeable to the republic, that ſhe granted him the honours of a triumph. He entered *Rome* in ſtate on the calends of *February* in the year ſucceeding this, which was the year of his conſulate. We have anticipated this latter part of hiſtory, to avoid blending an affair of ſo little importance with the great events we are going to relate in the following chapter, namely, thoſe of the firſt *Punic* or *Carthaginian* war.

The conſul Fabius Gurges killed.

Volſinii taken and razed.

[w] OROS. l. iv. c. 5. [x] FLOR. epit. & EUTROP. l. ii. [y] PLUT. in Coriolano. VAL. MAX. l. iv. c. 1.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The history of Rome, *from the first* Carthaginian *war to the second.*

The occasion of the first rupture between Rome *and* Carthage. *Year of the flood* 740. *Year before Christ* 259. *Of* Rome 489

THE *Carthaginians*, when the war first broke out between their republic and that a of *Rome*, were possessed of extensive dominions in *Africa*, had made considerable acquisitions in *Spain*, were masters of *Sardinia*, *Corsica*, and all the islands on the coasts of *Italy*, and had extended their conquests to a great part of *Sicily*. The occasion of the first rupture between the two republics was as follows: The *Mamertines*, of whom we have spoken at length in the history of *Sicily* [x], being vanquished in battle and reduced to great straits by *Hiero* king of *Syracuse*, had resolved to deliver up *Messana*, the only city which they now possessed, to that prince, with whose mild government and strict probity they were well acquainted. Accordingly *Hiero* was advancing, at the head of his troops, to take possession of that important place, when b *Hannibal*, who at that time commanded the *Carthaginian* army in *Sicily*, prevented him by a stratagem. The cunning *African* came to meet *Hiero*, as it were, to congratulate him on his victory, and amused him, while some of the *Carthaginian* troops filed off towards *Messana*. Hereupon the *Mamertines*, seeing their city supported by a new reinforcement, were divided into several opinions. Some were for accepting the protection *Carthage* offered them, others were still for surrendring to the king of *Syracuse*; but the greater part were for calling the *Romans* to the assistance of a city, whose inhabitants were originally *Italians*; for the *Mamertines* were a party of *Campanian* mercenaries, who having served under *Agathocles* king of *Sicily*, on their return home, seized on the city of *Messana*, into which they had been admitted and entertained as friends, massacred the inhabitants, and took possession of their lands, houses, c and wives. The arrival of their deputies at *Rome* occasioned great debates in the senate; the conscript fathers thought it would cast no small blemish on their reputation to protect a company of villains, who had formerly got possession of *Messana* by the same treachery and cruelty, as the perfidious *Campanian* legion had made themselves masters of *Rhegium*. Shall we, said they, countenance the same actions in some, which we have, with the utmost severity, punished in others? But, on the other hand, looking upon the *Carthaginians* with an eye of jealousy, and being well apprised, that they undertook the defence of that important place, only with a view to seize it for themselves, they were long deliberating what to determine in so nice a point. *Messana*, said they, will be soon subject to the *Carthaginians*; and if we d tamely suffer them to get possession of a place, which is divided from *Italy* only by a narrow streight of the sea, we shall soon be obliged to engage in a war with them for the defence of our own continent. This selfish consideration made most of the senators forget the regard they had hitherto shewn for rigid probity, and come into the measures of the people, who, from the very beginning, were eagerly bent upon driving the *Carthaginians* out of *Messana*. Accordingly it was decreed, that *Appius Claudius*, surnamed *Caudex*, who was then consul with *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, should be sent over into *Sicily* to attempt the deliverance of *Messana*. The consul nevertheless continued at *Rome*, and dispatched in his stead one *Claudius*, a legionary tribune, a man of great boldness and experience in military affairs. The tribune, not thinking it advisable c to expose the few triremes he could get together to the insults of the *Carthaginian* fleet, which infested the streights, went over to *Messana* in a fisher-boat, in order to discover the disposition of the inhabitants. Upon his arrival, he convened the *Mamertines* in the usual place of their assemblies, and acquainted them, that he came as a deputy from the *Romans*, to offer them the assistance which they had desired, and assured them, that the forces of his republic should be withdrawn, as soon as their city and estates were in safety. The *Mamertines*, intimidated by the presence of the *Carthaginians*, who were already in possession of the citadel, made answer, That his offers

Claudius, *a legionary tribune, goes over to* Messana.

[x] Vide Vol. III. p. 88.

a offers were come too late; and that every free city had a right to call whom ſhe pleaſed to her aſſiſtance. A free city! replied *Claudius* with a ſneer; are you then in poſſeſſion of your liberty? What do I ſee here but foreign troops, who begin to make you feel the weight of that ſlavery, which you cannot avoid without our aſſiſtance? The *Mamertines* being ſtruck dumb at theſe words, *Claudius*, with great intrepidity, declared, that he looked upon their ſilence as a tacit conſent; and, quitting the aſſembly, returned ſtreight to *Rhegium*, and from thence to *Rome*, where the ſenate, upon his report, judged, that the *Mamertines* were diſpoſed to receive ſuccours from the republic. The ſame tribune was therefore ordered to ſet ſail and ſteer with the *Roman* fleet to *Meſſana* (E). But how weak and inconſiderable was this fleet, in
b compariſon of that which the *Carthaginians* had brought into the ſtreights! How ignorant were the *Romans* at that time of ſea affairs! Nevertheleſs the bold tribune weighed anchor; but, being attacked by *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* admiral, and having at the ſame time a ſtorm to ſtruggle with, moſt of his ſhips were taken, others *The Roman* daſhed in pieces, and he obliged to return to *Rhegium*. While *Claudius* was buſy *fleet a-* in refitting his fleet, *Hanno* ſent back the ſhips he had taken from him, with a view either to pique the *Romans* in point of honour, or to divert them from ſending ſuccours to *Meſſana*; but as the deputies, who came to reſtore the ſhips, reproached the *Romans* with having firſt infringed the treaties of friendſhip between the two nations, and declared, that the *Carthaginians* would never ſuffer the *Romans* to be maſters of the
c ſtreights between *Italy* and *Sicily*, nay, not even to waſh their hands in them, *Claudius* rejected the preſent with the utmoſt indignation, and carried on his preparations with great vigour. Having refitted his ſmall fleet in the beſt manner he could, he Claudius *puts* put to ſea again, and timed his enterprize ſo well, that he eluded the vigilance of *to ſea again,* the *Carthaginians*, and got ſafe into the port of *Meſſana*. *Hanno*, who was now be- *and gets into* come commander of the land forces, upon the arrival of *Claudius*, abandoned the city Meſſana. to the *Romans*, and retired into the citadel. *Claudius*, ſeeing himſelf in poſſeſſion of the city, deſired the *Mamertines* to ſummon an aſſembly, and to invite *Hanno* to it. The *Carthaginian*, for fear of ſhewing a diſtruſt of thoſe whom he pretended to protect, complied with the ſummons and appeared in the aſſembly. The two generals
d reproached each other in bitter terms, till at length *Claudius* was ſo provoked, that he ordered ſome brave legionaries, who attended him, to arreſt *Hanno*, and keep him priſoner. The *Mamertines* applauding the reſolution of the *Roman*, *Clauaius* made good uſe of this declaration in his favour. What by menaces, and what by perſuaſions, he prevailed on the *Carthaginian* to ſurrender up the citadel to him; a piece of cowardice which coſt the unhappy *Hanno* dear; for he was, on his return home, crucified by order of the ſenate. The *Carthaginians*, reſolved at all events to drive the

(E) *Polybius* tells us (22), that the *Romans* were utter ſtrangers to naval affairs, and quite ignorant of the art of building ſhips, before the firſt *Punic* war. He adds, that it would have been impoſſible for them to build and equip a fleet, had not fortune, who always eſpouſed their cauſe, by a mere accident, inſtructed them in the method; for a *Carthaginian* galley, which was out a cruiſing, venturing too near the ſhore, chanced to be ſtranded, and was taken by the *Romans* before the mariners could get her off. This galley ſerved them for a model; for they built by it, ſays he, a fleet of a hundred and twenty gallies. The equipment of this fleet ſeemed to him a prodigy, and made him reſolve to write the hiſtory of the firſt *Punic* war. But that author was certainly miſtaken, when he wrote, that the *Romans* had no ſhips at ſea before the firſt *Punic* war; nay, it is no eaſy matter to reconcile him with himſelf on this ſubject; for when he elſewhere (23) ſpeaks of the articles of a treaty agreed on by the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, in the conſulſhip of *Brutus* and *Horatius*, immediately after the expulſion of the *Tarquins*, he tells us, that one of the articles was to this effect, that the *Romans*, and the allies of the *Romans*, ſhould not ſail beyond *the Fair Promontory*, unleſs conſtrained by weather, or by an enemy. In two other treaties, of which he gives us the tranſcripts, there are ſeveral clauſes to the ſame effect. Theſe precautions on the ſide of the *Carthaginians* manifeſtly ſuppoſe, that the *Romans* had at that time ſhips, traded to *Africa*, and were not ſo utterly unacquainted with naval affairs, as *Polybius* repreſents them to have been at the beginning of the firſt *Punic* war. Neither can *Polybius* be underſtood as ſpeaking only of ſhips of war, it being plain from the reaſons of the *Tarentine* war agreed on by all hiſtorians, that the *Romans* had at that time a fleet of ten gallies; nay, we are told by all the ancients, that, long before the *Tarentine* war, the conſul *Mænius*, having ruined the port of *Antium*, carried part of the fleet of the *Antiates*, which conſiſted of twenty gallies, to *Rome*, and laid them up in the place appointed for building ſhips. It is no leſs certain, that many years before the firſt *Punic* war, the *Roman* people appointed the *duumviri navales*, whoſe province was confined to the inſpection and repairing of the ſhips of the republic. It is therefore falſe, that the firſt time the *Romans* had a fleet, or ventured to ſea, was in the time of the firſt *Punic* war; however, it is certain, that the *Romans*, wholly intent upon the reducing of the neighbouring ſtates, were but little acquainted with naval affairs, till they began to make war out of their own continent.

(22) *Polyb. l.* i. (23) *Idem, l.* iii.

the *Romans* out of *Meſſana*, raiſed both ſea and land-forces, and diſpatched them into a
Sicily, under the command of another *Hanno*, who, arriving with this fleet at *Lilybæum*, prevailed upon *Hiero*, king of *Syracuſe*, to enter into an alliance with his republic, and to inveſt *Meſſana* jointly with him. Hitherto the conſul *Appius* had not appeared in the diſpute, ſo that had the *Carthaginians* ſtopt their proceedings, all the ſteps, taken only by a tribune of the army, might have been diſowned. But a monſtrous piece of cruelty, committed by *Hanno*, determined *Rome* to keep no longer any meaſures with her rival. That general, upon the refuſal of *Claudius* to ſurrender up *Meſſana* to him, cauſed all the *Italians* who ſerved in his army to be inhumanly maſſacred; which was no ſooner heard at *Rome*, than the conſul *Appius* haſtened his departure from thence and came to *Rhegium*. As he apprehended both danger and diſhonour in the b
enterprize, he ſent from *Rhegium* deputies to king *Hiero*, conjuring him, by the ancient friendſhip between the *Romans* and him, to deſiſt from the ſiege he had undertaken. *Hiero* in anſwer reproached the *Romans* not only with ingratitude to him, but with deviating from their pretended equity in protecting the treacherous tyrants of *Meſſana*, eminently guilty of the ſame crime which *Rome* had ſeverely puniſhed in the *Campanian* legion at *Rhegium*. *Appius*, having received this anſwer, reſolved to paſs over into *Sicily*, purſuant to the orders of the ſenate; but, to conceal his deſign, he gave out, that he could not venture upon that enterpriſe before he conſulted the ſenate. This report reaching the *Carthaginian* fleet made them watch the ſtreights with leſs care and vigilance. In the mean time, *Appius*, going on board a galley, built unſkilfully c
and in great haſte, pretended only to coaſt along the ſhore in his way to *Rome*; but as ſoon as he was out of ſight, he tacked about, and, being favoured by a dark night, reached with ſome tranſports the neareſt ſhore of *Sicily*, and landed his forces, without being perceived by the enemy either at ſea or land. For this bold enterpriſe he got the ſurname of *Caudex*, which then ſignified *a boat ill-built*. *Claudius*, encouraged by this ſucceſs, advanced in all haſte with his legions againſt the king of *Syracuſe*, who blocked up *Meſſana* on the ſide of mount *Chalcis*, and having ſurpriſed and defeated him, entered triumphantly into *Meſſana*, highly delighted with gaining the firſt victory the *Romans* had ever obtained out of their continent. After this defeat, *Hiero*, thinking himſelf betrayed by the *Carthaginians*, who had ſuffered him to be ſurpriſed d
by not guarding the ſtreights, decamped haſtily in the night, and, giving way to his diſtruſts, returned to *Syracuſe*. *Claudius*, receiving next morning intelligence of his retreat, reſolved to loſe no time, but forthwith to attack the *Carthaginians*. Purſuant to this reſolution, he made a briſk ſally, and routed them with great ſlaughter. Having thus raiſed the ſiege of *Meſſana*, he over-ran the lands of the *Syracuſans* like a torrent, pillaged and laid waſte the whole country, and, having no enemy in the field to contend with, advanced to the very gates of *Syracuſe*. But the year being already far ſpent, he ſoon returned with his troops to *Meſſana*, and, having left a ſtrong gariſon in that city, paſſed over to *Rhegium*, and from thence purſued his journey to *Rome*[y]. *Eutropius*[z] and *Silius Italicus*[a] tell us, that he received the honours of a triumph for e
his *Sicilian* expedition; but we find no mention made of it in the triumphal tables.

Appius *the conſul paſſes into* Sicily, *and defeats* Hiero *and the* Carthaginians.

The ſucceeding conſuls, *Manius Oſtacilius Craſſus* and *Manius Valerius Flaccus*, were ordered to tranſport into *Sicily* two conſular armies, conſiſting each of eight thouſand legionaries and twelve hundred horſe, with a great number of auxiliaries. Upon their arrival moſt of the towns, that had ſubmitted to the *Carthaginians* and *Syracuſans*, delivered themſelves up to the *Romans*; inſomuch, that in a few months they ſaw themſelves maſters of ſixty-ſeven places, among which were *Taurominium* and *Catana*, two cities of great importance. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, they reſolved to undertake the ſiege of *Syracuſe*, the capital of the iſland, and at that time one of the greateſt cities in the world. They had no ſooner inveſted it, than *Hiero*, being f
now ſenſible that he had formed a wrong judgment touching the iſſue of the war, and that the hopes of the *Romans* were founded on better meaſures than thoſe of the *Carthaginians*, ſent out deputies to treat with the former of a peace. The conſuls readily embraced the overture, knowing, that, by entering into an alliance with *Syracuſe*, they ſhould be plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, for want of which they had been the laſt year reduced to great ſtreights by the *Carthaginians*, who were maſters at ſea. They therefore agreed to a treaty with the king on the following conditions; that *Hiero* ſhould releaſe all the *Roman* priſoners without ranſom, and pay the republic a hundred

The Romans *make an alliance with* Hiero.

y Polyb. l. ii. c. 11. Diodor. in eclog. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 7. Zonar. l. viii. c. 9. Frontin. ſtratag. l. i. c. 4. z Eutrop. l. ii. a Silius Italic. l. vi.

a hundred talents of ſilver. Upon theſe conditions, which were approved of by the *Roman* ſenate and people, *Rome* promiſed to acknowledge *Hiero* as a friend to their republic, and to protect his dominions from all hoſtilities [b].

THE *Romans*, having now no enemies to contend with but the *Carthaginians*, and being ſupplied with all manner of proviſions by *Hiero*, now their friend and ally, made themſelves maſters of all the places on the weſtern coaſt of *Sicily*. The inhabitants of *Segeſta* and *Aliena* maſſacred the *African* gariſon, and opened their gates to the conſuls. The cities of *Hilara*, *Tyrita*, and *Aſcela* were beſieged in form, taken by aſſault, and treated with great rigor. The campaign being ended, the two conſuls carried back moſt of their troops with them, and, putting them in winter
b quarters on the coaſt of *Italy*, returned to *Rome*, where *Valerius* was decreed a triumph, which he enjoyed on the ſixteenth of the calends of *April*. His ſurname of *Meſſala*, and this mark of diſtinction, which he alone received, plainly ſhew, that he had ſignalized himſelf above his collegue in the defence of *Meſſana* and the wars with *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians* [c]. This year *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus* was created dictator, who choſe *Q. Marcius Philippus* for his general of the horſe. But their only buſineſs was to drive a nail into the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, to ſtop a plague which raged at *Rome*.

THE new conſuls, *L. Poſthumius Megellus* and *Q. Mamilius Vitulus*, were both ordered into *Sicily*. But the republic, depending on the alliance of king *Hiero*, thought
c it adviſeable to leſſen the number of troops in that ſervice, and therefore appointed them two legions only. They ſet out from *Rome*, and, imbarquing at *Rhegium*, landed at *Meſſana*, without meeting with any oppoſition in their paſſage. They no ſooner came aſhore, than they aſſembled the reinforcements they were to receive in the country, and with them marched ſtrait to *Agrigentum*, which the *Carthaginians* had made their magazine of arms and proviſions. The place was very ſtrong by nature, and had been rendered almoſt impregnable by the new works, with which the *Carthaginians* had ſecured it during the winter, with a view to make it their aſylum or place of refuge, in caſe of any miſcarriage or diſaſter. Beſides, it was defended by a very numerous gariſon under the command of *Hannibal*, a general of known valour and
d great experience in war. However, the *Romans* came and incamped before the place, blocking it up on all ſides. As it was then harveſt time and the fruitful fields of *Sicily* were covered with corn, the conſuls gave their ſoldiers leave to go and reap it in ſmall parties, in order to provide againſt the wants which uſually attend long ſieges. *Hannibal* reſolved to take advantage of this relaxation of military diſcipline, and made two ſallies at the ſame time, one upon the reapers, and the other upon the *Roman* camp. The reapers, not being able to rally ſoon enough, were overpowered by the *Carthaginians*, and for the moſt part cut in pieces. But the *Romans* in the camp repulſed the enemy with great ſlaughter, and purſued them to the very gates of the city. After this action the *Carthaginians* were more cautious in their ſallies, and the conſuls took
e care not to ſuffer their men to go out and forage in ſmall parties. And now, the *Carthaginians* making no more ſallies, the *Romans* thought it adviſeable to divide their army into two bodies. With one they encamped near the temple of *Æſculapius*, at ſome diſtance from the city, with the other on the road to *Heraclea*. A large ditch was thrown up round the city to guard the camps againſt the ſallies of the beſieged, and a ſecond line beyond the two camps to ſecure them from any ſurprize from without, and to prevent proviſions from being conveyed into the city. The *Romans* were plentifully ſupplied with all neceſſaries from *Erbeſſa*, a city not far from *Agrigentum*, whither they were brought from all parts of *Sicily*, and ſafely conveyed from thence to the camps. Thus the *Romans* continued before the place five months, hoping to
f reduce it by famine. And indeed, as there were no fewer than fifty thouſand ſouls in *Agrigentum*, the city was ſoon reduced to great ſtreights. But *Hannibal* kept up their courage with promiſes, and from time to time diſpatched, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the *Romans*, meſſengers to *Carthage* to ſolicit ſpeedy ſuccours. Hereupon the *Carthaginians*, having levied what troops they could in *Africa*, *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Liguria*, put on board a fleet, under the command of *Hanno*, fifty thouſand choſen foot, ſix thouſand horſe, and ſixty elephants, ordering them to ſail to *Sicily*, and attempt at all adventures the relief of *Agrigentum*. *Hanno*, without loſs of time, ſet ſail, and landing his forces at *Lilybæum*, marched from thence to *Heraclea*, within twenty miles of *Agrigentum*.

They beſiege Agrigentum.

[b] POLYB. l. i. c. 16. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerp. [c] POLYB. ibid. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 9. FRONTIN. ſtratag. l. iv. c. 1. Tab. triumph.

Agrigentum. There he received a deputation from ſome of the inhabitants of *Erbeſſus*, where the *Romans* had their magazines, offering to put the town into his hands. The *Carthaginian*, overjoyed at this meſſage, marched with all his forces ſtrait to *Erbeſſus*, which was accordingly delivered up to him, ſo that the *Romans*, who were the beſiegers, became themſelves beſieged: all their convoys were intercepted, and they reduced to ſuch ſtreights, that they often deliberated about raiſing the ſiege, and had certainly abandoned the enterprize, had not *Hiero* afforded them what help he could, which with great parſimony ſupported them, but was not enough for their convenient ſubſiſtence; ſo that diſtempers, the uſual conſequences of ſcarcity, ſpread in the *Roman* army, and daily ſwept off great numbers. But, in the mean time, *Agrigentum* being reduced to the utmoſt extremity by famine, *Hannibal* found means to acquaint *Hanno* with the deplorable condition of the place, who thereupon reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a general engagement, thinking himſelf now a match for the *Romans*, who were greatly weakened by ſickneſs and diſtempers. Accordingly, having acquainted *Hannibal* with his deſign and ordered him to make a ſally the moment the *Romans* appeared in the plain, he marched with all his troops from *Heraclea*, ſending his *Numidian* horſe before, with orders to advance to the very intrenchments of the *Romans*, as if they deſigned to force them; but in caſe the *Romans* ſallied out upon them, they were to retire towards the army. Theſe orders were punctually executed, and the *Roman* cavalry ſallying out upon the *Numidians* and purſuing them too far, were ſurrounded by the whole army, and either taken or cut in pieces. Notwithſtanding this advantage, *Hanno* poſting himſelf on mount *Taurus*, about a mile and a half from the *Romans*, continued there two months without ſhewing any inclination to come to a deciſive action. At length *Hannibal* giving him notice, as well by ſignals from the town, as by expreſſes, that the garriſon could no longer hold out, and that they deſerted by companies to the *Romans*, *Hanno* was forced to venture an engagement, to which the *Romans* were equally diſpoſed, being in great want of proviſions. The two armies therefore drew up in a large plain between the two camps, and engaged with incredible fury. The ſucceſs continued doubtful, till the mercenaries, who were in the van-guard of the *Carthaginian* army, gave way and fled. In their flight they fell in among the elephants, which they put into diſorder, and by that means intirely broke the line that ſuſtained the rear. By this accident the whole army being diſcompoſed, the *Carthaginians*, quitting their ranks, betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight, the *Romans* purſuing them with great ſlaughter. *Hannibal* attempted to make a ſally and bring his forces to the aſſiſtance of *Hanno*; but was repulſed by the troops which the conſuls had poſted at all the avenues to the city, and obliged to return, after he had loſt a great number of his men. In this battle the *Romans* took eleven elephants, wounded three, and killed thirty. As to the number of men killed in the action and purſuit, it is not exactly known. The enemy after the defeat retired to *Heraclea*, which they gained with much difficulty, the plain being all covered with dead bodies[d].

The Carthaginian *army defeated.*

Hannibal, perceiving that the *Romans* after the fatigues of ſo glorious a day were leſs upon their guard, ſallied out at midnight with the greateſt part of his troops, and, filling up the *Roman* trenches with faggots, made his eſcape, and retired with his forces to a place of ſafety. The *Agrigentines*, to revenge themſelves for being thus abandoned, and at the ſame time to make their court to the conſuls, maſſacred the *Carthaginians* who were left in the city. But ſuch cruelties not being agreeable to the *Romans*, the conſuls gave up the city, after it had ſurrendered at diſcretion, to be plundered; and above twenty-five thouſand perſons of free condition were made ſlaves. Such was the ſucceſs of a ſiege, which had laſted at leaſt ſeven months, and was the moſt remarkable and difficult the *Romans* had ever yet undertaken, The conqueſt was both an important and a glorious one: but it coſt the beſiegers dear; for they are ſaid to have loſt, what in the battle and in the frequent ſkirmiſhes, and what by famine and other hardſhips, about thirty thouſand men, *Romans* and allies[e]. The campaign being ended with the taking of *Agrigentum*, the conſuls returned to *Meſſana*, and from thence to *Rome*. *Eutropius* tells us, that they both triumphed; but the ſilence of all other writers, eſpecially of the triumphal tables, inclines us to believe, that the ſenate and people did not grant them that mark of diſtinction for reaſons unknown to us. Perhaps

Agrigentum *taken.*

[d] Polyb. ibid. c. 19. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Zonar l. viii. c. 10. [e] Eutrop. l. viii. Zonar l. viii. c. 10.

a haps they intended by this refuſal to puniſh them for ſuffering *Hannibal* to make his eſcape, which was intirely owing to their neglect in keeping the guards with the uſual vigilance.

THE reduction of *Agrigentum* inſpired the *Romans* with hopes of conquering all *Sicily*. The only difficulty was how to make themſelves maſters of the maritime cities without the aſſiſtance of a fleet, equal at leaſt to that of *Carthage*. Hitherto they had tranſported their troops on board of veſſels borrowed of their neighbours, the *Tarentines*, *Locrians*, *Neapolitans*, &c. But now the republic formed a deſign of being as formidable at ſea as ſhe was by land, and ordered a hundred and twenty veſſels to be built after the model of a *Carthaginian* galley, which, venturing too near the ſhore, b had been ſtranded and taken. The *Romans* immediately ſet about this laborious piece of work, cut down trees in their foreſts, and conveyed them to the ſea-ſide, with an expedition peculiar to themſelves. This fleet was equipped, as *Polybius* informs us, in two months time, reckoning from the day the trees began to be cut in the foreſts, and conſiſted of a hundred galleys with five benches of rowers, and twenty with three. While ſome were employed in building the galleys, others aſſembling thoſe who were to ſerve in the fleet, inſtructed them in the uſe of the oar after the following manner, which at firſt ſeemed ſomewhat ridiculous: They contrived benches on the ſhore in the ſame faſhion and order as they were to be in the galleys, and placing their ſeamen with their oars in like manner upon the benches, an officer, by ſigns with his hand, c inſtructed them how to dip their oars, all at the ſame time, and how to recover them out of the water. By this means they became acquainted with the management of the oar; and as ſoon as the veſſels were built and equipped, they ſpent ſome time in practiſing on the water what they had learnt aſhore [c].

The Romans *equip a fleet.*

BUT while the gallies were yet on the ſtocks, the new conſuls, *L. Valerius Flaccus* and *T. Oſtacilius*, brother to *M. Oſtacilius*, who had been conſul two years before, ſet out for *Sicily*, where they eaſily reduced all the cities that were at any diſtance from the ſea. But while they were ſubduing the inland countries, the *Carthaginians* either kept ſteady in their intereſt, or brought under ſubjection, all the places on the coaſt. So that both parties were equally ſucceſsful.

d IN the beginning of the conſulate of *Cn. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Duilius*, the fleet being equipped and all things ready for their departure, the two conſuls choſe their different commands by lot. The command of the fleet fell to *Cornelius*, and that of the land-forces to *Duilius*. The latter immediately ſet out with two legions, and paſſed the ſtraits. *Cornelius* followed him with ſeventeen of the new-built galleys, ſteering his courſe along the coaſt to *Meſſana*, to give directions there for the reception and ſecurity of the fleet. Upon his arrival at that port, he was informed, ſome ſay by men hired for that purpoſe by *Hannibal*, that the iſland and city of *Lipara* would ſurrender to the *Romans* upon the firſt ſummons. *Cornelius*, giving credit to this report, immediately ſet ſail with his ſquadron for *Lipara*, and entered that port. But e at break of day he found himſelf blocked up by a greater number of *Carthaginian* veſſels, under the command of one *Boodes* a ſenator. In this ſurprize, *Cornelius* ſaw no remedy but to ſubmit, and accordingly yielded up himſelf and his ſquadron to the enemy. Thus far *Polybius* [f]. But *Livy* [g] tells us, that the *Carthaginian* invited *Cornelius* and his tribunes, that is, the commanders of his galleys, on board his ſhip, to confer about the differences between the two republics in an amicable manner; and that the conſul, being weak enough to truſt to the honour of *Boodes*, was ſeized by him with all his officers, and ſent to *Carthage*: this author adds, that the ſquadron, being thus deprived of all its commanders, ſurrendered without fighting. Thus the firſt attempt of the new fleet proved very diſadvantagious and unſucceſsful. In the f mean time, the hundred and three *Roman* galleys, which had remained in the ports, ſet ſail according to the orders *Cornelius* had given, and, coaſting along *Italy*, made the beſt of their way towards the mouth of the ſtraits. *Hannibal*, upon advice that the *Roman* fleet was at ſea, ſailed out with a ſquadron of fifty galleys to take a view of their new-faſhioned veſſels. But his curioſity coſt him dear. For the *Roman* fleet appearing, when he leaſt expected it, immediately attacked his ſquadron, which was diſperſed about, with great vigor, and either ſunk or took the greateſt part of his galleys, *Hannibal* himſelf eſcaping with great difficulty, when his whole fleet believed him loſt. Thus the *Carthaginian* admiral, upon the firſt trial he made in perſon of the ſkill of the

The conſul Cornelius *and his ſquadron taken by the enemy.*

The Romans *gain a victory by ſea.*

[c] POLYB. ibid, c. 20. [f] POLYB. l. i. c. 21. [g] In epitome l. xxvii.

the *Romans* at ſea, was obliged to quit the action with ſhame and retire, after having been in great danger himſelf. The *Romans*, after this victory, purſued their courſe to *Sicily*, and being informed of the defeat and captivity of *Cornelius*, who was to have commanded them, they ſent an expreſs forthwith for *Duilius*, who had the command of the land-forces in the iſland. *Duilius*, being now left ſole commander both at ſea and land, went immediately, without heſitation, on board the fleet. But the reflection he made on the heavineſs of his galleys did not a little abate his confidence. For the *Romans* plainly ſaw, even in the battle, wherein they had all the advantage, that their veſſels were not built with great art, but were very unwieldy in working, and wanted the lightneſs of thoſe they were to engage with. But while he was ruminating on this matter, an engineer in the fleet found means to make amends for this defect, by deviſing that machine, which was afterwards called *corvus*. All hiſtorians agree, that the uſe of this contrivance was to ſtop the enemy's ſhips as ſoon as the *Romans* came up with them, and thereby give them an opportunity of boarding them. But it is no eaſy matter to find out how theſe machines were built. *Polybius* gives us the following deſcription of them: They erected, ſays he, on the prow of their veſſels a round piece of timber about a foot and a half diameter, and about twelve foot long, on the top whereof they had a block or pully. Round this piece of timber they laid a ſtage or platform of boards, four foot broad and about eighteen foot long, which was well framed and faſtened with iron. The entrance was longways, and it moved about the aboveſaid upright piece of timber, as on a ſpindle, and could be hoiſted up within ſix foot of the top. About this was a ſort of parapet knee high, which was defended with upright bars of iron ſharpened at the end, towards the top whereof there was a ring, through which faſtening a rope, by the help of the pully, they hoiſted and lowered the engine at pleaſure. With this they attacked the enemy's veſſels, ſometimes on their bow, and ſometimes on their broad-ſide, as occaſion beſt ſerved. When they had grappled the enemy with thoſe iron ſpikes, if they happened to fall broadſide to broadſide, then they entered from all parts; but in caſe they attacked them on the bow, they entered two and two by the help of this engine, the foremoſt defending the forepart, and thoſe who followed the flanks, keeping the boſs of their bucklers level with the top of the parapet. Thus *Polybius* deſcribes the *corvus*[1].

The corvus invented.

The invention of this machine, of which a trial was made, giving the conſul more confidence, he left the command of the land-forces to his ſubalterns, and going on board the fleet, ſet ſail for *Mylæ* to encounter the enemy, who had made a deſcent on that coaſt. The *Carthaginians*, who deſpiſed the *Romans* as quite ignorant of ſea-affairs, were overjoyed when they firſt deſcried their fleet. They did not ſo much as give themſelves the trouble to draw up their ſhips in line of battle, but advanced with a ſquadron in diſorder up to the unwieldy triremes of the *Romans*, dreaming of nothing but certain victory. As they approached, they were at firſt ſurpriſed at the ſight of the engine we have deſcribed above, and ſtood ſome time in ſuſpenſe, not knowing the uſe of it. But the boldeſt of the *Carthaginians*, looking upon thoſe machines as ſome fooliſh invention of perſons not acquainted with the ſea, rowed up with confidence to the *Roman* galleys, and by the boldneſs with which they attacked them, ſhewed how little account they made of their engines. But the *Romans* grappling with them by the help of their *corvi*, and boarding their ſhips with great eaſe, fought hand to hand with them upon deck as on firm ground. As the *Romans* were more expert in this kind of fight than the *Carthaginians*, and better armed, they ſoon gained the aſcendant over them, and took thirty ſhips, with all thoſe who were on board of them. Among theſe was the admiral's own galley, which was a *ſeptiremis* taken formerly by the *Carthaginians* from king *Pyrrhus*. *Hannibal* himſelf was on board of it; but when he ſaw the *Romans* entering his galley, he leaped into a ſmall boat and eſcaped, when he was by all given for loſt. At length the reſt of the *Carthaginian* fleet, conſiſting of a hundred and twenty galleys, came up, and fell upon the *Roman* fleet. As they had greatly the advantage in the lightneſs of their veſſels, they nimbly rowed round the *Roman* galleys, in order to avoid the *corvi*. But the *Romans* having learnt the art of working their ſhips, ſo as to preſent their machines to the enemy, which way ſoever they approached them, they took fifty more of the *Carthaginian* ſhips, and obliged the reſt to retire into the neighbouring ports of *Sicily*. In theſe two engagements the *Romans* took ſeven thouſand priſoners, killed ſeven thouſand men, ſunk

The conſul Duilius gains a complete victory at ſea.

[1] Polyb. ibid.

ſank thirteen ſhips, and took eighty. After this victory *Duilius*, going aſhore, put himſelf at the head of the land-forces, relieved *Segeſta* beſieged by *Hamilcar*, and made himſelf maſter of *Macella*, though defended by a numerous gariſon. The campaign being ended, *Duilius* returned to *Rome*, but left his legions in *Sicily*. During his abſence, a diſpute aroſe between them and the *Sicilian* auxiliaries. The *Sicilians* complained, that the *Romans* were always placed in the moſt honourable poſts, that is, in the moſt dangerous. The difference came to ſuch a height, that the *Sicilians* ſeparated from the *Romans* and encamped by themſelves. *Hamilcar*, who was too vigilant not to draw advantages from this miſunderſtanding, attacked the *Sicilians* in their intrenchments, and put four thouſand of them to the ſword. He then drove the *Romans* from their poſts, took ſeveral cities from them, and over-ran great part of the country. In the mean time, *Hannibal*, after having been overcome in the ſea engagement by the *Romans*, leaving *Sicily*, ſailed with the remains of his ſhattered fleet to *Carthage*. But, in order to ſecure himſelf from puniſhment, ſent one of his friends with all ſpeed, before the battle was known there, to acquaint the ſenate, that the *Romans* had put to ſea with a good number of heavy ill-built veſſels, carrying ſome machines, which the *Carthaginians* had never ſeen before, and conſequently knew not the uſe of them. After the meſſenger had given the ſenate this account of the *Roman* fleet, he aſked them whether it was their opinion, that *Hannibal* ſhould attack them? The anſwer was unanimous; Let our admiral, they cried out with one voice, fight the *Romans*, and puniſh them for daring to brave us on our element. Then *Hannibal*'s friends acquainted them with what had happened. What you now command, ſaid he, *Hannibal* has ventured to do. Fortune indeed has not favoured him; but who can be anſwerable for the event of things? *Hannibal* thought as you do. And ſhall the uncertainty of fortune be deemed a crime? As the ſenators could not condemn him without condemning themſelves, they ſpared his life, but deprived him of the command of the fleet [i].

The Carthaginians *gain ſome advantages over the* Romans.

While the *Carthaginians* were thus diſgracing their unfortunate admiral, the *Romans* were heaping honours on the brave *Duilius*. A victory gained by ſea was more valued at this juncture, than all the conqueſts their conſuls and dictators had formerly made by land. The conſul entered the city in triumph, attended with the acclamations of all *Rome*. A mark of diſtinction was granted him, which had never been heard of before. Whenever he returned from ſupper, he was attended with muſic and flambeaux. This honour was granted for once only to thoſe who triumphed; and this was when they returned home in the evening from the ſolemn feaſt, which was prepared at the expence of the publick for the cloſe of the triumph. But to *Duilius* this diſtinction was continued as long as he lived. *Cicero* [k] and *Florus* [l] ſeem to inſinuate, that *Duilius* aſſumed this uncommon mark of diſtinction without the conſent of the ſenate and people. But it is not probable, that either the patricians or plebeians, who called the leaſt ſtep towards an independency a ſtate crime, would have ſuffered a private perſon to aſſume this ſingular privilege. It is more probable, that *Duilius* demanded it as a reward for his ſervices. To perpetuate the memory of his triumph, medals were ſtruck, and a pillar of white marble was erected to his honour in the *Forum Romanum* (F).

The

[i] Polyb. Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Val. Max. l. vii. c. 3. Auth. vir. illuſtr. Zonar. ibid.
[k] Cic. de ſenectute. [l] Flor. l. iii.

(F) This pillar, called *Columna Roſtrata* from *the beaks of ſhips*, in *Latin*, *roſtra*, that were faſtened to it, was ſtill ſtanding in the forum in *Pliny*'s time. *Silius Italicus* (24) ſpeaks of it in the following lines:

Æquoreum juxta decus, & navale tropæum,
Roſtra gerens, nivea ſurgebat mole Columna.
Exuvias Marti donumque Duilius alto
Ante omnes, merſa Pœnorum claſſe, dicabat;
Cui nocturnus honos, funalia clara, ſacerque
Poſt epulas tibicen adeſt, caſtoſque penates
Inſignis læti repetebat murmure cantus.

Silius ſpeaks more like an hiſtorian than a poet in this place. The *Columna Roſtrata* was accidentally recovered in 1560, and placed by the care of cardinal *Alexander Farneſe* in the capitol. *Juſtus Lipſius* and *Ciaconius* have endeavoured to fill up the chaſms of the inſcription on the pedeſtal, which are in old *Latin*. The ſubſtance of it, according to their interpretation, is as follows: Caius Duilius *conſul, the ſon of* Marcus, *general of the* Roman *army in* Sicily *againſt the* Carthaginians, *forced* Hamilcar *to raiſe the ſiege of* Segeſta, *a city in friendſhip and alliance with the* Roman *people, and obliged him to return on board his fleet, after he had left his camp and nine elephants, to the mercy of the enemy. Then he took* Macella, *one of the ſtrongeſt places in* Sicily. *He fitted out a fleet in the ſpace of ſixty days, defeated the* Carthaginians

(24) *Sil. Italic. l.* vi.

The conſuls for the next year were *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Aquilius Florus*. The command of the fleet fell by lot to the former, and that of the land-forces to the latter. They were both ordered into *Sicily*, but *Cornelius* had leave to make an attempt upon the iſlands of *Corſica* and *Sardinia*, if an opportunity offered. While he was getting ready the fleet in the different ports of *Italy*, his collegue was detained at *Rome* to ſuppreſs a dangerous conſpiracy. The republic had cauſed a great number of men to be brought to *Rome*, from all the provinces ſubject to her, to ſerve as rowers on board her galleys. Among theſe were four thouſand *Samnites*, who, being unwilling to enter into the ſea ſervice, and finding a plot already formed by the diſcontented ſlaves to burn and plunder the city, readily entered into the conſpiracy, and joined the ſlaves, who were three thouſand in number. As they wanted a head, they pitched upon one *Errius Potitius*, who commanded the auxiliaries and was a man of known experience. *Errius* ſeemed to go heartily into their meaſures, till he had learnt the whole ſecret, and then he diſcovered it to the ſenate. All the ſlaves were put in irons by their maſters, and the *Samnites* impriſoned.

A dangerous conſpiracy at Rome.

During theſe diſtractions at *Rome*, *Cornelius* had weighed anchor, and was already on the coaſts of *Corſica*. As men are generally fond of new undertakings, the conſul thought the two iſlands of *Corſica* and *Sardinia* worthy of a campaign. And indeed, no conqueſt, next to that of *Sicily*, could ſo well anſwer the end the republic then had in view, which was to gain the empire of the ſea. The *Carthaginians*, who were then maſters of them, had fortified ſome cities there, in order to be nearer to *Italy*, and make themſelves formidable to the maritime cities. The firſt the conſul attacked was *Corſica*, which he eaſily reduced, after he had made himſelf maſter of *Aleria*, the only ſtrong place in the iſland. From *Corſica* he ſailed to *Sardinia*, and appeared with his fleet off *Olbia*, a large city on the eaſt ſide of the iſland. But as the place was defended by a numerous gariſon, and the conſul wanted land-forces, he ſailed back to *Italy*, took on board his fleet as many troops as he could conveniently carry, and returning to *Sardinia*, made a deſcent, and laid ſiege to *Olbia*. *Hanno*, who had behaved ſo well in *Sicily*, defended the place with incredible bravery; but, he being killed in one of the attacks, the *Carthaginians* were obliged to ſurrender the place to the conqueror, who gave the *Africans* an inſtance of humanity, to which they were utter ſtrangers. He honoured the dead body of their general with magnificent obſequies, and attended it in perſon to the place of burial [l]. The conſul did not ſuffer the ardor of his troops to cool; but beſieged and took moſt of the maritime cities, driving the *Carthaginians* every-where before him.

The Romans *conquer* Corſica *and* Sardinia.

In the mean time, *Aquilius*, arriving in *Sicily*, repaired the loſſes the republic had ſuſtained there ſince the departure of *Duilius*. *Hamilcar* had taken from the *Romans* the cities of *Enna* and *Camerina*, and fortified *Drepanum*, a place of great importance on account of its harbour. As the conſul *Aquilius* had been detained at *Rome* to ſuppreſs the conſpiracy, and did not arrive in *Sicily* till the campaign was near ended, the republic recalled his collegue *Cornelius* to preſide at the election of the new conſuls; when *A. Attilius Collatinus* and *C. Sulpitius Paterculus* were choſen. The command of the fleet fell to the latter, and that of the land-forces to *Attilius*. As for *Aquilius*, he was continued in the command of the army in *Sicily* with the title of proconſul, till the arrival of *Attilius*; during which ſhort time he drove *Hamilcar* quite out of the field, and laying ſiege to *Myſiſtratum*, a city of great ſtrength, which the *Romans* had often endeavoured in vain to reduce, brought it to ſuch ſtreights, that it ſurrendered to his ſucceſſor *Attilius* ſoon after his arrival. The proconſul upon his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph, as was his collegue *Cornelius* for the conqueſts he had made in *Sicily* and *Sardinia* [m]. From *Myſiſtratum*, *Attilius* led his army to *Camerina*, but on his way was all on a ſudden ſurrounded in a deep valley by the *Carthaginians*, who, under the command of *Hamilcar*, lay concealed on the hills all round it, ſo that, all the avenues being blocked up, he could neither advance nor retire. In this extremity a legionary tribune, called by ſome writers *Cæditius*, by others

Myſiſtratum in Sicily *taken.*

[l] Oros. l. iv. c. 7. Val. Max. l. v. c. 1. [m] Tab. triumph.

thaginians, *commanded by* Hannibal, *at ſea, took from them thirty ſhips, with all their rigging, and the ſeptiremis which carried the admiral himſelf; ſunk thirty; and took ſeveral priſoners of diſtinction, who walked before his chariot, and added to the glory of his triumph. In memory of which exploit, the* Roman *ſenate and people erected this pillar.* This inſcription on the baſis of the pillar, which every curious ſtranger viſits at *Rome*, ſhews us the way of writing in the early times of the republic.

others *Laberius*, but by the greateſt number *M. Calpurnius Flamma*, deſired the conſul to give him three hundred choſen men, promiſing to find the enemy ſo much employment with this ſmall company, as ſhould oblige them to leave a paſſage open for the *Roman* army. He performed his promiſe with a bravery truly heroic; for having ſeized, in ſpite of all oppoſition, an eminence, and intrenched himſelf on it, the *Carthaginians*, jealous of his deſign, flocked from all quarters to drive him from his poſt. But the brave tribune kept their whole army in play, till the conſul, taking advantage of the diverſion, drew his army out of the bad ſituation, into which he had imprudently brought it. When the legions were out of danger, they haſtened to the relief of their brave companions; but all they could do was only to ſave their bodies from the inſults of the enemy, for they found them all dead in the place, on which they had poſted themſelves, except *Calpurnius*, who lay under a heap of dead bodies, covered all over with wounds, but ſtill breathing. His wounds were immediately dreſſed, and it fortunately happened, that none of them proved mortal. The brave officer recovered, and for this glorious enterpriſe was rewarded with a crown of *gramen*, which was in thoſe happy days a greater encouragement to the *Romans* to ſerve their country, than the hopes of more ſubſtantial rewards [n].

The Roman conſul by the bravery of a Roman tribune

Attilius, being thus reſcued from the *Caudine Forks*, we may ſay, in *Sicily*, purſued his march to *Camerina*, which he took by the help of engines ſent him by *Hiero* king of *Syracuſe*, and ſold all the *Carthaginians* in the place for ſlaves. He then marched to *Enna*, the inhabitants of which place opened the gates to him, delivering the *Carthaginians* up to the *Romans*, who put them all to the ſword. *Sittana* was taken by aſſault, and the army, which came to relieve it, put to flight. From thence the conſul led his army into the country of the *Agrigentines*, and, by making himſelf maſter of *Camicus* and *Erbeſſa*, drove the enemy quite out of that fruitful territory. *Attilius*, fluſhed with this ſucceſs, raſhly laid ſiege to *Lipara*, expecting it would ſurrender upon the firſt ſummons. But *Hamilcar*, having conveyed himſelf privately into the city with ſome choſen troops, made a ſally, when the *Romans* were beginning to ſcale the walls, and repulſed them with great loſs [o].

The Romans *take ſeveral cities in* Sicily.

As for *Sulpicius*, who commanded the fleet, he completed the conqueſt of *Corſica* and *Sardinia*, and aſſiſted his collegue in the reduction of the maritime cities of *Sicily*. But this was not enough for the brave conſul. He was ambitious of ſignalizing his campaign by a naval victory; but as no *Carthaginian* fleet appeared at ſea, he ſpread a report, that he intended to go in queſt of it, and burn the ſhips of the *African* republic in their harbours. This news alarmed the *Carthaginians*, who thereupon truſted *Hannibal* once more with the command of a conſiderable fleet. He immediately put to ſea, and met *Sulpicius* not far from the coaſt of *Africa*. But while both fleets were preparing for an engagement, a ſudden ſtorm parted them, and drove the *Roman*, as well as the *Carthaginian*, veſſels into the ports of *Sardinia*. The ſtorm no ſooner began to abate, than *Sulpicius* putting to ſea ſurpriſed *Hannibal* in the harbour, and either ſunk or took moſt of his ſhips. This misfortune occaſioned a mutiny among the ſeamen of his fleet, who ſeizing on the perſon of their commander, crucified him in the city of *Sulci* in *Sardinia*, where he had taken refuge. Such was the end of old *Hannibal*, as he is called by the hiſtorians to diſtinguiſh him from the ſecond *Hannibal*, who proved ſo fatal to the *Romans*. *Sulpicius* after this victory returned to *Rome*, where he received the honours of a triumph.

The Carthaginian *fleet ſurpriſed by the* Roman.

The conſuls of the following year, *C. Attilius Regulus* and *Cn. Cornelius Blaſio*, having, according to cuſtom, drawn lots for their commands, that of the fleet fell to *Regulus*, and the leading of the land-forces to *Cornelius*. *A. Attilius* was continued in the command of the army in *Sicily* with the title of proconſul. *Regulus*, who commanded the *Roman* fleet, being at *Tyndaris*, deſcried that of the *Carthaginians* lying along the coaſt in diſorder. Whereupon, at the head of a ſquadron of ten galleys only, he advanced to obſerve their number and ſtrength, ordering the reſt of his fleet to follow with all poſſible expedition. But as he drew too near the enemy, he was on a ſudden inveſted by a far greater number of *Carthaginian* galleys. The *Romans* fought with their uſual bravery, but, being overpowered by numbers, were obliged to yield. However, the conſul found means to make his eſcape and join the fleet, which was following the unfortunate ſquadron in line of battle. He then had his full revenge on the enemy, who were put in diſorder at the firſt onſet, and obliged to ſave themſelves

[n] Zonar. l. viii. c. 12. Eutrop. l. ii. Aurel. Vict. Hiſtr. [o] Polyb. ibid. c. 24. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Vales. Flor. l. ii. Zonar. l. viii. c. 13.

The Romans defeat a numerous fleet at sea.

ſelves in the port of *Lipara*, after having loſt eighteen ſhips, ten of which were taken, with all their crews, and eight ſunk. For this victory *C. Attilius Regulus*, on his return to *Rome*, received the honours of a triumph, as did alſo *A. Attilius* for his exploits at land, during his conſulſhip and proconſulſhip. As for the conſul *Cornelius*, he had no opportunity to ſignalize himſelf: he is ſaid only to have pillaged ſome open villages, and laid waſte the iſland of *Melita*, which were too inconſiderable exploits to deſerve a triumph[p]. *Rome* was terrified with ſeveral prodigies during this campaign; whereupon the ſenate thought themſelves obliged to renew the *Feriæ Latinæ*, which had been for ſome time neglected. *Q. Ogulnius* was created dictator to preſide at them, and he appointed *M. Lætorius* for his general of the horſe.

The war with *Carthage* had already laſted eight years. The *Carthaginians* had loſt *Corſica*, *Sardinia*, and all their dominions in *Sicily*, except *Lilybæum*, *Panormus*, and a few places in that neighbourhood. *Sicily* had long ſeemed to be the utmoſt limits of the ambition of the *Romans*. But now they thought of nothing leſs than reducing *Carthage* itſelf. With this view the new conſuls, *L. Manlius Vulſo* and *Marcus Attilius Regulus*, whoſe name is famous in hiſtory, were ordered to paſs into *Africa*, and to make that country the ſeat of the war for the future. Their fleet for this expedition conſiſted of three hundred and thirty galleys of different ſizes, and aboard of each galley were a hundred and twenty ſoldiers and three hundred rowers. The enemy's fleet, under the command of *Hanno* and *Hamilcar*, was yet more formidable; for it conſiſted of three hundred and ſixty ſail, and was far better manned than that of the *Romans*. With this fleet the *Carthaginian* admirals ſet ſail, and arrived at the port of *Heraclea* in *Sicily*, in order to watch the motions of the *Romans*, and oppoſe at all events their deſcent upon the coaſt of *Africa*. The conſuls nevertheleſs purſued their courſe, and appearing off *Heraclea* with their fleet, drew up in line of battle. *Hanno* and *Hamilcar* accepted the challenge; whereupon a bloody engagement enſued, which laſted the greater part of the day with equal ſucceſs, the ſoldiers and commanders on both ſides diſtinguiſhing themſelves on this occaſion in a moſt eminent manner. But at length fortune, which from the beginning of this war had eſpouſed the cauſe of the *Romans*, declared in their favour. The *Carthaginians* were intirely routed; thirty of their ſhips were deſtroyed; threeſcore and three taken with their crews; and the reſt obliged to take ſhelter in the ports of *Sicily* and *Africa*. In the whole action the *Romans* loſt but twenty-four galleys, which were all ſunk[q].

The battle of Heraclea.

In purſuance of this complete victory, the conſuls, returning into the ports of *Sicily*, equipped with all poſſible expedition the ſhips they had taken from the enemy, embarqued new troops, and took in freſh proviſions, in order to make the intended deſcent upon *Africa*. *Hanno* endeavoured to amuſe them by conferences about a peace, in hopes of receiving in the mean time ſupplies from *Carthage*, in order to venture a ſecond engagement. Nay, he had the boldneſs to come in perſon to confer with the conſuls, as a deputy from his republic. He no ſooner arrived, than the multitude cried out, that he ſhould be detained priſoner by way of reprizal, for the treachery practiſed five years before on the perſon of the conſul *Cornelius Aſina*. *Hanno*, alarmed at theſe clamours, with an air of confidence put this ſtratagem and artful queſtion to the conſuls: What advantage can it be to you, O conſuls, to imitate our perfidiouſneſs? It will only be ſaid, that *Rome* produces as bad men as *Carthage*. The conſuls, piqued in honour at theſe words, replied, that though the perfidious *Carthaginians* had violated the law of nations, it became the probity of the *Romans* to obſerve them even with traitors, and ſuffered him to return untouched[r]. But as for peace, there being no diſpoſition to it on either ſide, *Hanno* made the best of his way to *Carthage* to give notice of the approaching invaſion. At length the conſuls ſet ſail, and, the weather proving favourable, had a fortunate paſſage. The firſt land in *Africa* they ſet their eyes on was cape *Hermæa*; and there the fleet lay at anchor ſome time, waiting till all the galleys and tranſports came up. From thence they coaſted along till they arrived before *Clupea*, a city to the eaſt of *Carthage*, and there they made their firſt deſcent. *Clupea*, or, as the *Greek* writers call it, *Aſpis*, was very conveniently ſituated for a magazine of arms and proviſions, and had near it two ports for ſheltering ſuch ſhips as ſhould come from *Italy*. The *Romans*, therefore, having laid up their fleet in one of theſe ports, and ſecured it on the land-ſide with a rampart and a large ditch, ſummoned the city to ſurrender. Some writers tell us, that

The Romans make a deſcent upon Africa.

[p] Polyb. ibid. c. 25. Zonar. l. viii. c. 12. [q] Polyb. ibid. c. 26—28. Oros. l. iv. c. 9.
[r] Zonar. l. viii. c. 13.

North

THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

PART OF SICILY

Aegates

Lilybæum

Pachynum Point

Dracontia

Candidum

Aegimori Aræ or Aegimurus

Mercuri Point

Hippo Point

Apollinis point

Clupea

Neapolis

Utica

Hippon Diarrhytus

Carthage

Tunes

Hippon Regius

Massyh

Tapsus

Sicca Veneria

Similu

Tabraca

Sinica part

Madaura

Numidiæ

Tusca R.

Rubricatus R.

Ammedara

Tucca

Torebinthina

Thaudalis

Thebeste or Theueste

Gætuli a Mario locati

Vibi

Gazacupeda

Bagradas R.

Audira

Lar

Tucma

Byzacia

Byzacena

Mediccara

Thœnæ

Macomades or Macodama

Menina or Lotophagites Isle

Little Syrtis

Cercina L.

Thapsus

Turris Annibalis

Acholla

Tisdra

Tusarus

Ruspina

Villa

Taplirura

Leptis parva

Adrumetum

Thysdrus

Thenæ

Sullectum

Sullectina

Vagenses

Vagitana

Zeugitana

Byzacium

Acidum

Aquæ Calidæ

Zigira

Timica

Musse

Bagradas R.

Bunchum

Mamp sari

Mampsarus Mount

Muturgures

Vzaræ

Valchis Montis

Muchthusi

Lybya palus

Lotophagi occidentales

Sigipsos

Sigipsa

Gi

Nivoti

Sabura

Ptolemæi

Telepte

Bendona

Citna

Vazua

Ozuri

Ticetia

Thabba

Putea

Nerva

Themisa

Thuseubis

Negeta

Tichasa

Mimaces

Pallas

Palus

Triton R.

Deserta Regio

Astacures

Sumuci

Pisinda

Eropæi

Dolopes

Lotophagi

Aminonis

Barathia

Great Syrti

Gaulos

Melite

Ile

Cossyra

Aphrodisium

Lopadusa

Aethusa

Junonis Templum

Tritonitis Lake

Tritonis Lake

Chuzie

Ponterzinta

Villa Magna

Castæ or Villa Anicianorum

Sabrata

Cæsa

Abrotonum

Garapha port

Great Lepsis

Lepsis parva

Auxiqua

Auzia

Macomades Syrtitæ

Cinyps or Gryphus R.

Cinyps

Cinyphii

Tacape

Gichthi

Zugai

Celle

Harpsa

Capsa

Zella

Zella ad Tritonem

Sarrura

Vaccia

Tegea

Thirbi Mounts

Thirbi

Macæ Cynypsii or Macæi Syrtitæ

Asphodelus

Asphodelus port

Azuis

Gerisa

Iscina

Sitapha

Nasamones

Psylli

Velpi Mounts

Scabe palus

Bulla

Galybe

Viddita

Musse vicus

Boreum Opp & point

Turris Euphranta

Charax

Automata

Philænorum Ara

Phycus point

Aptuchi sinus

Ptolemais

Neapolis

Teuchira

Myrmex Isle

Boreii

Lotos R.

Turris Hercules

THE SYRTIC GULF

TRIPOLIS or TRIPOLITANA

THE DESERT OF LIBYA INFERIOR

AFRICA PROPER

35

30

25

West

East

South

Fc. R. Daetson Sculpt

A MAP OF AFRICA PROPRIA AND NUMIDIA.

THE SEA OF AFRICA

THE SEA OF LIBIA

MAURITANIA

NUMIDIA

GETULIA

ZEUGITANA

BYZACIUM

TRIPOLITANA

THE LITTLE SYRTIS

SICILY

Ægades Ifles

Maritim I.

Hyccara

Solus

Cephaloedis

Alaſa

Himera

Panormus

Mount Eryx

Drepanum

Thermæ on Himera

Selinus

Therma Colony

Himera R.

Enna

Centuripæ

Heraclea

Agrigentum Col.

Gela

Promontory of Mercury

Aſpis or Clypea

Coſyra I

Ægimur I.

Cape of Apollo

Hippo Diarrhytos Colony

The Fair Promontory

Galata I.

Tretum Promontory

Cullucitana

Aphrodiſium

Sullucum

Paratiane

Tacatua

Hippo Royal Colony

Cullu Mun.

Ruſicada Colony

Thurburnica Colony

Nalpotis

Vaga

Gazaufula

Cirta Col.

Idicra

Cuiculum

Milevis Colony

Sigus

Tipaſa

Gemella

Royal Lake

Macomades

Nova Sparſa

Zarai

Thunudronum Colony

Lambaba

Tadiuti

Lambeſa

Tamugadda

Tuburſeca

Glauſi

Maſcula

Megeſela

Mount Auraſius

Zama Colony

Altiburus

Tinphadi

Teveſta Colony

Vegeſela

Mount Mampſarius

Maregen

Cilio

Mada: ſumma

Septimunicia

Telepte Col.

Gemella

Taſarta

Gremella

Capſa Colony

Putea

Tiſurus

Zugar

R. Triton

Arlava

Sufes

Maſcluana

Sufetula

Amudara

Germaniciana

Tyſdrum Col.

Thenæ

Autenti

Byzacia

Nara

Taſbalta

Macomadæ Municipium

Uſula

Cilla

Lotophagitis Island

Tacape Col.

Menina

Gita Mun.

Acma

Tritonis Lake

The Waters of Tacape

Ponterita Municipium

Mount Gilion

Sabrita Colony

Fiſida

Oea Colony afterwards Tripoly

Orisca

Uzecis

Taphora

Cercinias I.

Cercina Iſland and City

Lopaduſa I.

Ægiſa I.

Gaulos I.

Melita or Malta

Iſle of Malta

Hannibals Tower

Acolla

Ruſpæ

Sublecti

Thapſa

Orita

Zella

Leptis

Adrumetum Col

Horrea Caelia

Siagul

Aphrodiſium

Neapolis Colony

Pulpud

Vina

Quiru Col.

Vallis

Tuburbis

Membreſſa

Vacaria

Cirnis M.

Corcira

Mount Jupiters

Aſgurus

Boyrada R.

Tucca Terebentina

Marazana

Vacca

Tegla

Elicâ

Agar

Sarsura

Nephcri

Carpis

Curubis

Mitcalla Col.

Carſula

Arrivsa

Turris

Unica

Little Sicilibba

Suburbis Col.

Theudale

Saphira

Cigiſa

Nalpotis

Madaura

Thunaſda

Tucca

Cullu Col.

Tagaſte Mun.

Simittu Col.

Tagura

Narangara

Bulla Regia

Tyſca R.

Rubricatus R.

Sicca Col.

Meraimenum

Mount Thambes

Lares Colony

Altaba

Amedera Colony

Uthina Col.

Thiniſſa

Utica Colony

Cofira

Cornelia

Tabraca Colony

The Alter of Neptune

The Temple of Apollo

G. of Carthage

CARTHAGE Colony

Roman Miles of 5000 Feet each.

10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Jo.n. Davidſon Sculpt

this important place ſubmitted upon terms; others, that it was abandoned by its inhabitants. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the conſuls ſoon became maſters of it, and fortified it after the *Roman* manner, in order to make it the general rendezvous of the *Italian* fleets and a key to *Africa*. From *Clupea* they diſpatched a meſſenger to *Rome* to acquaint the ſenate and people with their ſucceſs, and to receive freſh inſtructions as to their proceedings. For at this time the conſuls did little more than execute the orders of the conſcript fathers, who, being for the moſt part able and experienced commanders, were capable of directing the conduct of their new and often inexperienced generals. While the conſuls waited for the return of the meſſenger, they marched up into the country, and ravaging the fruitful plains of *Africa*, where no enemy had long appeared, returned to the coaſt with an immenſe booty. We are told, that in theſe incurſions they took above twenty thouſand priſoners. While they were thus living at diſcretion in the enemy's country, the meſſenger returned from *Rome*, with orders for *Manlius* to repair to *Italy* with the fleet, and for *Regulus* to purſue the war in *Africa*, with as many troops and ſhips as he thought proper for that ſervice. But *Regulus*, either out of ſome ſecret foreboding of the misfortunes that were to befal him, or becauſe he was impatient to receive the honours of a triumph for his late naval victory, appeared greatly diſſatisfied with the province aſſigned him, and deſired to be recalled. His pretence, which would be now thought a very trifling one, ſhews the character and manners of the *Romans* in thoſe times. He repreſented to the ſenate, that upon the death of the huſbandman, who had the care of his little farm of ſeven acres of ground, he had been obliged to intruſt a day-labourer with the manuring of it, who had ſtolen his cattle and carried off all his ſtock; ſo that his preſence was neceſſary at home to provide for the ſubſiſtance of his wife and children. Upon this the ſenate ordered his wife and children to be maintained at the expence of the public, but directed him to continue in *Africa*, and command the army there with the title of proconſul, when the year of his conſulate ſhould expire [s]. Purſuant to theſe orders, *Attilius* remained in *Africa* with forty ſhips, fifteen thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, while his collegue returned to *Rome* with the reſt of the army, carrying aboard his fleet twenty-ſeven thouſand priſoners.

THE following year, the republic raiſed *Ser. Fulvius Nobilior* and *M. Æmilius Paulus* to the conſulate; but all the attention of the republic was upon *Regulus*, who now, as proconſul, puſhed on his conqueſts with incredible rapidity. To oppoſe his progreſs, *Hamilcar* was recalled from *Sicily*, and to him were joined *Boſtar* and *Aſdrubal*. *Hamilcar* commanded an army juſt equal to that of *Regulus*; the other two headed ſeparate bodies, which were to join him, or act apart, as occaſion required. But, before they were in a condition to take the field, *Regulus*, purſuing his conqueſts, arrived on the banks of the *Bagrada*, which empties itſelf into the ſea at a ſmall diſtance from *Carthage*. There he had a monſter to contend with, in the deſcription of which the *Latin* hiſtorians have employed ſo much art and eloquence, that we cannot help thinking they have exaggerated their accounts beyond all meaſure. This monſter, ſay they, was a ſerpent of an immenſe ſize, which infected the waters of the river, poiſoned the air, and killed all other animals with its breath alone. When the *Romans* went to fetch water, this huge dragon attacked them, and twiſting itſelf round their bodies, either ſqueezed them to death, or ſwallowed them alive; ſo that it was neceſſary to fight this furious monſter in form. As its hard and thick ſcales were proof againſt their darts and arrows, they were forced to have recourſe to the *baliſtæ*, which they made uſe of in ſieges to throw great ſtones, and beat down the walls of the beſieged cities. With theſe machines, they diſcharged ſhowers of huge ſtones againſt this new enemy, and had the good luck with one of them to break his back-bone, which diſabled him from twiſting and winding his immenſe body, and by that means gave the *Romans* an opportunity of accoſting and diſpatching him with their darts and javelins. But his dead body corrupted the air and the water of the river, and ſpread ſo great an infection all over the country, that the *Romans* were obliged to decamp. We are told, that *Regulus* ſent the ſkin of this frightful monſter to *Rome*, which was a hundred and twenty foot long, and that it was hung up in a temple, where it was preſerved to the time of the *Numantine* war. This ſtory has been totally omitted by *Polybius*, and by other *Greek* writers ſo qualified, as to have ſome appearance of truth. Upon the whole, this dreadful monſter ſeems to have been a crocodile, an animal common in *Africa*, but never before ſeen by the *Romans*, who, ſurpriſed at the ſight of it, and

The Romans *kill a prodigious ſize on the banks of the* Bagrada.

[s] Polyb. ibid. c. 2. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 4.

and frightened at the miſchief it might have done them, tranſmitted hyperbolical accounts of the whole to *Rome*, which were copied by the *Latin* hiſtorians[t].

Attilius, having paſſed the *Bagrada*, beſieged *Adis*, or *Adda*, not far from *Carthage*, which the enemy attempted to relieve; but as they encamped among the hills and rocks, where their elephants, in which the main ſtrength of their army lay, could be of no uſe to them, *Regulus* attacked them in their camp, killed ſeventeen thouſand of them, took five thouſand priſoners, and eighteen elephants. Upon the fame of this victory, which was ſoon ſpread all over *Africa*, deputies came from all quarters to ſubmit in the name of their reſpective cities and ſtates to the conqueror; inſomuch, that *Regulus* in a few days became maſter of fourſcore towns, among which were the city and port of *Utica*. This increaſed the alarm at *Carthage*, which was reduced to deſpair, when *Regulus* laid ſiege to *Tunis*, a great city about nine miles from the capital. The place was taken in the ſight of the *Carthaginians*, who from their walls beheld all the operations of the ſiege, and ſuffered the *Romans* to carry on their attacks and batter the place, without offering to relieve it. And to complete their misfortunes, the *Numidians*, their neighbours and irreconcileable enemies, took up arms, entered their territory, laid waſte their fields, and committed every-where moſt dreadful devaſtations, which ſoon occaſioned a great ſcarcity of proviſions in the city. The public magazines were ſoon exhauſted; and, as the city was full of ſelfiſh merchants, who took advantage of the public diſtreſs to ſell their proviſions at an exceſſive price, a famine enſued with all the evils which attend it. In this extremity *Regulus* advanced to the very gates of the city, and, having encamped under the walls, ſent deputies to treat of a peace with the ſenate. It may ſeem ſtrange, that the conſul ſhould ſhew ſo much indulgence for a republic, which rivalled his own, at a time, when one ſingle ſtroke more would, in all probability, have brought her under ſubjection. But it muſt be owned, that though the proconſul loved his country, he likewiſe loved his own glory and reputation. He conſidered, that his proconſulate was ready to expire; that at the end of the year *Rome* would appoint him a ſucceſſor, who would rob him of the glory of a conqueſt, the beginnings of which had coſt him a great deal of labour and fatigue, and that at *Rome* thoſe, who put the laſt hand to great conqueſts, were much more regarded than the generals, who had happily begun them. Upon theſe conſiderations, he reſolved to conclude the war to his own glory and the benefit of his republic, by ſuch an advantagious peace, as ſhould ever do honour to his memory. With theſe views he reſolved to ſpend the reſt of the campaign, which he thought was not ſufficient to accompliſh the reduction of *Carthage*, in treaties and negotiations. The deputies ſent by the proconſul were received at *Carthage* with inexpreſſible joy; but the conditions they propoſed were ſuch, that the ſenate could not hear them without the utmoſt indignation; and *Regulus*, as if he had made a compleat conqueſt of *Carthage*, would abate nothing of his firſt demands. The conditions were; 1. That the *Carthaginians* ſhould relinquiſh all claims to *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, and *Sicily*. 2. That they ſhould reſtore to the *Romans* all the priſoners they had taken from them ever ſince the beginning of the war. 3. That if they ſhould chuſe to redeem any of their own priſoners, they ſhould pay ſo much a head for them, as *Rome* ſhould judge reaſonable. 4. That they ſhould for ever pay the *Romans* an annual tribute. 5. That for the future they ſhould fit out but one man of war for their own uſe, and fifty triremes to ſerve in the *Roman* fleet at the expence of *Carthage*, when required by any of the future conſuls. Theſe extravagant demands provoked the ſenators, who loudly and unanimouſly rejected them, proteſting, that they would rather die a thouſand times, than ſubmit to ſo ſhameful a ſlavery. The *Roman* deputies, in leaving the aſſembly, told the ſenate, that the *Roman* proconſul would not alter a ſingle letter in the propoſals, and that they muſt either conquer the *Romans*, or obey them. After this formal declaration, the *Carthaginians* had nothing left but to ſell their lives dear, and die with honour, in defence of their country[u].

Gives diſſolution of eighty cities

Gives propoſals of peace to Carthage, which are rejected.

Before this negotiation, the *Carthaginian* republic had ſent to hire mercenaries in *Greece*, and this reinforcement arrived juſt in the height of her diſtreſs. Among theſe mercenaries was a *Lacedæmonian*, by name *Xantippus*, a man of great bravery and experience in war. We do not find, that he had any conſiderable poſt in the troops of his own country. He was one of thoſe ſubalterns, who are often more able ſoldiers

[t] Vide Flor. l. ii. Zonar. l. viii. c. 13. Oros. l. iv. Val. Max. l. i. c. 8. Gell. l. vi. c. 3. Plin. l. viii. c. 14. [u] Polyb. ibid. c. 30. Oros. l. iv. c. 8. Eutrop. l. ii. Zonar. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt.

a ſoldiers than their generals, and only want an opportunity of exerting themſelves. The *Lacedæmonian*, having informed himſelf of the circumſtances of the late battle, declared publicly, that their overthrow was owing more to their own miſconduct, than to the ſuperiority of the enemy. His diſcourſe being ſpread among the people and ſoldiery, came to the knowledge of the ſenate; and the ſenators immediately commanded him to be brought before them. Being introduced to them, he explained himſelf ſo clearly, and talked ſo judiciouſly, that the *Carthaginian* generals, as well as the reſt, were for putting him at the head of the army; and a decree was made for that purpoſe. *Xantippus*, being thus inveſted with the ſupreme command, applied himſelf in the firſt place to the diſciplining of his troops; and having taught them how b to march, incamp, widen, and cloſe their ranks, and rally after the *Lacedæmonian* manner under their proper colours, he took the field with twelve thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, and about an hundred elephants. The *Romans* were ſurpriſed at the ſudden change they obſerved in the enemy's conduct. However, *Regulus*, elated with his late ſucceſs, came and incamped at a ſmall diſtance from the *Carthaginian* army, in a vaſt plain, where the enemy's elephants and horſe had room to act. The two armies were parted by a river, which *Regulus* boldly paſſed, and by that means left his troops no way to retreat in caſe of a misfortune. This was what *Xantippus* wanted, who immediately cried out, *The gods favour us*, and drew up his men in order of battle. In the firſt line he placed his dart-men, with orders to retire c into the ſpaces between the battalions, as ſoon as they had made their diſcharge. Behind them, but at ſome diſtance, were placed the elephants in a long front, carrying wooden towers filled with men. Behind the elephants was the *Carthaginian* phalanx, conſiſting of the beſt infantry of the army; and theſe were the main body. As for the wings, *Xantippus* poſted his light-armed troops in the left, and the mercenaries in the right. Theſe two wings were ſupported by the *African* cavalry. *Regulus*, on the other hand, drew up his troops after the *Roman* manner; but was guilty of one great fault: to prevent the elephants from breaking in upon him, he made his main body too narrow and too deep, which expoſed it to the danger of being ſurrounded [w].

Xantippus *appointed general of the* Carthaginian *army*

Xantippus began the attack, ordering the leaders of the elephants to advance, and d attempt the breaking of the enemy's firſt line. The *Romans* ſtood the ſhock of thoſe dreadful animals with great bravery. But, in the mean time, the *Roman* cavalry in the wings, being charged by the *Carthaginian*, which was greatly ſuperior in number, were overpowered, put into confuſion, and obliged to fly. On the other hand, *Regulus*'s left wing falling upon the mercenaries, whom *Xantippus* had poſted in his right, broke them, and purſued them to their camp, whither they retired in diſorder. But, in the mean time, the main body of the *Romans*, which *Regulus* commanded in perſon, being attacked in front by the elephants, and in the rear by the *African* cavalry, was put into diſorder; the elephants bore all down before them, and ſuch of the *Romans* as attempted to make their eſcape to avoid the fury of thoſe monſtrous animals, fell in among the horſe and were cut in pieces. The main body being thus e broke and caſt into confuſion, the whole army was put to the rout, and the ſlaughter was univerſal. Of all the *Roman* army, only two thouſand, who purſued the mercenaries, eſcaped, and arrived ſafe at *Clupea*. *Regulus* himſelf, with five hundred choſen men who kept conſtantly about him, was ſurrounded by the enemy and taken. The reſt, to the number of thirty thouſand men, were cut in pieces, either in the battle, or the purſuit. The loſs of the *Carthaginians* was ſcarce above eight hundred men, moſt of them mercenaries in the right wing, which was routed. The victorious army returned to the capital of *Africa*, which *Xantippus* entered, as it were in triumph, leading the *Roman* conſul with him among the reſt of the priſoners. All the people f of *Carthage* ran to meet their deliverer, and could ſcarce believe their own eyes. They beheld with unſpeable pleaſure the proud *Roman*, in a ſtate to implore that compaſſion, which he had refuſed them. As for *Xantippus*, they looked upon him as a hero ſent by the gods, to reſcue a miſerable people from deſpair and oppreſſion, and beſtowed on him all the honours which a ſincere gratitude could ſuggeſt. But the wiſe *Lacedæmonian*, foreſeeing that the ſervice he had done them, which was too great for a reward, would create him both envy and danger, reſolved to content himſelf with the glory of ſo noble a victory, and, without waiting for any other reward, to return to *Lacedæmon*. His departure is differently related, but all accounts reflect an

The Romans *defeated, and* Regulus *taken priſoner.*

[w] Polyb. c. 33. Frontin. l. ii. c. 8.

an eternal ſhame and diſhonour on the *Carthaginian* nation. Some ſay, that the *Carthaginians*, jealous of his glory, put privately on board with him aſſaſſines, who murdered him and threw his dead body into the ſea [x]. Others tell us, that a leaky veſſel was got ready for him; but that the artful *Greek*, being appriſed of their wicked deſign, went on board another galley, and arrived ſafe in his own country [y]. However that be, neither *Xantippus*'s victory, nor the monſtrous ingratitude of the *Carthaginians*, will ever be forgot. As for *Regulus*, he was treated with all the cruelty revenge could dictate. After they had made him the ſport of the multitude, and expoſed him to the inſults of an inraged and cruel populace, they ſhut him up in a public priſon, affording him no more food than was barely ſufficient to prolong his life, and in all other reſpects treating him as the criminals, who were under the ſame confinement.

THE defeat and captivity of *Regulus* cauſed as much grief at *Rome*, as joy at *Carthage*. The ſenate no ſooner received an account of the poſture of their affairs in *Africa*, ſo contrary to their expectation, but they ordered the conſuls for the year, *Fulvius* and *Æmilius*, who had hitherto continued at *Rome* inactive, to take proper meaſures for the ſecuring of the coaſts of *Italy* from an invaſion, to haſten into *Sicily*, and from thence, if they thought it adviſeable, to paſs over into *Africa*, and ſave the remains of *Regulus*'s army and conqueſts. In the mean time, the *Carthaginians* ſat down before *Clupea*, but the gariſon made ſo brave and obſtinate a defence, that the enemy, notwithſtanding their utmoſt efforts, were obliged to raiſe the ſiege. From *Clupea* they marched to *Utica*, which they likewiſe beſieged, but abandoned the enterpriſe, upon the news they received, that the *Romans* were equipping a fleet of three hundred and fifty ſail. And indeed this formidable armament was ready before the end of the ſummer; ſo that the conſuls from *Sicily*, where they left ſome land-forces, ſet ſail for *Africa*, in order to make a ſecond deſcent. The *Carthaginians*, who had, with incredible expedition, refitted their old veſſels and built a good number of new ones, met the *Roman* fleet off cape *Hermea*, or *Mercury*, and gave them battle. But the loſs they ſuſtained was much greater, than the advantage they had gained over *Regulus*. An hundred and four of their ſhips were ſunk, thirty taken, and fifteen thouſand of their ſoldiers or rowers killed in the action. After this the *Romans* purſued their courſe to *Clupea*, where they had no ſooner landed, than they were attacked by the *Carthaginian* army under the command of the two *Hamos*, father and ſon. But as the brave *Lacedæmonian* was no longer with them, notwithſtanding the new diſcipline he had taken great care to teach them, they were routed at the very firſt onſet, in which they loſt nine thouſand men, and among them many of their chief lords. After theſe two glorious victories, the one by ſea and the other by land, the *Romans* found themſelves obliged, for want of proviſions, to drop their *African* expedition, and to evacuate both *Clupea* and *Utica*. In their way home they were deſirous of ſignalizing the end of their conſulate by ſome important conqueſts on the coaſt of *Sicily*, where ſome cities ſtill adhered to the *Carthaginians*. They thought, that the ſudden appearance of a victorious fleet with a formidable army would awe them into ſubjection. Inſtead therefore of returning home, they ſteered their courſe to the northern coaſt of *Sicily*, contrary to the opinion of all the pilots in the fleet, who adviſed them, as the ſeaſon was far advanced, to ſail ſtrait for *Italy*. Their obſtinacy proved the deſtruction of the fleet; for, a more violent ſtorm ariſing than had been known in the memory of man, the fleet was almoſt entirely deſtroyed; for of three hundred and ſeventy veſſels, which compoſed it, fourſcore only eſcaped ſhipwreck, the reſt being either ſwallowed by the ſea, or daſhed againſt the ſhore. This was by far the greateſt loſs *Rome* had ever ſuſtained; for, beſides the great number of ſhips that were caſt away with their crews, a numerous army was deſtroyed with all the riches of *Africa*, which had been by *Regulus* amaſſed and depoſited in *Clupea*, and were now tranſporting from thence to *Rome*. The whole coaſt from *Pachynum* to *Camerina* was covered with dead bodies, and ſtrewn with the wrecks of the ſhips; inſomuch, that hiſtory can ſcarce afford an example of the like dreadful diſaſter. The *Romans* on this occaſion experienced the conſtant friendſhip of good king *Hiero*, who ſupplied ſuch as eſcaped the common calamity, with cloaths, proviſions, and ſhips to convey them to *Meſſana*. This misfortune, however, was not imputed to the conſuls, who were continued each in the command of an army the next year, with the title of proconſul. The new conſuls were *Cn. Cornelius Aſina* and *A. Attilius Calatinus*. The former had

The Carthaginians *defeated both by ſea and land.*

The Roman *fleet deſtroyed by a ſtorm.*

[x] APPIAN. in Punicis. [y] ZONAR. l. viii. c. 13.

had been treacherously taken prisoner by *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*, as we have related above, and kept in captivity till the first descent of the *Romans* in *Africa*, when he was delivered from slavery, during which he had been obliged to drive a plough [z].

They fit out a new fleet.

The *Carthaginians*, upon advice of the misfortune which had befallen the *Romans* at sea, renewed the war in *Sicily* with fresh fury, hoping the whole island, which was now left defenceless, would soon fall into their hands. But the *Romans*, having in the space of three months launched a hundred and twenty new gallies, which with the old ones that were refitted made a fleet of two hundred and fifty sail, both the consuls and proconsuls were ordered to pass over into *Sicily*, the former to command at sea, and the latter at land. As they besieged only maritime cities, they acted jointly, the land-forces investing them on one side, and the fleet on the other. Their first attempt was on the city of *Cephaledium*, on the north coast, not far from the mouth of the *Himera*, which was betrayed to them by some of the inhabitants. From thence they sailed to *Panormus*, the capital of the *Carthaginian* dominions in *Sicily*, and, having seized the port, summoned the town to surrender. But the inhabitants and garison being determined to stand a siege, the consuls landed all their troops, and began to batter the walls with their engines, by which a tower standing near the sea was quickly ruined. At this breach the *Romans* entered, and made themselves masters of the quarter called *The New City*, those who defended it retiring into *The Old city*, whither they carried with them terror and famine; so that the inhabitants soon sent a deputation to the consuls, offering to surrender, upon condition that their lives, liberties, and effects were spared. But the consuls, not ignorant of the extremity to which they were reduced, would not even grant them their lives and liberties, unless they paid so much a head by way of ransom. The unhappy people were obliged to submit, and forty thousand of them paid two minæ each, that is, 6*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* for their ransom. Those who could not advance that sum were made slaves, to the number of about thirty thousand, and sold to the best bidder. After this considerable conquest, the consuls set sail for *Rome*; but in their passage the transports, on which they had put the money and spoils brought from *Panormus*, were taken by the *Carthaginian* fleet [a]. The two proconsuls entered *Rome* in triumph, for the victory gained over the *Carthaginians* at sea during their consulate.

Cephaledium

And Panormus *taken by the* Romans.

The consuls for the new year, *Cn. Servilius Cæpio* and *C. Sempronius Blæsus*, with a fleet of two hundred and sixty galleys, set sail for *Sicily*, and appeared off *Lilybæum*; but, finding this place too strong and too well garisoned for them to attempt the siege of it, they steered from thence to the eastern coast of *Africa*, where they made several descents, surprised some cities, and plundered several towns and villages. But, as they were returning with the spoils of that rich country, they narrowly escaped losing their whole fleet on the flats of *The Lesser Syrtis*, near the island of the *Lotophagi*; where, by coasting too near the shore, their vessels grounded and stuck on the sand-banks, till the flood brought them off again; and then they made off so fast, that the *Africans* took their departure for a flight. They arrived safe at *Panormus*, and from thence after a few days set sail for *Italy*, having a fair wind till they came of cape *Palinurus*, where so violent a storm overtook them, that a hundred and sixty of their galleys and a great number of transports were lost. And now the republic, considering the two tempests, which had destroyed her two fleets, as a declaration of the will of the gods against her design of depriving the *Carthaginians* of the empire of the sea, made a decree, that for the future no more than fifty vessels should be equipped, and that these should be employed only in guarding the coast of *Italy* and transporting troops into *Sicily*. The proconsul *Cornelius* commanded this campaign the land-forces in *Sicily*, and though historians give us no account of his exploits, there is no room to doubt, but they were very considerable, since he was, on his return to *Rome*, decreed a triumph, as was also the consul *Sempronius Blæsus*, but not his collegue *Servilius Cæpio*; which is somewhat surprising, since he seems to have had a share in all the exploits of this campaign. Both the triumphal tables and several medals, which have reached our times, confirm the triumphs of *Cornelius* and *Sempronius* [b].

The Roman *fleet destroyed by another storm.*

C. Aurelius Cotta and *P. Servilius Geminus*, being the ensuing year raised to the consulate, passed over into *Sicily* to command the land-forces there, and made themselves masters of *Himera*, a city standing at the mouth of a river bearing the same name. *Aurelius*, animated with this important conquest, which put his republic in possession of

[z] Polyb. Zonar. Oros. & Diodor. Sicul. ibid. [a] Polyb. l. i. c. 38. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. [b] Tab triumph. Vid Vaillant, fam. consular.

of a fruitful territory, formed a deſign upon the iſland and city of *Lipara*; and being ſupplied with ſhips by that ever faithful friend to the republic, king *Hiero*, he tranſported ſome of his choſen troops into the iſland, and ſat down before *Lipara* the metropolis. But being ſeized with ſome unaccountable ſcruple touching the auſpices, he returned to *Meſſana* to conſult the auguries anew. During his abſence, *Q. Ceſſius* and *P. Aurelius Pecuniola*, his relation, both legionary tribunes, being intruſted with the command of the army, made an attempt upon the city, contrary to their general's expreſs command. But the beſieged made ſo vigorous a ſally, that they repulſed the aggreſſors, and, purſuing them with great warmth, burnt their palliſades, and had like to have taken their camp. The conſul, upon his return to the camp, deprived *Caſſius* of his employment, and reduced *Aurelius*, after he had cauſed him to be beaten with rods, to the ſtate of a private ſoldier, obliging him to go through the ſervile drudgeries of a common centinel. After this the conſul applied himſelf wholly to the ſiege of the place, took it by aſſault, and put almoſt all the inhabitants to the ſword. The conſul, having finiſhed this conqueſt, returned to *Sicily*, and, with an army of forty thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, laid ſiege to *Ereta*, a ſtrong-hold of great importance; but, as ſoon as the *Carthaginian* army appeared, they abandoned the unequal prize, the *Romans* being too much diſheartened ever ſince the defeat of *Regulus*, and too much afraid of the elephants to hazard a battle in the open country. They would fain have drawn the enemy up to the eminences, thereby to render their elephants uſeleſs. But neither party coming into the meaſures of the other, the campaign ended without any conſiderable action[d]. As for the conſul *Servilius*, he probably acted ſeparately; but did not ſignaliſe himſelf by any great exploit.

Lipara taken by the Romans.

This year a plebeian, by name *Tib. Coruncanius*, by ſome unknown revolution was raiſed to the dignity of *pontifex maximus*. As he was a man of eminent piety he concurred with the conſul *Aurelius*, who was naturally ſevere, and the conſul, to puniſh thoſe who neglected the worſhip of the gods, led irregular lives, or tranſgreſſed the laws of military diſcipline. Thirteen ſenators were ignominiouſly thrown out of the liſt; and, at the motion of *Aurelius*, four hundred knights, who had refuſed to obey his orders in the iſland of *Lipara*, were degraded. Their horſes were taken from them, and they deprived of the right of ſuffrage in their centuries, without being exempted from the taxes. The pay likewiſe, which the republic owed them for their paſt ſervices, was declared forfeited. *Aurelius*, who had taken *Himera* and *Lipara*, was honoured with a triumph, which he obtained on the ides of *April*[e]. By a cenſus taken this year, there appeared to be in *Rome* 297797 men fit to bear arms. The *Carthaginians*, ſeeing themſelves now maſters of the ſea, and their hopes of reconquering *Sicily* increaſing in proportion as they found their rivals reduced to act upon the defenſive, began to make new levies in *Africa*, to hire troops in *Gaul* and *Spain*, and to equip a new fleet. But, their treaſures being exhauſted, they ſent an embaſſy to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, intreating him to lend them two thouſand talents. That prince being reſolved to ſtand neuter, refuſed to aſſiſt them againſt the *Romans*, telling them, that he could not, without breach of fidelity, aſſiſt one friend againſt another. However, the *Carthaginian* republic made an effort, and, exerting herſelf, equipped a fleet of two hundred ſail, and raiſed an army of thirty thouſand men, horſe and foot, and an hundred and ſorty elephants, appointing *Aſdrubal* commander in chief both of the fleet and army.

The Carthaginians fit out a new fleet.

While *Carthage* was making theſe great preparations, *Rome* raiſed *L. Caecilius Metellus* and *C. Furius Pacilus* to the conſulate. They both went into *Sicily*, and there acted only upon the defenſive, purſuant to their inſtructions from the ſenate. But though the conſcript fathers approved of the obedience of their generals, yet they began to reflect, that ſo much caution and circumſpection diſhonoured the commanders, and greatly abated the courage of the ſoldiers. They reſumed therefore their former vigor, and, forgetting their ſhipwrecks, reſolved to put a new fleet to ſea, there being no other means to preſerve *Sicily*. While the veſſels were building, the comitia choſe two conſuls, who were both men of great valor and experience, viz. *L. Manlius Vulſo* and *C. Atilius Regulus*, couſin-german to the famous captive. The late conſul *Furius* was recalled from *Sicily*; but his collegue *Metellus* continued there, with the title of proconſul, to oppoſe the formidable army under the command of *Aſdrubal*. *Metellus*, who was an able commander, being allowed by the ſenate to act according to his own

The Romans put a new fleet to ſea.

c Frontin. l. iv. c. 1. Val. Max. l. i. c. 7. Zonar. l. viii. c. 14. Diodor. in excerpt.
d Polyb. l. i. c. 59
e Tab. triumph. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 9.

a own judgment, ſoon recovered the former reputation of the *Romans* in *Sicily*. For, by pretending fear, he drew *Aſdrubal* into a diſadvantagious ſpot of ground near *Panormus*, and, then ſallying out upon him, gave him a terrible overthrow, and obtained one of the moſt ſignal victories mentioned in the *Roman* hiſtory. Twenty thouſand of the enemy were killed, and many elephants, of theſe latter a great number were alſo taken with their leaders, and ſent afterwards to *Rome*, where they ſwelled the pomp of the conqueror's triumph. *Aſdrubal* after this defeat fled to *Lilybæum*, which he reached with great difficulty; and the proconſul, having no more enemies to contend with in the field, returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph on the ſeventh of the ides of *September*. The *Romans* had never ſeen a more magnificent entry. The
b elephants, to the number of a hundred and four, marched through the city in proceſſion. The air rung with acclamations at the ſight of thoſe animals, and of the great number of priſoners in chains, among whom were thirteen officers of diſtinction. As the *Romans* had reſolved never to make uſe of elephants in war, and did not care to be at the expence of feeding them, they ordered them to be hunted, and put to death in the circus by their *athletæ* or *wreſtlers*; ſo that the people were at the ſame time diverted, and taught to deſpiſe the animals they had hitherto ſo much dreaded. As for the unhappy *Aſdrubal*, he was condemned in his abſence, and on his return home crucified, one ſingle misfortune blotting out the remembrance of his many former important ſervices [f].

Metellus *gains a victory in* Sicily.

c And now the two conſuls, with the new fleet of two hundred and forty galleys and ſixty ſmaller veſſels, paſſing over into *Sicily*, reſolved, by a noble emulation, to ſurpaſs, if poſſible, their predeceſſor *Metellus*, and to drive the *Carthaginians* quite out of the iſland. With this view they laid ſiege to *Lilybæum*, a city deemed impregnable, and the only place of retreat for the *Carthaginian* armies. But *Lilybæum* proved a ſecond *Troy*; the ſiege laſted ten years, the forces of the two republics being exhauſted, within and without the walls of one ſingle city. The people of *Carthage*, upon the news of this enterpriſe, were ſo diſcouraged, that they began to think of a peace. The war had already laſted fourteen years; they had loſt their beſt commanders; their elephants had been taken from them; their fleets had been deſtroyed as faſt as
d they had put them to ſea; their finances were as much exhauſted as their armies were diminiſhed; the only towns they had now left in *Sicily* were *Lilybæum* and *Drepanum*, the one inveſted, and the other expoſed to the inſults of the enemy's new fleet. Theſe conſiderations induced them to think of putting an end to ſo deſtructive a war by a ſpeedy peace. With this view they began to ſoften the rigors of *Regulus*'s confinement, and endeavoured to engage him to go to *Rome* with their embaſſadors, and uſe his intereſt there to bring about a peace upon moderate terms, or at leaſt an exchange of priſoners. *Regulus* obeyed his maſters, and imbarqued for *Rome*, after having bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath to return to his chains, if the negotiation did not ſucceed. The *Carthaginian* ſhip arrived ſafe in *Italy*; but when *Regulus* came to
e the gates of the city, he refuſed to enter them; My misfortanes, ſaid he, have made me a ſlave to the *Carthaginians*; I am no longer a *Roman* citizen; the ſenate gives always audience to foreigners without the gates. His wife *Marcia* went out to meet him, and preſented to him his two young children. But he, only caſting a kind of wild look on them, fixed his eyes on the ground, as if he thought himſelf unworthy of the embraces of his wife and the careſſes of his children. When the ſenators aſſembled in the ſuburbs, he was introduced to them with the *Carthaginian* embaſſadors, and together with them made the two propoſals with which he was charged: Conſcript fathers, ſaid he, being now a ſlave to the *Carthaginians*, I am come on the part of my maſters to treat with you, concerning a peace and an exchange of pri-
f ſoners. Having uttered theſe words, he began to withdraw and follow the embaſſadors, who were not allowed to be preſent at the deliberations and diſputes of the conſcript fathers. In vain the ſenate preſſed him to ſtay, and give his opinion as an old ſenator and conſul. He refuſed to continue in the aſſembly, till his *African* maſters ordered him, and then the illuſtrious ſlave took his place among the fathers; but continued ſilent with his eyes fixed on the ground, while the more ancient ſenators ſpoke. When it came to his turn to deliver his opinion, he addreſſed himſelf to the conſcript fathers thus: Though I am a ſlave at *Carthage*, yet I am free at *Rome*, and will therefore declare my ſentiments with freedom. *Romans*, it is not for your intereſt either

The Carthaginians *ſend* Regulus *to* Rome *to treat of a peace.*

[f] Zonar. l. viii. c. 14. Polyb. c. 41. Oros. l. iv. c. 9.

His ſpeech in the ſenate.

either to grant the *Carthaginians* a peace, or to make an exchange of priſoners with them. *Carthage* is extremely exhauſted, and the only reaſon why ſhe ſues for peace is, becauſe ſhe is not in a condition to continue the war. You have been vanquiſhed but once, and that by my fault; a fault which *Metellus* has repaired by a ſignal victory. But the *Carthaginians* have been ſo often overcome, that they have not the courage to look a *Roman* in the face. Your allies continue peaceable, and ſerve you with zeal. But your enemy's troops conſiſt only of mercenaries, who have no other tie but that of intereſt, and will ſoon be diſobliged by the republic they ſerve, *Carthage* being already quite deſtitute of money to pay them. No, *Romans*, a peace with *Carthage* does not by any means ſuit your intereſt, conſidering the condition to which the *Carthaginians* are reduced. I therefore adviſe you to purſue the war with greater vigor than ever. As for the exchange of priſoners, you have among the *Carthaginian* captives ſeveral officers of diſtinction, who are young, and may one day command the enemy's armies. But as for me, I am advanced in years, and my misfortunes have made me uſeleſs. Beſides, what can you expect from ſoldiers, who have been vanquiſhed and made ſlaves? Such men, like timorous deer, that have eſcaped out of the hunter's toils, will ever be upon the alarm and ready to fly. The ſenate, greatly affected with his diſintereſtedneſs, magnanimity, and contempt of life, would willingly have preſerved him, and continued the war in *Africa*. Some were of opinion, that in *Rome* he was not obliged to keep an oath, which had been extorted from him in an enemy's country. The *pontifex maximus* himſelf being conſulted in the caſe declared, that *Regulus* might continue at *Rome* without being guilty of perjury. But the noble captive, highly offended at this deciſion, as if his honour and courage were called in queſtion, declared to the ſenate, who trembled to hear him ſpeak, that he well knew what torments were reſerved for him at *Carthage*; but that he had ſo much of the true ſpirit of a *Roman*, as to dread leſs the tortures of a cruel rack, than the ſhame of a diſhonourable action, which would follow him to his grave. It is my duty, ſaid he, to return to *Carthage*. Let the gods take care of the reſt. This intrepidity made the ſenate ſtill more deſirous of ſaving ſuch an hero. All means were made uſe of to make him ſtay, both by the people and ſenate. He would not even ſee his wife *Marcia*, nor ſuffer his young children to take their leave of him. Amidſt the lamentations and tears of the whole city, he imbarqued with the *Carthaginian* embaſſadors to return to the place of his ſlavery, with as ſerene and chearful a countenance, as if he had been going to a country ſeat for his diverſion. The *Carthaginians* were ſo inraged againſt him, that they invented new torments to ſatisfy their revenge. Firſt, they cut off his eye-lids, keeping him for a while in a dark dungeon, and then bringing him out, and expoſing him to the ſun at noon-day. After this they ſhut him up in a kind of cheſt ſtuck with nails, having their points inwards, ſo that he could neither ſit nor lean without great torment; and there they ſuffered him to die with hunger, anguiſh, and want of ſleep (G) [g].

Returns to Carthage, and is put to a cruel death.

When the news of theſe cruelties reached *Rome*, the ſenate, by way of retaliation, gave up the chief of the *Carthaginian* captives to the revenge of *Marcia* the wife of *Regulus*, who, venting her rage upon thoſe unhappy wretches, cauſed them to be ſhut up two and two in great cheſts thick ſtuck with nails, and there to ſuffer the ſame torments which her huſband had endured at *Carthage*. *Boſtar* died the fifth day; but *Hamilcar*, notwithſtanding the ſtench and corruption of the dead body of his companion, lived ten days, having as much food allowed him as was ſufficient to prolong his life in miſery. At length the ſenate put a ſtop to this cruel uſage, and commanded *Boſtar*'s aſhes to be ſent home, and the reſt of the priſoners, who had ſurvived their tortures, to be uſed with more humanity [h].

In

[g] Appian. in Punic. Val. Max. l. i. c. i. Cic. de off. Aul. Gell. noctes Atticæ, &c.
[h] Diodor. Sicul. l. xxiv. Aul. Gell. ibid.

(G) It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that *Hoffman* ſhould look upon a fact, atteſted by a cloud of credible witneſſes, as a fable. It is true, that *Polybius*, in other caſes a moſt exact hiſtorian, does not mention the cruel death of *Regulus*. But is the ſilence of one ſingle author, who is wholly taken up in deſcribing battles and ſieges, ſufficient to weigh down the expreſs teſtimonies of *Cicero*, *Livy*, *Appian*, *Zonaras*, *Valerius Maximus*, and eſpecially of *Tuditanus*, who lived in the ſame age with *Polybius*? All theſe writers agree, that *Regulus* died in the midſt of moſt exquiſite torments; though it muſt be owned, that they relate the circumſtances of his death very differently. Some ſay, that he was crucified; others, that he died of the miſeries of a long impriſonment: but the moſt common opinion is, that which we have inſerted in the text. *Regulus* was not the only perſon the *Carthaginians* ſacrificed to their revenge. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that with unparallelled cruelty they cruſhed great numbers of the *Roman* priſoners to death, with the weight of the galleys that were upon the ſtocks.

a IN the mean time, the two conſuls, *Manlius* and *Attilius*, carried on the ſiege of *Lilybæum* with great vigor. *Himilco*, a general of great experience and perſonal valor, commanded in the place, which was ſtrong both by nature and art, and defended by a very numerous gariſon, conſiſting of ten thouſand mercenary *Gauls* and *Greeks*, beſides a prodigious number of *Carthaginian* and *African* troops. The conſuls divided the attacks between them, the one inveſting the city on the ſide of the ſea, the other of the land. Their camps had a communication by a deep ditch, covered with a rampart and a wall, ſo that they could mutually aſſiſt each other. The firſt attack was made at the point of cape *Lilybæum*, where it jets out moſt into the ſea, and where there were ſeven towers, which had a communication with each
b other, and reached in a direct line to the town. Theſe towers being taken one after another, the conſuls prepared to batter the wall of the city; but were obliged firſt to fill up a ditch ſixty cubits broad and forty deep, in order to bring their machines up to the wall. This proved a laborious piece of work, the beſieged drawing up the earth into the city by certain engines, as faſt as the beſiegers threw it into the ditch. But the *Romans*, by the ſuperior number of their workmen, gained their point. Then *Himilco*, with incredible expedition, threw up a rampart, and built a new wall to cover the wall of the city. The *Romans* endeavoured to undermine it; but the enemy, countermining them, attacked the *Roman* miners under-ground, and prevented them from carrying on their work. The beſieged, however, were reduced
c to great ſtraits, numbers of them being killed in the frequent ſallies they made, and the reſt haraſſed day and night in defending their works againſt two conſular armies. The town muſt have ſoon fallen into the enemy's hands, had it not received a ſeaſonable reinforcement. The *Romans* had ſhut up the port ſo cloſely, that *Himilco* could not find means to acquaint the ſenate of *Carthage* with the unhappy condition to which he was reduced. But, nevertheleſs, it was concluded there, that, after ſo long and ſtreight a ſiege, the place muſt ſtand in need both of men and proviſions. A ſupply was therefore decreed them of proviſions, and as many men as could be tranſported in a ſquadron of fifty galleys; which were accordingly diſpatched under the command of *Hannibal* the ſon of *Hamilcar*. That brave commander arriving ſafe
d at the iſland of *Æguſa*, at a ſmall diſtance from the coaſt of *Sicily*, ſheltered himſelf there, waiting for a proper time to force his way through the enemy's fleet, which lay at the mouth of the harbour. As ſoon as a briſk ſouth wind blew, he crouded all his ſails, and ordering his rowers to ply their oars, paſſed through the midſt of the *Roman* fleet, and arrived ſafe in the port with a reinforcement of ten thouſand men and a great quantity of proviſions. The ſudden appearance of the *African* ſquadron, and the fear of being forced into the port with the enemy by the violence of the wind, prevented the *Romans* from attacking *Hannibal*, ſo that he got into *Lilybæum* without the loſs of a ſingle man. *Himilco*, encouraged by this new reinforcement, made the very next day a briſk ſally at the head of twenty thouſand men, in
e hopes of deſtroying the engines of the *Romans*. Never was action begun or carried on with more bravery; but at length the beſieged were repulſed with great loſs, without being able to ſet fire to the engines as they intended. [i].

The beſieged receive a ſupply of men and proviſions.

THE night after this obſtinate fight, *Hannibal*, finding himſelf to be of no uſe in *Lilybæum*, put all the *Carthaginian* cavalry on board his galleys, ſailed boldly through the *Roman* fleet, and got ſafe to *Drepanum*, whence he made incurſions into the territories of the allies of the *Romans*, and intercepted the proviſions which were deſigned for the conſular armies. This occaſioned a great ſcarcity in the two camps, which obliged one of the conſuls to retire with his two legions from the reſt of the army. In the mean time, his collegue endeavoured to ſhut up the harbour with a bar, made of
f ſtrong beams, faſtened together with iron braces. But this work was ſoon deſtroyed by the winds and ſtrong currents. However, the report being ſpread at *Carthage* that the harbour was quite ſhut up, no veſſel would venture out for ſome time to bring them from *Lilybæum* an account of the ſiege. At length a *Rhodian*, by name *Hannibal*, undertook to get into the place, and bring them intelligence how their affairs ſtood there, provided the harbour was not yet quite barred up. His undertaking was well received, but little dependence was had upon it, in regard the *Roman* fleet rid at anchor before the mouth of the harbour. Nevertheleſs the *Rhodian* with a veſſel of his own put to ſea, and getting ſafe to one of thoſe iſlands, which lie oppoſite

Bold undertaking of Hannibal *the* Rhodian.

[i] POLYB. c. xlv. DIODOR. SICUL. ibid.

oppoſite to *Lilybæum*, the very next morning with a fair wind and a freſh gale he paſſed through the enemy's fleet, and to their great ſurprize entered the port. The conſul gave ſtrict orders to have a more careful eye on the entrance of the haven, and ordered ten of his lighteſt veſſels to be placed there, with their oars, like ſo many wings, diſplayed, and ready to fly after the prey they expected. But the *Rhodian*, depending upon his ſkill in ſea affairs, and the lightneſs of his veſſel, not only eſcaped falſely, but in contempt of the *Romans* who purſued him, would often lie upon his oars, till they got near him, and then row quite round their veſſels. He thus paſſed and repaſſed ſeveral times, carrying to *Carthage* an account of the ſiege, and to *Lilybæum* the orders of the ſenate, the *Romans* being inraged and confounded to ſee one ſingle galley triumph as it were over their whole fleet. The ſucceſsful temerity of the *Rhodian* encouraged ſeveral *Carthaginians* to make the like attempt. But one of theſe adventurers, leſs ſkilful than *Hannibal*, in the knowledge of the currents between the rocks and the flats, grounded and was taken by the *Romans*. The conſul immediately put on board this light galley the beſt crew he had, and waited with impatience for a freſh inſult from the *Rhodian*. It was not long before the *Rhodian* entered the port again in the night-time, according to his cuſtom, and was preparing to ſail out in broad day, not knowing that the *Romans* were now maſters of a galley, which was as good a ſailor as his own. He weighed anchor with great confidence, and ſailed out of the port in ſight of the enemy's fleet; but was greatly ſurpriſed to ſee the *Romans* purſue him cloſe, and at length come up with him, notwithſtanding the lightneſs of his veſſel. He had now no way left but to engage them, which he did with an undaunted bravery; but the *Romans*, who were all choſen men, ſoon put an end to the diſpute. The *Rhodian* veſſel was boarded, and taken with all her crew. The *Romans*, being now in poſſeſſion of two light galleys, ſhut up the port ſo effectually, that no *Carthaginian* ever after attempted to enter it [k].

He is taken by the Romans.

The beſieged were not diſcouraged by being deprived of this advantage; they boldly reſiſted two general attacks of the beſiegers, and obliged them to retire with great ſlaughter, after they had got poſſeſſion of the firſt rampart. The advantage they gained in theſe attacks was followed by another, which had like to have reduced the *Romans* to deſpair. A ſudden ſtorm ariſing, and the wind blowing from the land with ſuch violence, as almoſt to overturn the machines of the *Romans*, the *Carthaginians*, by the advice of ſome mercenary *Greeks* in their ſervice, took advantage of this accident, and ſallying out ſet fire to the galleries, platforms, towers, and baliſtæ of the beſiegers. As the ſtorm blew full in the faces of the *Romans*, they were ſo blinded with the ſmoke, that they could only throw their darts at a venture, while the flame, which ſpread very faſt, gave light to the enemy. So that the work of ſeveral months was conſumed in a few hours. The boaſted conſtancy of the *Romans* would not have been able to bear up under this terrible diſaſter, had not their generous friend *Hiero* raiſed their drooping ſpirits, by ſending them convoys of proviſions, and exhorting them not to abandon the enterprize [l].

The ſiege before Lilybæum *deſtroyed.*

After this ſhock, the conſul, not finding himſelf in a condition to take *Lilybæum* by force, turned the ſiege into a blockade. At *Rome* the news of this diſaſter made different impreſſions on the people and the ſenate. The people were more animated by it to continue the ſiege. Nay, ten thouſand of them, entering into an aſſociation to ſerve in the army before *Lilybæum*, paſſed over to *Meſſana*, and from thence marched on foot to the *Roman* camp. But in the ſenate many were for concluding a peace, and the diſpute aroſe to ſuch a height, that from words they came to blows, and one ſenator was killed for appearing too zealous for a peace [m]. The next year, when *P. Claudius Pulcher* and *L. Junius Pullus* were conſuls, proved ſtill more unfortunate for *Rome*. The former, who had the command of the land-forces, and had inherited all the pride and raſhneſs of the *Claudian* family, no ſooner arrived at the camp, but he began to defame his predeceſſors, and reproach the ſoldiery with indolence and cowardice. Though he had but little knowledge in the art of war, his fiery temper put him upon projects, which required great ſkill in military affairs; and he was too proud to take advice. He had ſcarce taken upon him the command of the army, when, without conſulting the other officers, he formed a deſign of ſurpriſing *Drepanum*, where *Adherbal*, an able captain, commanded for the *Carthaginians*. With this view he put to ſea in the dead of the night, with a fleet of a hundred and twenty galleys, that

[k] Polyb. c. 45—48. Diodor. Sicul ibid. Zonar. l. viii. c. 15. [l] Polyb. & Diod. ibid. [m] Zonar. l. viii. c. 15.

a that lay before *Lilybæum*, having on board the flower of his land-forces. *Adherbal* was greatly ſurpriſed, when at break of day he diſcovered the enemy's fleet; but recollecting, that if he ſuffered the harbour to be blocked up, he muſt endure all the calamities incident to a ſiege, he reſolved to venture an engagement; and accordingly ſailed out of the port with a ſquadron of ninety gallies, and concealed himſelf behind ſome rocks, till the *Roman* fleet began to enter the mouth of the haven. He then appeared all on a ſudden, and falling upon the enemy's ſquadron before they could draw up in line of battle, put them into great confuſion. All the *Roman* officers adviſed *Claudius* not to engage the enemy, but to return before *Lilybæum*, which he might eaſily have done. But the conſul, obſtinate to venture an engagement, tacked about,
b and made a ſignal to the headmoſt galleys to do the ſame. It was with the utmoſt difficulty, that he drew them up in line of battle along the coaſt. His ſituation was highly diſadvantagious; for in caſe his veſſels ſhould be obliged to give way in the leaſt, they could not avoid running aground on the flats, or ſplitting againſt the rocks. Notwithſtanding this diſadvantage, *Claudius* perſiſted in his former deſign of engaging the enemy, not only contrary to the opinion of his officers, but in defiance of the auſpices, which it was then thought highly impious to deſpiſe. For when the ſacred chickens were conſulted in his preſence and refuſed to feed, he threw them coop and all into the ſea: *If they won't eat, let them drink*, ſaid he, not reflecting that ſuch a contempt of religion would diſcourage his troops. And indeed the *Romans* ſeemed
c to have forgot themſelves in the action which enſued. They made but a faint reſiſtance, and ſuffered themſelves, like mere cowards, to be boarded by the enemy, and driven either upon the ſhore or againſt the rocks. As for *Claudius*, who had been ſo forward to hazard a battle, he no ſooner ſaw the victory incline to *Adherbal*'s ſide, than he made off as faſt as he could with thirty galleys, leaving the reſt to ſtruggle with the waves, the rocks, and the enemy. The *Romans* loſt ninety galleys in this ill conducted action. Eight thouſand of their men were either killed or drowned, and twenty thouſand taken and ſent priſoners to *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians* gained this ſignal victory, without loſing a ſingle man, or one galley [n].

Claudius Pulcher *defeated at ſea by the* Carthaginians.

The news of this fatal action no ſooner reached *Rome*, than *Claudius* was recalled
d and ordered to name a dictator. The proud conſul, to inſult the ſenate and in deriſion of the laws, nominated to that ſupreme dignity one of his own clients, named *Claudius Glycias*, a man of the meaneſt of the people, who had no other office in the city but that of *viator*, or, as we may call him, *tipſtaff* to *Claudius* during his conſulate. This unſeaſonable jeſt highly provoked all orders of men againſt *Claudius*. The mock-dictator was forced to abdicate, but the ſenate allowed him to wear the robe bordered with purple, called *prætexta*, in the theatre and circus the reſt of his life, for having reſigned his dictatorſhip with a good grace. *M. Attilius Calatinus* ſucceeded him, who appointed the famous *Cæcilius Metellus* for his general of the horſe. As for *Claudius*, he was, after his depoſition, tried before the people for his miſdemeanors. Some
e writers ſay, he was condemned; others tell us, that the people was prevented from condemning him, and driven from the forum by a ſudden ſtorm, which they looked upon as a tacit abſolution given him by the gods, and therefore did not call him to judgment again [o]. But this has the air of a fable, invented to wipe off the ſtain from the *Claudian* family, which was in great power at *Rome*. *Polybius* ſays, he was tried, and loaded with a very rigorous ſentence [p].

Claudius *depoſed and tried*

As for the other conſul, *Junius Pullus*, he ſailed with a fleet of a hundred and twenty galleys, and eight hundred other veſſels, to *Syracuſe*, in order to take in proviſions there for the camp before *Lilybæum*. From *Syracuſe* he ſent the quæſtors before him with a ſquadron to ſupply the preſent wants of the army, while he followed
f with the reſt of the fleet. *Adherbal*, who carefully watched all the motions of the *Roman* fleet, no ſooner heard that the conſul was at ſea, than he detached *Carthalo* from *Drepanum* with a hundred galleys, ordering him to cruiſe off of *Heraclea*, and there wait for the *Roman* fleet and convoys. He had no ſooner put to ſea, than news was brought him, that a *Roman* ſquadron, which was that of the quæſtors, appeared at ſome diſtance. Hereupon, as he had the *Romans* in great contempt ſince their laſt defeat, he prepared to engage them, promiſing himſelf a ſure victory. But the quæſtors, diffident of their own ſtrength, ſheltered themſelves among certain rocks near *Phintia*, a city ſubject to the *Romans*, where *Carthalo* attacked them, but was not

[n] Polyb. c. 49. Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Oros. l. iv. c. 10. Val. Max. l. i. c. 4. [o] Cic. de nat. Deor. l. ii. & de divin. Valer. Max. l. viii. c. 1. [p] Polyb. l. i. c. 52.

not attended with the ſucceſs he expected, the *Romans* defending their veſſels with baliſtæ and other engines, which they had brought in great haſte from the town and planted on the ſhore; ſo that *Carthalo*, after having taken only a few tranſports, retired to a harbour in a neighbouring river, where he came to an anchor, and kept a vigilant eye on the motions of the *Roman* fleet. While he was thus waiting for the quæſtors, he was informed by the veſſels he had ſent out to make diſcoveries, that the conſul *Junius* had with a numerous fleet doubled cape *Pachynum*, and was ſteering his courſe for *Lilybæum*. Upon this important piece of news he immediately weighed anchor, reſolved to give the conſul battle before he could join the quæſtors ſquadron. He crouded all the ſail he could, and came in ſight of the conſul's fleet off of *Camerina*. But *Junius*, not caring to hazard a battle, choſe to act the ſame part his quæſtors had done, though he did not know it. For he turned to the coaſt, and took ſanctuary among the rocks that were next at hand, thinking it more adviſeable to run ſome hazard, than expoſe by the loſs of the fleet, which might be the conſequence of a battle, the land-forces to the mercy of the enemy. *Carthalo* forbore attacking them in ſo dangerous a poſt, but retiring to a place between the two fleets, kept that ſtation, carefully obſerving their motions. While matters ſtood thus, the *Carthaginian* pilots, who were well ſkilled in the weather, and acquainted with thoſe ſeas and coaſts, foreſeeing by certain ſigns that a ſtorm would ſoon ariſe, adviſed *Carthalo* to weigh anchor, double cape *Pachynum*, and ſhelter himſelf under the oppoſite ſhore. *Carthalo* followed their advice, and with great difficulty doubled the cape, and ſecured his fleet, while the *Roman* ſhips were either daſhed againſt the rocks, or driven upon the coaſt. Never was there a more complete ſhipwreck. We are told, that of the conſul's fleet and the quæſtors ſquadron, which conſiſted of a hundred and twenty galleys and eight hundred tranſports, laden with all ſorts of proviſions and military ſtores, not one veſſel, nay, not a plank, was ſaved, which could be uſed again[r]. Thus *Rome* was deprived once more of all her naval force, and once more renounced the empire of the ſea. But neither did this dejection laſt long, their ambition getting the better of all difficulties.

The Roman fleet wholly deſtroyed.

As the *Romans*, notwithſtanding theſe loſſes, were ſtill ſtronger by land, the blockade of *Lilybæum* was continued. The conſul *Junius*, to repair his misfortune, made an attempt upon *Eryx*, a place of great ſtrength, and ſituated on the declivity of a mountain bearing the ſame name, and the higheſt in *Sicily*, except mount *Ætna*. He ſucceeded in his attempt, and ſurpriſed the place in the night by the help of ſome ſoldiers, who betrayed it to him. To ſecure this conqueſt, he built a fort at the foot of the mountain, and placed a gariſon in it of eight hundred men. But *Carthalo* ſoon after made a deſcent, took the fort by aſſault, and put the gariſon to the ſword[s]. Some writers ſay, that *Junius* was taken priſoner in defending the place[s]; others, that he laid violent hands on himſelf, for fear of being condemned at *Rome* for his ill conduct, or out of melancholy for ſo fatal a campaign[t].

Eryx ſurprized by the conſul Junius.

One of the conſuls being dead and the other depoſed, the dictator's preſence became neceſſary in *Sicily*. As from the foundation of *Rome* no dictator had appeared out of *Italy*, great things were expected from him. But *Attilius* performed no remarkable exploits. He gained ſome ſmall advantages before *Lilybæum*, and then returned to preſide at the elections for the enſuing year; when two were promoted to the conſulate, who had enjoyed that dignity once before, *C. Aurelius Cotta* and *P. Servilius Geminus*. The *Romans* had now no fleet, and therefore both the conſuls were ordered to purſue the ſiege of *Lilybæum*, and to prevent the *Carthaginians* from carrying ſuccours or proviſions into that place, or into *Drepanum*. *Carthalo* attempted both, but finding the *Romans* every-where upon their guard, he endeavoured to draw one of the conſuls out of *Sicily*, by making a deſcent upon *Italy*, and ravaging the provinces belonging to the republic. But upon the firſt advice, that he had landed in *Lucania*, the prætor of *Rome* putting himſelf at the head of an army, which was immediately raiſed in the city, forced him to reimbarque and return to *Sicily*. And now his mercenary troops began to murmur for want of pay, no money having been ſent to them for ſome time from *Carthage*, which was almoſt quite exhauſted with ſo long and expenſive a war. To put a ſtop to the mutiny, he puniſhed the moſt ſeditious with great rigor: ſome were tranſported to deſart iſlands, and there left to periſh; others were ſent to *Carthage*, and there executed. This provoked even thoſe who were the moſt peaceably

[r] Polyb. c. 54. [s] Polyb. c. 55. [t] Zonar. l. viii. c. 15. [t] Cic. de nat. Deor. l. ii.

peaceably inclined; inſomuch, that, the rebellion becoming general, *Carthalo* was ſeaſonably recalled, and a commander ſent in his room, who became afterwards famous for his implacable hatred to the *Romans*, which he did not ſuffer to die with him, but tranſmitted to his poſterity. This great man was *Hamilcar*, ſurnamed *Barcas*, the father of the famous *Hannibal*, the greateſt officer *Carthage* ever produced. *Hamilcar*, having appeaſed the ſedition which his predeceſſor had raiſed by his unſeaſonable rigor, ſailed to *Italy*, and, more ſucceſsful than *Carthalo*, laid waſte the territories of the *Locrians* and *Brutians*, and returned to *Sicily* with an immenſe booty. Having landed his troops, he incamped on a ſteep rock between *Panormus* and *Eryx*, both belonging to the *Romans*; and from thence, making incurſions into the lands of the allies of *Rome*, ſo haraſſed the conſuls, that they could make but little progreſs in the ſiege of *Lilybæum*. *Hamilcar*'s campaign was looked upon at *Carthage* as a maſterly piece of conduct. He had ſubſiſted, in ſpite of the *Romans* and at the expence of their allies, between two of their cities, and at a great diſtance from any place allied to *Carthage*, and at the ſame time diſconcerted all the meaſures of the conſuls [t].

Hamilcar Barcas *ſent into* Sicily.

THE new conſuls, *L. Cæcilius Metellus* and *Fabius Buteo*, were both ordered to *Sicily*; the former, who had been conſul once before, and was ſo famous for his magnificent triumph, was appointed to carry on the ſiege of *Lilybæum*, and his collegue to beſiege *Drepanum*. But *Hamilcar*, by innumerable ſallies from his eminence, kept both the conſuls in play, and by his maſterly conduct prevented them from gaining any conſiderable advantage during the campaign. According to the beſt hiſtorian of thoſe times, the brave *Hamilcar* ſeemed to be every-where; his foreſight extended to all particulars, and his valour was ſufficient for any attempt [u].

WHILE affairs were in this ſituation in *Sicily*, the *Romans* pillaged the coaſts of *Africa* with a fleet built and equipped at the expence of private perſons; for the republic had laid aſide all thoughts of building new galleys, after the loſſes ſhe had ſuſtained by ſea. However, ſhe paſſed a decree, empowering all her ſubjects to build, equip, and arm ſhips at their own charges, to pillage the coaſt of *Africa*, and apply all the plunder to their own uſe. Nay, the republic lent the gallies ſhe had left to private perſons *gratis*, with this proviſo only, that they ſhould return them in as good a condition as they had received them. This fleet of privateers committed great devaſtations on the coaſt of *Africa*, entered the port of *Hippo*, ſet fire to the ſhips and houſes, and put to ſea again loaded with a rich booty. On their return to *Sicily* they met off *Panormus* a *Carthaginian* fleet carrying proviſions to *Hamilcar*, and gained a conſiderable advantage over it. However, the pride of the *Romans* being now in a good meaſure abated by their many late misfortunes, they conſented at laſt to an exchange of priſoners; and they were accordingly exchanged man for man. As the *Carthaginians* had more captives to redeem than the *Romans*, the latter received money for the overplus, which recruited their exhauſted treaſury. The number of the *Roman* citizens appeared by a cenſus taken this year to be no more than 251220, which was leſs by 86575 than the number at the laſt cenſus. A very conſiderable diminution, which can only be aſcribed to the war, and the many ſhipwrecks which the republic had ſuffered [w].

A fleet of Roman *privateers defeats a* Carthaginian *fleet.*

THE following year, *M. Otacilius Craſſus* and *M. Fabius Licinus* were created conſuls; but they made little or no progreſs in the ſiege of *Lilybæum*, which was the province allotted to them, being daily haraſſed by parties ſent out by *Hamilcar*. As they did not return before the time of their conſulate expired, *Tib. Coruncanius* was appointed dictator to preſide at the election of new magiſtrates, when *M. Fabius Buteo* and *C. Attilius Bulbus* were choſen conſuls. At this time a woman of the firſt rank was ſeverely puniſhed, only for dropping ſome words, which betrayed a want of affection for the public. *Claudia*, the ſiſter of the late *Claudius Pulcher*, a woman thoroughly tinctured with all the vices of her family, returning in a chariot from a public ſhew, happened to be preſſed in the throng. Upon this ſhe cried out in a tranſport of rage; *I wiſh my brother* Claudius *were alive again, that he might rid* Rome, *as formerly, of the ſcoundrel mob, with which the city is crouded.* For theſe words ſhe was cited by the two ædiles to appear before the tribes; and, notwithſtanding all the whole body of the nobility could ſay or do in her favour, ſhe was forced to appear before the tribunal of the *Roman* people, which had never before happened to any woman, and was condemned to pay a fine of twenty-five thouſand aſſes of braſs, that is, 80*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.* which

Claudia *puniſhed for treaſonable words againſt the people.*

[t] POLYB. c. 56. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. [u] POLYB. c. 57. [w] ZONAR. l. viii. c. 16.

which the ædile *Sempronius* employed in building a little chapel on the hill *Aventinus*, a dedicated to *Liberty* [x].

Hamilcar *supplies* Lilybæum *with provisions.*

The two new consuls had no sooner entered upon their office, than they set out for *Sicily*. The *Romans* hoped to reduce *Lilybæum* at length by famine, and therefore persisted in carrying on the siege. But, in spite of all the care and vigilance of the two consuls, the brave *Hamilcar* found means to supply the place with fresh provisions. He sailed with his small fleet from the port of *Epirette*, near which place he lay incamped, and in the night ordered a good number of transports, loaded with provisions, to advance behind the islands *Ægates*, which covered the port of *Lilybæum*. In the morning he himself appeared out at sea with the small remains of his galleys, bidding, as it were, the enemy defiance. The *Roman* gallies, which guarded the b port, made what haste they could to attack him. But when they had got a great way from the port, the *Carthaginian* ships, which lay concealed behind the islands, entered it, unloaded their provisions, landed some fresh troops, and got out to sea again before the *Romans* returned from their vain pursuit [y]. This same year the *Roman* privateers gained a considerable victory over a *Carthaginian* fleet within sight of the island of *Ægimur* near *Africa*; but were afterwards dashed in pieces by a storm, which drove them against the rocks on the coast of *Africa* [z].

The Roman *privateers destroyed by a storm.*

Notwithstanding all these misfortunes, the *Romans* with an unaccountable steadiness continued the siege of *Lilybæum*, and dispatched their two new consuls, *A. Manlius Torquatus* and *C. Sempronius Blæsus*, into *Sicily*, with orders to use their c utmost efforts against the place. As it was well stored with provisions, *Hamilcar* gave himself no farther trouble about relieving it, or sending in new stores. His mind was wholly bent upon a more noble design, which was to recover the city of *Eryx*, taken formerly by the consul *Junius*. This was a difficult and dangerous enterprize. The city of *Eryx* stood about the middle of the mountain of that name, and was fortified by art as well as by nature. The *Romans* were in possession of the temple of *Venus Erycina* on the summit of the mountain, and had a fort at the bottom of it defended by a good garison. But nothing could discourage the *Carthaginian* general. He set out from his camp in the dead of the night, and, winding round the mountain, in a profound silence, arrived undiscovered at the gates of the city, which he easily d forced open in that surprise, and made himself master of the place. All those who were found under arms, he put to the sword, and sent the rest prisoners to *Drepanum*. The war now took another turn: the *Romans* made it their whole business to dispossess *Hamilcar* of this advantagious post, and the *Carthaginian* did all that lay in his power to maintain himself in it. The *Romans*, who were masters of a fort at the foot of the mountain, besieged him; and he at the same time besieged the *Romans*, who were posted at the top of it in the temple of *Venus*. In this post between two garisons of the enemy, *Hamilcar* maintained himself, and amused the *Romans* two whole years. And this diversion was of great service to his country; for, in the mean time, the siege of *Lilybæum* advanced but slowly, and that of *Drepanum* was raised. Of e so great a weight in the scale was the valour and address of one single man. The new consuls, *C. Fundanius* and *C. Sulpicius Gallus*, endeavoured in vain to drive *Hamilcar* from his post. The besieged and the besiegers suffered, each in their turn, all the miseries of war and famine. Never was fury more uninterrupted, or battles more frequent. No day passed without some rencounter. Both parties seemed, as *Polybius* expresses it, quite insensible of pains and fatigues, fought as if they had been invulnerable, and bore the inconveniencies of hunger and watching, as if their bodies had been proof against all pain and hardships. After the consuls had by a thousand stratagems attempted in vain to make themselves masters of the disputed city of *Eryx*, the *Gauls*, who made up the best part of *Hamilcar*'s garison, being at length tired f out with continual fighting, and not receiving their pay, plotted together to put the place into the hands of the *Romans*. But *Hamilcar*, too vigilant to be surprised, discovered and defeated their design. However, they delivered up to the consuls an advanced post, which they guarded, and entered into their service. This is the first time we read of foreign forces in the pay of the republic, whose armies had hitherto consisted either of *Roman* citizens, who were paid by the public, or of *Italian* allies, who were maintained by their respective states.

Hamilcar *takes* Eryx *by surprize.*

But

x Aul. Gell. l. i. c. 6. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 1. Sueton. in Tiberio. y Front. strat. l. iii. c. 10. z Flor. l. ii.

But now the ſenate being thoroughly convinced, that the republic could never eſtabliſh her dominion in *Sicily*, ſo long as the *Carthaginians* were maſters of the ſea, turned their thoughts anew to the building of a fleet, reſolving to try fortune a third time, how adverſe ſoever ſhe had hitherto been. They propoſed to man their veſſels with hired troops from foreign countries, that, in caſe of new misfortunes, *Rome* might not ſuffer ſo great a loſs of her own citizens as ſhe had done formerly. The great difficulty was, how to find money for ſuch an undertaking, the public treaſury being quite exhauſted. On this occaſion the ſenators gave to the reſt of the citizens an example of zeal for the ſervice of their country. The moſt wealthy among them built, each a quinqueremis, at his own expence. Others taxed themſelves at ſo much a
b head, and a galley was fitted out at the joint expences of three or four. In ſhort, a fleet of two hundred quinqueremes was put to ſea by private perſons, without any other burden on the republic, than that of reimburſing the private perſons, when ſhe ſhould be in a condition to do it. This new armament far excelled any of the former ones, all the gallies that compoſed it having been built upon the model of that light galley, which was taken from *Hannibal* the *Rhodian* [z].

A new Roman fleet built at the expence of private citizens.

The conſuls, choſen for the new year, were *C. Lutatius Catulus* and *A. Poſthumius*; but the latter being at the ſame time high-prieſt of *Mars*, *Cæcilius Metellus*, at this time *pontifex maximus*, would not ſuffer him to exerciſe any military function; ſo that he had the bare name of conſul. But the republic, not thinking it adviſeable
c to truſt the command of her armies to one general, and being well appriſed of the inconveniences which would ariſe from the too long abſence of the prætor, to whom it naturally fell to ſupply the place of the conſul, created a ſecond prætor, that one might be at the head of the army, and the other reſide at *Rome* and adminiſter juſtice there. This new inſtitution continued even when both conſuls took the field. One of theſe prætors was to hear cauſes between citizen and citizen, and the other between citizens and foreigners, whence the former was called *prætor urbanus*, and the latter *prætor peregrinus*. The two prætors choſe their provinces by lot, and were themſelves choſen, as the conſuls, in the comitia by centuries [a]. *Valerius Falto* was the firſt *prætor peregrinus*. He embarqued on board the new fleet to make war,
d together with the conſul *Lutatius*, in *Sicily*. They began the campaign with the ſiege of *Drepanum*, and ſoon made a breach in the wall with their engines, which battered the place day and night. But as the conſul was mounting the breach at the head of his men, he received a dangerous wound in the thigh. As he was greatly beloved by the ſoldiers, they all haſtened to his relief, and, giving over the attack, carried him back to the camp. After this he did not puſh on the ſiege with great vigor; but, being perſuaded that the *Carthaginian* fleet would ſoon appear, and that a victory at ſea would contribute much more, than the taking of a ſingle town, towards the intire conqueſt of *Sicily*, he turned all his thoughts to the diſciplining of his men, and pre-
e paring them for a naval engagement. He was not yet cured of his wound, when news was brought him, that a *Carthaginian* fleet of four hundred ſhips, under the command of *Hanno*, had been ſeen at ſea. This terrible armament was the laſt effort of the *African* republic. *Hanno* had on board new levies, arms, money, proviſions, and all ſorts of ſtores; and his deſign was to touch at the port of *Eryx* before the *Romans* could have account of his motions, and to ſail from thence in queſt of the enemy's fleet, after he had unloaded his veſſels and taken on board the flower of the troops there, together with *Hamilcar*, whoſe name he thought was enough to fill the *Romans* with terror. But *Lutatius*, indiſpoſed as he was, having cauſed himſelf to be carried
f on board the *Prætorian* galley, immediately ordered the fleet to join the ſquadron before *Lilybæum*, and ſteer their courſe directly from thence to the iſlands called *Ægades*, the place of rendezvous for the enemy's fleet. He had ſcarce left *Lilybæum*, when he deſcried the *Carthagian* fleet off *Hiera*, ſhaping their courſe to *Eryx*. Hereupon he ordered the commanders of his veſſels to prepare for a battle. The wind was then favourable for the *Romans*; but it changed all on a ſudden, and at the ſame time the ſea began to run very high. However, the conſul, after having been ſome time in ſuſpenſe and undetermined what to do, reſolved in the end not to defer the engage-
g ment one moment. After all, ſaid he, we ſhall have a greater advantage in fighting with ſhips that are heavy laden, than diſadvantage in the roughneſs of the ſea. If *Hanno* carries his fleet to *Eryx*, takes *Hamilcar* on board, imbarques his brave mer-
cenaries,

A prætor peregrinus created.

[z] Polyb. c. 59 Zonar. l. viii. c. 6.

[a] Liv. in epit. l. xix

cenaries, and gets rid of theſe new recruits, the ſucceſs will be more doubtful, and the victory longer diſputed. Upon theſe conſiderations *Lutatius* drew up his fleet in line of battle, and made directly towards the enemy. As the *Carthaginians* were on this occaſion inferior to the *Romans* in every thing, except the number of their ſhips, the diſpute was ſoon decided. The *Romans* routed them at the firſt onſet. Fifty of the *Carthaginian* veſſels were ſunk and ſeventy taken, with all the mariners and ſoldiers they had on board. The reſt, by an uncommon inſtance of good fortune, made their eſcape. For the wind, which had hitherto been favourable to the *Carthaginians* in their voyage to *Sicily*, changed all on a ſudden and favoured their eſcape. After the battle the conſul ſteered his courſe to *Lilybæum*, to diſpoſe of the money, arms, proviſions, and above all of the priſoners he had taken, who were at leaſt ten thouſand in number. Such was the battle of the *Ægades*, which determined the fate of *Sicily*[b].

The Romans *gain a complete victory at ſea.*

Hamilcar was the firſt who felt the effects of this terrible defeat. The conſul *Lutatius* had no ſooner diſpoſed of his booty and captives, than he marched againſt him, and in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes killed above two thouſand of his men. Hereupon that gallant commander, having no longer any hopes of ſuccours, was forced to capitulate. The *Romans*, elated with their late victory, inſiſted upon his paſſing under the yoke with his gariſon. But he rejected the propoſal with the utmoſt indignation, proteſting, that he would rather ſuffer all extremities, than ſubmit to ſuch an indignity, or abandon a place with diſgrace, which he had ſo long defended with honour. While he was treating with the conſul, he received full powers from his republic to do whatever he judged to be moſt for her intereſt. Being thus appointed mediator between *Carthage* and *Rome*, he conſidered, that *Carthage* was too much exhauſted to maintain her conqueſts in *Sicily*, and therefore thought it more adviſeable to yield the iſland by a treaty of peace, than to be driven ſhamefully out of it, and at the ſame time expoſe *Africa* to the ravages of a victorious fleet. For this purpoſe therefore he ſent deputies to *Lutatius*, who received them with great joy, being deſirous to put an end to the war before his conſulſhip expired, that his ſucceſſors might not have the glory of finiſhing a work, which had coſt him ſo much blood and labour. Both parties being thus diſpoſed to purſue the ſame end, after ſome ſlight difficulties, the conſul drew up the following articles, while he lay before *Eryx*, as the terms of a peace between the two republics. There ſhall be peace and friendſhip between *Rome* and *Carthage* upon the following conditions, if the people of *Rome* approve thereof: 1. The *Carthaginians* ſhall evacuate all the places which they have in *Sicily*, and intirely quit the iſland. 2. They ſhall in twenty years pay the *Romans*, at equal payments every year, two thouſand two hundred talents of ſilver, that is, 437250 *l.* ſterling. 3. They ſhall reſtore the *Roman* captives and deſerters without ranſom, and redeem their own priſoners with money. 4. They ſhall not make war upon *Hiero* king of *Syracuſe*, or his allies. Theſe articles being agreed on, *Hamilcar* ſurrendered *Eryx*, upon condition, that all his ſoldiers ſhould march out with him upon his paying for each of them eighteen *Roman denarii*. Hoſtages were given on both ſides, and this long war concluded with a truce[c]. The only thing now remaining was, to get theſe articles confirmed by the *Roman* people aſſembled in the comitia, they being the ſole arbiters of peace and war. For this purpoſe both *Lutatius* and *Hamilcar* ſent deputies to *Rome*. The republic, though overjoyed at the conſul's ſucceſs, was diſſatisfied with the too eaſy terms he had granted the *Carthaginians*, and therefore appointed ten commiſſioners to treat perſonally with *Hamilcar*, and demand farther advantages. Theſe, after having thoroughly informed themſelves of the ſtate of affairs, added to the former articles two more; *viz.* 1. That a thouſand talents ſhould be paid immediately, and the two thouſand two hundred in the ſpace of ten years at equal payments. 2. That the *Carthaginians* ſhould quit all the little iſlands about *Italy* and *Sicily*, and never more come near them with ſhips of war, or raiſe mercenaries in thoſe places. Neceſſity obliged *Hamilcar* to conſent to theſe new terms; but he returned to *Carthage* with a hatred to the *Romans*, which he did not ſuffer even to die with him, but left an inheritance to his ſon, the famous *Hannibal*. He had no ſooner given his conſent to theſe articles, than he ſet out for *Lilybæum*, and from thence ſailed to *Carthage*, not caring to be a witneſs of the ſolemn oath, which was to be the laſt ratification of the peace[d]. It may be juſtly ſaid of *Hamilcar*, that his country had never yet produced a general equal to him in valour and prudence. He always conquered as long as his republic could

Conditions of peace between Rome *and* Carthage.

[b] Polyb. c. 60. Zonar. l. viii. c. 17. Eutrop. l. i. [c] Polyb. c. 62. Zonar. l. viii. c. 17. Oros. l. iv. c. 11. [d] Polyb. c. 63. Zonar. l. viii. c. 17.

a could ſupport him, and only ſunk in the common misfortunes of his country. At laſt he returned into *Africa* to be the defender, or rather the deliverer, of *Carthage*, in the cruel war, which ſhe was to maintain with her diſcontented mercenaries, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of *Carthage*.

THE next year the conſul *Lutatius* and the prætor *Valerius*, who had acted as his collegue, were continued in *Sicily*, the firſt in quality of proconſul, and the ſecond in that of proprætor, while the two new conſuls, *Q. Lutatius Cerco* and *A. Manlius Atticus*, marched an army into *Hetruria* to quell a ſudden rebellion of the *Faliſci*, who had affronted a tribune of the people, named *Genucius*, and not only refuſed to give the republic ſatisfaction, but openly revolted, and even ventured to take the field *The revolted* Faliſci *ſubdued.*

b againſt ſome *Roman* troops that were ſent againſt them. The two conſuls were therefore ordered to enter *Hetruria*, and bring the *Faliſci* back to their duty. The rebels did not confine themſelves to the defence of their city, but taking the field, fought two pitched battles in the ſpace of ſix days. The ſucceſs of the firſt was pretty equal; but the ſecond turned ſo much to their diſadvantage, that they were obliged to lay down their arms, and deliver up their city to the conquerors, after they had loſt fifteen thouſand men. Their capital, ſituated on an inacceſſible mountain, was razed, but they were allowed to build a new one in the plain; their arms, horſes, part of their moveables, and half their lands, were confiſcated. From *Hetruria* the conſuls returned to *Rome*, and from thence paſſed over into *Sicily* to put the laſt hand to the

c peace, which was ratified by the ſolemn ſacrifice of a ſow, and the mutual oaths of the two nations. Thus ended the firſt *Punic* war, the longeſt and moſt memorable which had ever been waged till that time. It had laſted full four and twenty years, during *The firſt* Punic *war ended.* which time the conquerors loſt ſeven hundred ſhips, and the conquered only five hundred. But the *Romans* prevailed at length by their conſtancy, or, as *Polybius* expreſſes it, by a certain inflexibility of reſolution peculiar to themſelves.

AND now the great affair at *Rome* was, to determine the fate of *Sicily*, the manner in Sicily *made a* Roman *province.* which it ſhould be governed, and the emoluments which the republic ſhould draw from ſo fine a conqueſt. The whole iſland, except the kingdom of *Syracuſe*, was declared a *Roman* province, that is, a country to be governed by *Roman* laws and *Roman*

d magiſtrates. A prætor was to be ſent annually thither to be governor and judge in civil cauſes, and a quæſtor to receive the revenues of the republic. Theſe revenues were either fixed or caſual. The fixed were called *tributes*, and conſiſted of a certain ſum of money, which the province was every year to pay into the public treaſury. The caſual were the *tenths* of the product of the lands, and the *duties* upon merchandize exported and imported. Certain officers, called *publicans*, generally choſen out of the body of the *Roman* knights, were appointed to levy both theſe ſorts of taxes; and the latter ſort were farmed by the *publicans* at a certain annual rent, which they conſtantly paid the republic at all events. However, theſe fixed revenues did not hinder the *Romans* from often demanding of the provinces extraordinary ſupplies of men, ſhips, corn, *&c.* Thus *Sicily*, the firſt province *Rome* eſtabliſhed out of *Italy*, was

e deprived of its own laws, and conſequently of the beſt part of its liberty. By becoming *Roman*, it was indeed leſs free, but more happy. It had been long the ſcene of war between three nations, the *Carthaginians*, the *Mamertines*, and the *Syracuſans*, contending for the dominion of it. The *Romans*, who came after them, increaſed at firſt the calamities of that unhappy people, but afterwards ſecured their tranquillity. There were now but two ſovereigns in the whole iſland, *Hiero* and the *Romans*; and as there reigned a perfect union between them, the *Sicilians* enjoyed all the bleſſings of an uninterrupted peace.

Sicily being thus ſettled in perfect tranquillity, the two conſuls, *Lutatius Cerco* and

f *Manlius Atticus*, the proconſul *Lutatius Catulus*, and the proprætor *Valerius*, returned to *Rome* with their troops, to receive there the honourable reward of their labours. The proconſul and proprætor triumphed for the naval victory at the *Ægades*, and the conſuls for having vanquiſhed the *Faliſci* in *Hetruria*.

THE joy of the people of *Rome* for their late proſperity was much damped by two dreadful misfortunes, which followed cloſe upon one another. The *Tiber* on a ſudden overflowed with ſuch violence, as to overturn a great many houſes in the lower grounds; and the water continued ſtagnated ſo long in the forum, as greatly to damage the foundations of the houſes there. After this a fire broke out in the upper city, and thence ſpread as far as the forum. *Rome*, ſays *Livy* [e], loſt more wealth in one day, than

[e] Liv. in epit. l. xix

than ſhe had got by many victories. The temple of *Veſta* was not exempted from the common misfortune, and the moſt ancient monuments of religion had been deſtroyed, had not *Cæcilius Metellus*, the preſent *pontifex maximus*, ventured his life to ſave them. He made his way through the flames, went into the ſanctuary, where the *palladium* was kept, and ſaved it from the fire, an action more celebrated in hiſtory, than the glorious victory which he gained over the *Carthaginians*, at the head of a conſular army. One of his arms was much hurt in the attempt, and, which was much worſe, he entirely loſt his ſight. This heroical action procured him a mark of diſtinction, which had never before been granted to any man; he was allowed to be drawn to the ſenate-houſe in a chariot [f]. This year the tribes were probably augmented to thirty-five, by the addition of the tribes *Velina* and *Quirina*. It is certain at leaſt, that from this time the tribes were reckoned to be the thirty-five, which number was never afterwards increaſed. The conſular year was cloſed with a cenſus made by the cenſors, *Aurelius Cotta* and, *Fabius Butco*; and unleſs there be ſome miſtake in the cyphers, *Euſebius* reckons us up but one hundred and ſixty thouſand citizens. If his numbers are right, a prodigious multitude of citizens muſt have periſhed by the innundation and fire.

The new conſuls, *C. Claudius Centho* and *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*, having no employment abroad, turned their thoughts to the ſecuring of their frontiers againſt the *Gauls* and *Ligurians*, by planting colonies in their neighbourhood. In the firſt year after the *Punic* war, *Livius Andronicus*, the reformer of the *Roman* ſtage, appeared at *Rome*. He introduced connected fables after the *Greek* manner, inſtead of the buffooneries and rambling diſcourſes with which the people to that time had been entertained. He was the freedman of *Marcus Livius Salinator*, whoſe children he had educated. His poetry was grown obſolete in *Cicero*'s time, and, in the judgment of that orator, would not bear a ſecond reading. *Andronicus* flouriſhed about an hundred and fifty years after the death of *Euripides* and *Sophocles*, and fifty-two after that of *Menander*. The following conſulſhip of *C. Mamilius Turinus* and *Q. Valerius Falto* proved an interval of peace. The *Romans* indeed had ſome thoughts of taking arms anew againſt the *Carthaginians*, who, having ſeized ſome of their merchants carrying arms and proviſions to the revolted mercenaries, had made five hundred of them priſoners. and thrown ſome of them into the ſea. But they were appeaſed by a reſpectful embaſſy from *Carthage*, and continued faithful to the treaty of peace, though the city of *Utica*, which had declared for the rebels, would have ſubmitted to *Rome*, and the mercenaries, who had ſeized *Sardinia*, invited them to take poſſeſſion of that iſland. About this time, *Ennius* the famous poet was born at *Rudes*, an ancient city of *Calabria* near *Tarentum*. He was the inventor of *hexameter* verſe among the *Latins*, though the *Greek* was his mother-tongue. The life of *Scipio Africanus*, which he wrote in *Coriacks*, was his maſter-piece. By this work he gained the affection of the *Cornelian* family, who ſhewed their gratitude to him even after his death, depoſiting his aſhes in the ſame tomb with thoſe of *Scipio Africanus*, and erecting a marble ſtatue to him near the ſtatue of that great commander. Beſides the life of *Scipio*, he wrote the hiſtory of *Rome* in eighteen books, recording in verſe the events, of which he himſelf had been witneſs. His poem was a hiſtory in verſe, the *Romans* in his time being too grave to have any taſte for poetical fictions [g]. The poet *Nævius*, who was his contemporary, after having made ſome campaigns in the firſt *Punic* war, wrote the hiſtory of that war in verſe, according to the taſte of thoſe times [h].

Ennius the poet born.

The poet Nævius.

Carthage, during her war with the revolted mercenaries, affected to pay a great deference to *Rome*, and even reſtored all the *Italian* merchants, who had been taken in carrying arms and proviſions to the rebels. The *Romans* were ſo well pleaſed with this inſtance of reſpect, that they ſent back to *Carthage* without ranſom all the *Carthaginian* priſoners, who were ſtill detained at *Rome*, prohibited their merchants all intercourſe and traffick with the rebels, and allowed them to ſupply the *Carthaginians* with arms, proviſions, and whatever they wanted [i]. But notwithſtanding the ſincere friendſhip, which ſeemed to ſubſiſt at this time between the two rival republics, *Hamilcar* had no ſooner by his valor and conduct put an end to the rebellion at home, than he turned all his thoughts to the humbling of a republic, whoſe intereſts were ſo oppoſite to thoſe of his own. With this view, as *Carthage* was not then in a condition to renew the war with *Rome*, he formed two ſchemes, both worthy of a great genius, which, if wiſely purſued, might at length have cruſhed the imperious republic, or at leaſt bring

[f] Plin. l. vii. c. 43. [g] Vide vos. de ſcript. Latin, Val. Max. l. viii. c. 15. [h] Aul. Gell. l. iii. D. Hieron. in chron. Euſebii. [i] Zonar. l. viii. c. 17. Polyb. l. i. c. 83.

bring her upon a level with *Carthage*. The firſt was to extend the *Carthaginian* dominions in *Spain*, that his republic might, by this means, be able to raiſe within her own dominions a ſufficient number of forces to make head againſt thoſe multitudes of ſoldiers, with which *Italy* furniſhed the *Romans*. The ſecond was to form young *Hannibal* his ſon ſo, that he ſhould inherit his valor, his experience, and his hatred to the *Romans*, and ſteadily purſue his deſigns. He had no ſooner appeaſed the inteſtine troubles, than he applied himſelf wholly to the purſuit of theſe two projects. But before he paſſed the ſtreights, known then by the name of *the Pillars of* Hercules, in order to make war in *Spain*, he took an opportunity to inſpire his ſon, though but nine years old, with his own ſentiments. Before he imbarqued, he ordered a ſolemn ſacrifice to be offered to *Jupiter*; and when all things were ready and the victim juſt going to be ſlain, he took his ſon by the hand, and, leading him to the altar, aſked him whether he was willing to attend him in his *Spaniſh* expedition? The couragious boy not only conſented to go, but conjured his father by the gods preſent to form him to victory, and teach him the art of conquering. That I will joyfully do, replied *Hamilcar*, and with all the care of a father who loves you, if you will ſwear upon the altars, to be an eternal enemy to the *Romans*. *Hannibal* readily complied with the motion; and the ſolemnity of the ceremony and the ſacredneſs of the oath made ſuch an impreſſion upon his mind, as nothing afterwards could ever efface. He then firſt imbibed that hatred for *Rome*, which ended only with his life. *Hamilcar* by this proceeding plainly declared, that he paſſed into *Spain* with no other view, than that of falling afterwards on the *Romans*. But we muſt leave him making conqueſts there, and return to the affairs of *Rome*.

Hannibal *takes an oath to be an eternal enemy to the* Romans.

THE *Italic Gauls*, called *Boii*, who had been ſubdued by the *Romans* before the firſt *Punic* war, threw off the yoke, and joined the *Faliſci* in *Hetruria*. On the other hand, the *Ligures* were in motion, and ſeemed to threaten the republic with an approaching war. The preſent conſuls therefore, *C. Mamilius Turinus* and *Q. Valerius Falto*, divided their forces. The latter, who marched againſt the *Gauls*, was defeated by them with the loſs of three thouſand five hundred men. Upon the news of this defeat, *M. Genucius Cipus*, one of the prætors, was immediately diſpatched from *Rome* with a reinforcement for the conſul. But *Valerius*, looking upon this as a perſonal affront, reſolved to conquer the enemy before the ſuccours arrived, or periſh in the attempt. Accordingly, he fell upon the *Gauls* with ſuch fury, that he killed fourteen thouſand of them, and took two thouſand priſoners (H). However, this victory did not procure him a triumph, becauſe he had by his raſhneſs expoſed the *Roman* army to the danger of a ſecond defeat. As for *Sempronius*, the other conſul, he gained a battle, though not a deciſive one, againſt the *Ligurians*; but had not time to purſue his victory, being by the republic ordered into *Sardinia*. This iſland had been formerly ſubdued by the *Romans*, as we have related above, but ſoon after returned, we know not how, under the dominion of its ancient maſters. The revolted mercenaries had ſeized it, and offered to put the *Romans* in poſſeſſion of it, in order to engage them to take their part. But *Rome* made it then a point of honour not to ſide with rebels. However, this ſcrupulous fit of honour was ſhort-lived. As this iſland was of great importance, and had never been yielded to the *Carthaginians* by any treaty, the ſenate thought they might juſtly claim it by right of conqueſt. They therefore ſent, on trifling pretences, *Sempronius* with a fleet to take poſſeſſion of it. The conſul on his

The Boii *defeated.*

(H) It is pretended, that *M. Genucius Cipus*, then one of the prætors, who was charged to lead theſe reinforcements to the conſul, was ſcarce got out of the city, when two horns grew out of his forehead. Being alarmed at this prodigy, he conſulted a diviner of *Hetruria*, in order to learn what misfortunes it foreboded to him. The *Hetrurian* told him, that he ſhould one day be inveſted with royal authority; which made *Cipus* dread his fate, as the *Romans* were bred up with an utter averſion to monarchy, and do all that lay in his power to prevent the accompliſhment of the prediction. From that moment he reſolved never to enter *Rome*, intreated the ſenate to aſſemble without the walls, and there preſſed the conſcript fathers to paſs a decree of perpetual baniſhment againſt him. The ſenate admired his diſintereſted affection for his country, and granted him his requeſt; but at the ſame time, to reward his virtue, allowed him as much ground as he could incloſe in a circle in one day, with a plough drawn by two oxen, and guided by himſelf; and beſides erected a ſtatue of braſs, repreſenting *Cipus*'s head with the two horns, and placed it over the gate of the city, at which he went out. From this monument the gate was called *the brazen gate*. This prodigy is related by *Feſtus*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Ovid*; but they all look upon it as a fable, though the ſtatue of *Cipus* was ſtill to be ſeen in their time over *the brazen gate* (25).

(25) *Val. Max. l.* v. *c.* 6. *Ovid. Metam. l.* xv.

his arrival acquainted the *Carthaginian* commander, that if his republic did not immediately withdraw her troops from *Sardinia*, and relinquish all pretensions to that island for ever, he would, in the name of the senate and people of *Rome*, declare war with *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians*, who had just put an end to the war with the mercenaries, were so terrified at this express declaration made by a consul at the head of an army, that they readily submitted, and gave up all claims to *Sardinia* for ever. But this was not enough for the consul; he obliged them to defray the charges of his armament, and the further sum of twelve hundred talents. An extortion, which contributed most of all to confirm *Hamilcar* in his hatred to the *Romans*, and to render *Hannibal* inexorable in the wars, which we shall soon see him carry on with great cruelty in *Italy* [i].

The Romans *recover* Sardinia.

The new consuls, *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, pursued the war with the *Gauls* and *Ligurians*, in which they were attended with good success, so long as the two consular armies incamped together. But the love of glory and booty having made the consular armies separate, *Fulvius*, who had entered the country of the *Gauls* bordering on the *Po*, was obliged to continue in his intrenchments, and there pass a melancholy and shameful campaign, under continual apprehensions of a surprise. *Cornelius* had better success against the *Ligurians* nearest to *Hetruria*; for in one action he killed twenty-four thousand of the enemy and took five thousand prisoners. For this victory he was honoured on his return with a triumph [k].

The Ligurians *defeated.*

The new consuls, *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *C. Licinius Varus*, were obliged to take the field to oppose the *Gauls*, whose chiefs, depending on the vast multitudes of men they had assembled, and the expectation of a strong reinforcement of their countrymen from the other side of the *Alps*, demanded the restitution of *Ariminum* from the *Romans*. The consuls, not having their troops complete, referred the affair to the senate, and, in the mean while, proposed a truce to the *Gauls*, who readily consented to the propposal, upon the news they received that a numerous army of *Transalpine Gauls*, under the conduct of *Atys* and *Galatius*, two generals, or rather kings, were in full march to join them. This army was so numerous, that it gave no small jealousy to the *Italian Gauls*, who thereupon turned their arms against those who were come to assist them, killed their two leaders, and put the whole body to flight. The enemy having thus defeated themselves, *Lentulus* with one consular army brought both the *Boii* and *Ligurians* to reason, depriving the former of a part of their territory, and taking several strong-holds from the latter. In the mean time, *Varus* was preparing to pass over into the island of *Corsica*, which, by the secret intrigues of the *Carthaginians*, had been induced to shake off the *Roman* yoke. The consul, not finding a fleet ready to transport his whole army, was forced to send a squadron before him, under the command of that *Claudius Glycias*, who had been formerly named dictator in derision. He had since that time been honoured with several military employments, and always distinguished himself among the troops. When he saw himself at the head of part of the consular army, swelled with ambition, he thought it would be much to his honour to gain this island to the republic without bloodshed; and therefore without the consent either of the consul or senate, he made a shameful peace with the *Corsicans*. But the consul on his arrival disannulled the treaty, renewed the war, and subdued the island by force of arms. As for *Claudius*, he was delivered up to the *Corsicans*, whom he drew, said they, into a bloody war by a fallacious peace. In which sentence the senate had likewise the further view of preventing the reproach, which might have been cast upon the consul for having made war upon a people, who depended on the faithful execution of a treaty. The *Corsicans* had more honour than to treat him with severity. They sent him back to *Rome*, where he was put to death in prison; and then his body being carried to the top of the steps, called *Scalæ Gemoniæ* (1), was dragged by an iron hook from thence to the *Tiber*, into which it was thrown [l].

Corsica *subdued.*

However,

[i] Polyb. l. i. c. 88. Cornel. Nep. in Hannib. [k] Tab. triumph. [l] Val. Max. l. vi. c. 3.

(1) The *Gemoniæ* was a place appointed either for torturing criminals, or for receiving their dead bodies after their execution. Some derive the name of *Gemoniæ* from one *Gemonius*, who was the first executed there; others from the *Latin* word *gemere, to groan*, because the place rung with groans and complaints of those who were put to death. It was on the hill *Aventinus*, and there were several steps which led up to it; whence it had the name of *Scalæ Gemoniæ*. The dead bodies of those who died by the hand of the executioner, were dragged thither with an iron hook, and, after they had been some time exposed to public view, thrown into the *Tiber* (26).

(26) *Vide Plin. l.* viii. *c.* 40.

Chap. 5.

HOWEVER, this execution of *Claudius* did not appeaſe the *Corſicans*, who had been amuſed by a treaty of peace, that *Rome* might have the better opportunity of ſubduing them by a war. They communicated their diſcontents to the *Sardinians*, who, being ſtirred up under-hand by the *Carthaginians*, attempted to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke. The republic had too much penetration not to ſee from whence the blow came, and was leſs concerned at the loſs of the two iſlands, than at the renewal of a war with a powerful republic; but the ſenators were all of opinion, that if it was really neceſſary to come to an open rupture with *Carthage*, war could not be declared too ſoon. Preparations were accordingly made, at *Rome* and all over *Italy*, for beginning it with vigor. *Carthage*, alarmed at this news, ſent embaſſadors after embaſſadors to negotiate an accommodation; but the *Romans* anſwered them only with reproaches and bitter words. At length ſhe diſpatched ten of her principal men for the ſame end, among whom was one *Hanno*, a young lord of great ſpirit and vivacity, who, inraged at the haughty anſwers of the proud republic, cried out with an air of equal pride, If you are reſolved to break the treaty, reinſtate us in the condition we were in before it was concluded; reſtore us the cities we poſſeſſed in *Sicily*. Theſe were the price we paid for the peace, which, it was agreed, ſhould be perpetual; otherwiſe you have made us pay very dear for this ſhort truce. Equity ought to prevail over avarice. Would not that trader be thought unjuſt, who, after he had gone from his bargain, ſhould keep both the money and the merchandize? This diſcourſe filled the ſenators with confuſion, who, being either really juſt, or affecting to appear ſo, diſmiſſed the *Carthaginian* embaſſadors with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of peace [l].

The Carthaginians ſecretly excite the Sardinians to revolt.

But pacify the Romans by an embaſſy.

THE new conſuls, *C. Attilius Bulbus* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, drew lots for their provinces. The former continued in *Italy*, while the latter, by a few ſlight engagements, recovered *Sardinia*, and made it tributary; but without reducing it to the form of a *Roman* province. And now, peace reigning every-where, the temple of *Janus* was ſhut for the firſt time ſince the reign of *Numa Pompilius*. But this tranquillity laſted only a few months. The conſuls for the following year, *L. Poſthumius Albinus* and *Sp. Carvilius*, were obliged to raiſe new forces to act againſt the *Sardinians*, *Corſicans*, and *Ligurians*, who had engaged, by mutual treaties, to aſſiſt each other. The conſul *Carvilius* was employed againſt the *Corſicans*, whom he ſoon reduced. The prætor *Cornelius* made war with the *Sardinians*; but the bad air and water of *Sardinia* cauſed a plague in his army, and he himſelf was carried off by the contagion; which accident would have ruined the affairs of the republic there, had not *Carvilius* tranſported his legions thither from *Corſica*. Upon his arrival, the rebels ventured to face him in the open field; but the conſul had all the advantage over them, which diſciplined troops always have over confuſed multitudes. The *Sardinians* were defeated; and, by one ſingle victory, the whole iſland was brought under ſubjection. As for the conſul *Poſthumius*, whoſe province it was to make head againſt the *Ligurians*, hiſtorians tell us, that he had all the ſucceſs he could have wiſhed for [m].

The temple of Janus ſhut.

IN this conſulſhip, the cenſors, obſerving the number of citizens to be conſiderably leſſened, and imputing it to mens marrying only with a view to intereſt, and afterwards deſerting their wives and carrying on unlawful intrigues with other women, obliged all the citizens to ſwear, that they would not marry with any other view but that of increaſing the ſubjects of the republic. This oath raiſed many ſcruples, and cauſed many ruptures between huſbands and wives. Among the reſt one *Carvilius Ruga*, a man of diſtinction, thought himſelf bound by his oath to divorce his wife, whom he paſſionately loved, becauſe ſhe was barren. Accordingly he put her away and married another. This is the firſt inſtance of a divorce ſince the foundation of *Rome*, tho' divorces were allowed by the laws of marriage ſettled by the firſt kings. Afterwards they became ſcandalouſly frequent, as a corruption of manners prevailed in the republic. And now marriage-contracts were introduced, to ſecure womens portions in caſe of divorces. This ſame year a veſtal, named *Tutia*, was condemned to be buried alive for an intrigue with a ſlave; but ſhe prevented the execution of the ſentence, by laying violent hands on herſelf [n]. In the preſent conſulſhip, the poet *Nævius* introduced the firſt regular comedy after the *Greek* manner on the *Latin* ſtage.

A new oath concerning marriages.

The firſt divorce.

IN the following conſulate of *M. Pomponius Matho* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, ſurnamed *Verrucoſus*, from *a wart* or *wen* upon his lip, the *Sardinians* and *Ligurians* roſe up

[l] DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. [m] Liv. in epit. ORO. l. iv. c. 12. [n] Liv. ibid.

up in arms anew. It fell to *Fabius*'s lot to make war with the latter; and he drove them out of the plain country, and obliged them to take ſhelter among the *Alps*. This is that *Fabius*, whom we ſhall ſoon ſee reſtoring, at the head of the *Roman* army, the affairs of his diſtreſſed country by his wiſe delays. He had the ſurname of *Maximus* from his great-grandfather *Fabius Rullus*, of whom we have made frequent mention above. In his infancy he was called *Ovicula*, or *The little ſheep*, on account of his natural ſweetneſs of temper and docility. He was even in his earlieſt years remarkable for that conduct and behaviour, free from all precipitation and raſhneſs, which afterwards rendered him ſo ſerviceable to his country. As for his colleague *Pomponius*, he ſailed for *Sardinia*, where he found, that the frequent revolts of that iſland were owing to the intrigues of the *Carthaginians*, whoſe ſhips were continually paſſing from *Carthage* to *Sardinia* and the other iſlands, and inſpiring the people, where-ever they came, with an hatred to the *Roman* name. In order therefore to ſound their ſentiments, the ſenate ſent an embaſſy to *Carthage*, under pretence of demanding the ſums which they had ſtipulated to pay the *Roman* republic. The deputies were ordered to add threatenings of renewing the war, in caſe the *Carthaginian* ſhips preſumed to touch at any port belonging to the *Roman* ſtate. But the *Carthaginians*, fluſhed with the ſucceſs of *Hamilcar* in *Spain*, being no-ways moved by theſe menaces, the deputies, purſuant to their inſtructions, preſented them a *caduceus*, *the ſymbol of peace*, and *a little javelin*, *the emblem of war*, ſaying, *Take your choice*. The *Carthaginian* dictator anſwered, That he was ready to take whichſoever they ſhould think fit to leave him. However, this haughty anſwer did not abſolutely deſtroy the treaties between *Rome* and *Carthage*, but raiſed ſuch mutual diſtruſts, as we ſhall ſoon ſee break out into a flame. As for *Pomponius*, he gained ſome advantages over the *Sardinians*, for which a triumph was granted him [o].

A new tribunal inſtituted.

The *Romans* at this time inſtituted a new tribunal of juſtice, at the motion of two tribunes of the people, both *Ebutii*. As the two prætors, who were often obliged to take the field, could not diſpatch all civil affairs, which multiplied in proportion to the increaſe of the republic, it was enacted, that three able and judicious men ſhould be choſen out of each tribe, and form a new tribunal, ſubordinate to the prætor. Theſe new judges were called, for brevity's ſake, *centumviri*, tho' they were a hundred and five in number, and were divided into four courts or chambers. The cauſes, which fell under their cognizance, were ſuch as related to proſcriptions, guardianſhips, laſt-wills, inheritances, *&c.* This tribunal ſubſiſted ever after in *Rome*, and the judges, tho' in after-ages increaſed to the number of a hundred and eighty, ſtill continued to be called *centumviri* [p].

In the following conſulſhip of *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *M. Poblicius Malleolus*, *Flaminius*, tribune of the people, made a motion to the people, to paſs a law for diſtributing a fruitful country, lately taken from the *Gauls*, among the poor citizens. The patricians, who had always oppoſed motions of this kind, united their ſtrength and intereſt to hinder the paſſing of this law; but neither the threats of the conſuls, nor the intreaties of the ſenate, nor the tears of old *Flaminius*, whom the patricians had gained over to their party, could prevail on the tribune to deſiſt from purſuing his point. On the day appointed for propoſing the law to the people, he mounted the roſtra, and began to harangue the multitude with great warmth; but while he was yet ſpeaking, his father appeared, aſcended the roſtra, and taking the hot-headed tribune by the arm, ordered him to follow him home. *Flaminius*, without pleading either his dignity or the actual exerciſe of his office, obeyed his father, and left the affair he was ſo bent upon, when it was almoſt finiſhed; and, what is moſt extraordinary, not a murmur was heard in the whole aſſembly, which immediately diſperſed [q]. Afterwards indeed the affair took another turn; for the tribune *Carvilius* revived it and ſucceeded: but the diſtribution of lands among the *Romans*, which had long belonged to the *Gauls*, ſo provoked that nation, that they took up arms, and began a war, which endangered *Rome* itſelf, as we ſhall ſee anon [r].

Corſica and Sardinia made a Roman province.

In the following year, the new conſuls, *M. Pomponius Matho* and *C. Papirius Maſo*, finiſhed the conqueſt of *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, which two iſlands they reduced to the form of a *Roman* province, upon the ſame foot as *Sicily*. *Pomponius* continued in the new province, which conſiſted of both the iſlands, all the next year, and governed it in quality of prætor. *Papirius*, who had ſubdued *Corſica*, returned to *Rome*, where he

[o] Tab. triumph. Zonar. l. viii. c. 18. Pers. jun. l. v. epiſt. Cic. l. i. de orat.

[p] Aul. Gel. l. xvi. c. 10. Pomp. de orig. jurſ.

[q] Val. Max. l. v. c. 4.

a he found, that a dictator had been created to hold the comitia for electing new conſuls. He demanded a triumph; but not having intereſt enough to obtain it, he took a method intirely new to do himſelf juſtice. He put himſelf at the head of his victorious army, and marched to the temple of *Jupiter Latialis*, on the hill of *Alba*, with all the pomp that attended triumphant victors at *Rome*. He made no other alteration in the ceremony, but that of wearing a crown of myrtle inſtead of a crown of laurel, and this on account of his having defeated the *Corſicans* in a place where there was a grove of myrtles. The example of *Papirius* was afterwards followed by a great many generals, to whom the ſenate refuſed triumphs.

Triumphal proceſſions on the hill of Alba.

The next year, when *M. Æmilius Barbula* and *M. Junius Pera* were conſuls, a
b new war ſprung up in a kingdom out of *Italy*. *Illyricum*, properly ſo called, which bordered upon *Macedon* and *Epirus*, was at this time governed by a woman, named *Teuta*, the widow of king *Agron*, and guardian to her ſon *Pinæus*, who was under age. The ſucceſs of her late huſband againſt the *Ætolians* had fluſhed her to ſuch a degree, that, inſtead of ſettling the affairs of her ward in peace, ſhe commanded her ſubjects to cruize along the coaſt, ſeize all the ſhips they met, take what places they could, and ſpare no nation. Her pirates had, purſuant to her orders, taken and plundered many ſhips belonging to the *Roman* merchants; and her troops were then beſieging the iſland of *Iſſa* in the *Adriatic*, though the inhabitants had put themſelves under the protection of the republic. Upon the complaints therefore of the *Italian*
c merchants, and to protect the people of *Iſſa*, the ſenate ſent two embaſſadors to the *Illyrian* queen, *Lucius* and *Caius Coruncanius*, to demand of her, that ſhe would reſtrain her ſubjects from infeſting the ſeas with piracies. She anſwered them haughtily, That ſhe could only promiſe, that her ſubjects ſhould not for the future attack the *Romans*, in her name and by public authority; but as for any thing more, it is not cuſtomary with us, ſaid ſhe, to lay reſtraints on our ſubjects, nor will we forbid them to reap thoſe advantages from the ſea, which it offers them. Your cuſtoms then, replied the youngeſt of the embaſſadors, are very different from ours. At *Rome* we make public examples of thoſe ſubjects who injure others, whether at home or abroad. *Teuta*, we can, by our arms, force you to reform the abuſes of your bad government.
d Theſe unſeaſonable threatenings provoked *Teuta*, who was naturally a proud and imperious woman, to ſuch a degree, that, without regard to the right of nations, ſhe cauſed the embaſſadors to be murdered on their return home. When ſo notorious an infraction of the law of nations was known at *Rome*, the people demanded vengeance; and the ſenate, having firſt honoured the manes of the embaſſadors, by erecting, as was uſual in ſuch caſes, ſtatues three foot high to their memory, ordered a fleet to be equipped, and troops raiſed, with all poſſible expedition. But now *Teuta*, reflecting on the enormity of her proceedings, ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, aſſuring the ſenate, that ſhe had no hand in the murder of the embaſſadors, and offering to deliver up to the republick thoſe who had committed that barbarous aſſaſſination. The
e *Romans*, being at that time threatened with a war from the *Gauls*, were ready to accept this ſatisfaction; but, in the mean time, the *Illyrian* fleet having gained ſome advantage over that of the *Achæans*, and taken the iſland of *Corcyra* near *Epirus*, this ſucceſs made *Teuta* believe herſelf invincible, and forget the promiſe ſhe had made to the *Romans*; nay, ſhe ſent her fleet to ſeize on the iſland of *Iſſa*, which the *Romans* had taken under their protection. Hereupon the conſuls for the new year, *P. Poſthumius Albinus* and *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, embarqued for *Illyricum*, *Fulvius* having the command of the fleet, which conſiſted of a hundred gallies, and *Poſthumius* of the land forces, which amounted to twenty-thouſand foot, beſides a ſmall body of horſe. *Fulvius* appeared with his fleet before *Corcyra* in the *Adriatic*, and was put in poſſeſ-
f ſion both of the iſland and city by *Demetrius* of *Pharos*, governor of the place for queen *Teuta*. Nor was this all; *Demetrius* found means to make the inhabitants of *Apollonia* drive out the *Illyrian* gariſon, and admit into their city the *Roman* troops. As *Apollonia* was one of the keys of *Illyricum* on the ſide of *Macedon*, the conſuls, who had acted hitherto jointly, no ſooner ſaw themſelves in poſſeſſion of it, than they ſeparated, the fleet cruiſing along the coaſt, and the army penetrating into the heart of the queen's dominions. The *Andyæans*, *Parthini*, and *Atintanes* voluntary ſubmitted to *Poſthumius*, being induced, by the perſuaſions of *Demetrius*, to ſhake off the *Illyrian* yoke. The conſul, being now in poſſeſſion of moſt of the inland towns, returned to the coaſt, where, with the aſſiſtance of the fleet, he took many ſtrong
g holds, among which was *Nutria*, a place of great ſtrength and defended by a nume-

The occaſion of the war with the Illyrians.

rous garriſon; ſo that it made a vigorous defence, the *Romans* having loſt before it a great many private men, ſeveral legionary tribunes, and one quæſtor. However, this loſs was repaired by the taking of forty *Illyrian* veſſels, which were returning home laden with booty. At length the *Roman* fleet appeared before *Iſſa*, which, by *Teuta*'s orders, was ſtill cloſely beſieged, notwithſtanding the loſſes ſhe had ſuſtained. However, upon the approach of the *Roman* fleet, the *Illyrians* diſperſed; but the *Pharians*, who ſerved among them, followed the example of their countryman *Demetrius*, and joined the *Romans*, to whom the *Iſſani* readily ſubmitted [r].

In the mean time, *Sp. Corvilius* and *Q. Fabius Maximus* being raiſed to the conſulate a ſecond time, *Poſthumius* was recalled from *Illyricum*, and refuſed a triumph for having been too prodigal of the *Roman* blood at the ſiege of *Nutria*. His collegue *Fulvius* was appointed to command the land-forces in his room, in quality of proconſul. Hereupon *Teuta*, who had founded great hopes on the change of the conſuls, retired to one of her ſtrong holds, called *Rhizon*, and from thence early in the ſpring ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*. The ſenate refuſed to treat with her; but granted the young king a peace upon the following conditions: 1. That he ſhould pay an annual tribute to the republic. 2. That he ſhould ſurrender part of his dominions to the *Romans*. 3. That he ſhould never ſuffer above three of his ſhips of war at a time to ſail beyond *Lyſſus*, a town on the confines of *Macedon* and *Illyricum*. The places he yielded to the *Romans* in virtue of this treaty, were the iſlands of *Corcyra*, *Iſſa*, and *Pharos*, the city of *Dyrrachium*, and the country of the *Atintanes*. Soon after *Teuta*, either out of ſhame, or compelled by a ſecret article of the treaty, abdicated the regency, and *Demetrius* ſucceeded her. The proconſul *Fulvius*, having thus put an end to the *Illyrian* war, diſpatched embaſſadors to the *Ætolians* and *Achæans*, acquainting them with the true motives of their coming into *Illyricum*, of the ſucceſs of their arms, and the articles of the treaty, which were publickly read in the dyets of theſe two ſtates. The embaſſadors were received with great reſpect by the *Greeks*, who were overjoyed to ſee themſelves delivered from the piracies of the *Illyrians*. At the ſame time the ſenate ſent embaſſadors to *Athens* and *Corinth*, to acquaint thoſe republics with the advantages they had gained over the *Illyrians*, and the tranquillity they had procured for all the maritime cities, by reducing thoſe pirates. The *Athenians* ſhewed their gratitude, by admitting the *Romans* to partake of the myſteries of *Eleuſis*, of which we have ſpoken in the hiſtory of *Greece*; and the *Corinthians* ever after permitted the *Romans* to be preſent at the *Iſthmian* games. Thus the *Romans* became firſt known to the people of *Greece* [s]. The proconſul, on his return to *Rome*, was decreed a triumph, which he enjoyed on the tenth of the calends of the month *Quintilis* [t].

The conditions of peace between the Romans *and* Illyrians.

Before this foreign war was ended, the *Gauls* began to be in motion in *Italy*, and at the ſame the republic was greatly alarmed at the incredible progreſs the *Carthaginians* made in *Spain*. The ſenate therefore thought it neceſſary, by ſome means or other, to put a ſtop to their increaſe of dominion. To this end they ſent a deputation to *Carthage*, and at the ſame time to *Aſdrubal*, who had ſucceeded *Hamilcar* in the command of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spain*. *Carthage*, unwilling to give her rival umbrage, agreed to the two following articles: 1. That ſhe ſhould not extend her conqueſts beyond the river *Iberus*; and, 2. that *Saguntum*, a city between the *Iberus* and that part of *Spain* which belonged to the *Carthaginians*, ſhould remain free [u].

A new treaty with the Carthaginians.

The new conſuls, *P. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Attilius Regulus*, continued in a manner inactive all their year, though the *Gauls* were raiſing troops and making extraordinary preparations for war. *Rome* ſeemed to be afraid to enter the liſts with ſo warlike a nation. At this time a prophecy, pretended to be found in the *Sibylline* books, was ſpread about *Rome*, viz. *that the* Gauls *and* Greeks *ſhould one day make themſelves maſters of it*. The new conſuls therefore, *M. Valerius Meſſala* and *L. Apuſtius Fullo*, having conſulted the pontifices, to appeaſe the ſuperſtitious populace, cauſed an edict to be publiſhed by the decemviri, who had the care of the *Sibylline* books, commanding two *Greeks*, a man and a woman, and two *Gauls*, likewiſe a man and a woman, to be buried alive in the ox-market. By this they perſuaded the credulous multitude, that the prophecy was fulfilled, and that the *Gauls* and *Greeks* had taken poſſeſſion of *Rome* [w]. The difficulties, which ſuperſtition had raiſed, being ſurmounted

Two Gauls *and two* Greeks *buried alive at* Rome.

[r] Polyb. l. ii. c. 11. Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Zonar. l. viii. c. 12. [s] Polyb. l. ii. c. 13.
[t] Tab. triumph. [u] Polyb. ibid. Appian in Hiſp. [w] Liv. epit. l. xx. Oros. l. iv. c. 13.

a surmounted by this cruel piece of policy, *Rome* made it her whole buſineſs to raiſe diviſions among the *Gauls*, and found means to gain over to her party the *Cænomani* and *Veneti*, two conſiderable nations among them; but this loſs the *Gauls* repaired with the new levies they made beyond the *Alps*, where, by their embaſſadors, they engaged the *Gæſatæ* to join them. The *Gæſatæ*, according to *Polybius*, were a very warlike people. and ready to fight for any nation that would pay them; whence they had the name of *Gæſatæ*, that is, *hirelings*. Others derive this name from a ſort of *weapon*, which they uſed, and in their language called *Gæſum*. The conſuls, *Valerius* and *Apuſtius*, ſpent the greater part of the year in raiſing troops for their ſucceſſors; and indeed *Rome* had never before had ſo numerous an army on foot. All the

b nations of *Italy*, ſubject to the republic, were exhauſted, and none excuſed from ſending their quotas. We are told by a credible hiſtorian [x], that the number of forces *Rome* raiſed on this occaſion amounted in all to eight hundred thouſand men. Of this incredible multitude two hundred forty-eight thouſand foot and twenty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred horſe were *Romans* or *Campanians*. Nevertheleſs the *Gauls*, with only fifty thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe, began hoſtilities, forced themſelves a paſſage through *Hetruria*, and took their rout towards *Rome*.

A prodigious army raiſed againſt the Gauls.

In the mean time, the republic raiſed *L. Æmilius Papus* and *C. Attilius Regulus* to the conſulſhip. The latter was ſent into *Sardinia*, to quiet ſome commotions there, while his collegue took upon him the conduct of the war with the *Gauls*, who were

c now joined by the *Gæſatæ* from the other ſide of the *Alps*, to the number of above two hundred thouſand men, commanded by two kings, *Concolatinus* and *Aneroeſtus*. The conſul *Æmilius*, not knowing what rout the *Gæſatæ* would take, incamped near *Ariminum*, in order to prevent them from entering the *Roman* lands by the coaſts of the *Adriatic* ſea. At the ſame time a prætor, whoſe name is not mentioned in hiſtory, was ſent into *Hetruria* with a body of fifty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. In the mean time, the *Gæſatæ*, having left the coaſt of the *Adriatic* to avoid *Æmilius*'s army, croſſed *Inſubria*, and joined the troops of their nation in *Hetruria*; whence this terrible army marched ſtrait to *Rome*. They found means to bring the prætor to a battle, in which they killed ſix thouſand of his men, and obliged the reſt to fly

d in confuſion to a neighbouring hill, where they intrenched themſelvs; but were the next day inveſted by the *Gauls*, who attacked their entrenchments with a fury not to be expreſſed. The *Romans* in this diſtreſs defended themſelves with great reſolution, hoping, that fortune, which had eſpouſed their cauſe, would, by ſome means or other, reſcue them out of the hands of ſo cruel an enemy; and accordingly an unexpected accident delivered them from death or ſlavery. The conſul *Æmilius* being informed, that the *Gauls* were in full march to *Rome*, had left his camp at *Ariminum*, in order to cover the city. As he drew near *Fæſulæ*, he received an account of the advantage the *Gauls* had gained over the prætor's army, and of the deplorable ſituation to which he was reduced. Upon this advice he did not deliberate

e a moment, but immediately ordered the legions to advance in good order to the enemy's camp, while he himſelf led the cavalry to the foot of the hill, which the *Gauliſh* cavalry kept cloſely inveſted. The *Gauls* were ſo alarmed at the unexpected arrival of the conſular army, that they decamped in great confuſion, in order to return home through *Inſubria*, and ſecure the booty and wealth which they had amaſſed. In their march they kept along the ſhore of the *Hetrurian* ſea; and *Æmilius*, ſtrengthening his army with the remains of the prætor's troops, followed them cloſe, with a deſign rather to haraſs than engage them; but it luckily happened, that *Attilius* having put a ſpeedy end to the troubles of *Sardinia*, had, on his return home, landed his army at *Piſa*, and was now marching along the ſhore towards *Rome*, not expecting to find an enemy in his way. He was overjoyed when he learned by his ſcouts the ſituation of affairs; and, in order to intercept the *Gauls*, he drew up his troops near *Telamon*, a little port in *Hetruria*, making as wide a front as he could. With his cavalry he poſted himſelf on an eminence, over which the enemy muſt neceſſarily paſs. The *Gauls* imagining, that this body of *Roman* horſe was a detachment from *Æmilius*'s army, ſent ſome ſquadrons of their horſe to attack it. As for *Æmilius*, he knew not that his collegue was ſo near; he had only learned, that he had left *Sardinia* and was arrived at *Piſa*; but as ſoon as he perceived at a diſtance the two parties engaged, he immediately concluded that *Attilius* was attacking the

enemy

[x] Polyb. l. ii. c. 22.

enemy in front, and detached ſome ſquadrons to his relief. Then the attack was renewed with more vigor than ever. The conſul *Attilius*, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner, was killed, and his head, ſtuck on the top of a lance, was carried through all the files of the enemy's army; but the death of this brave man proved no advantage to them. One of his lieutenants took his place, and the battle was continued with the ſame ardor and reſolution. While the *Gauliſh* cavalry was engaged with that of the *Romans* on the top of the hill, their infantry had time to draw up in the plain. As they were to oppoſe two conſular armies, one of which was to attack them in front, and the other in the rear, they diſpoſed their troops ſo, that one part of them faced the conſul *Æmilius*, and the other the army which *Attilius* had commanded. In the firſt line, over-againſt *Æmilius*, were placed the *Gæſatæ*, who were lately come into *Italy*, and behind them the *Inſubres*. At the head of the other body were the *Taurini*, and behind them the ſeveral nations of the *Gauls*, who dwelt on both ſides of the *Po*. This ſecond army, if we may ſo call it, faced the legions, which *Attilius* had brought from *Sardinia*, and turned their backs to the other. By this diſpoſition the *Gauls* ſupported each other, and could neither fly nor retreat. Before the action, the *Gæſatæ*, obſerving that the plain, on which they were going to engage, was covered with brambles and buſhes, and fearing they might, by entangling their clothes, prevent them from uſing their arms with freedom, ſtripped themſelves naked, and in that manner advanced againſt the *Romans*, who were greatly ſurpriſed at that ſight. The attack began with great ſhouts, while the air at the ſame time rung with an infinite number of horns and trumpets, which were much uſed by the *Gauls*. The *Romans*, who engaged the *Gæſatæ*, kept at a diſtance from them, and made a dreadful ſlaughter with the ſhowers of darts they diſcharged upon them. Naked as they were, they kept their ground, till the greater part of thoſe, who fought in the firſt file, were either killed or wounded. Then the reſt began to retire, which occaſioned ſome confuſion, and encouraged the legionaries to advance and attack them ſword in hand. The *Gauls* behaved with great reſolution; and tho' their arms were far inferior to thoſe of the *Romans*, yet they ſtood the ſhock, till the *Roman* cavalry, which had been engaged on the hill, came down full ſpeed, and attacked them in flank. Then the defeat of the *Gauls* was general; forty thouſand of them were killed on the ſpot, and above ten thouſand taken priſoners, with *Concolitanus* one of their kings. *Aneroeſtus*, the other king, and the moſt experienced commander among the *Gauls*, eſcaped to a neighbouring village, where he laid violent hands on himſelf, as did moſt of the officers who attended him[y].

The conſul Attilius *killed by the* Gauls.

The Gauls *receive a great overthrow.*

After this victory, *Æmilius*, now ſole commander of the two armies, marched along the borders of *Hetruria*, and entering the territories of the *Boii*, gave up that fruitful country to be plundered by his ſoldiers. When they were loaded with booty, he began his march to *Rome*. As he paſſed through *Hetruria*, he reſtored to the owners all the booty the *Gauls* had taken from them. He entered *Rome* in triumph on the third of the nones of *March*; and as his victory was one of the moſt important the republic had ever gained, his triumphal proceſſion was one of the moſt pompous and magnificent. The triumphant victors generally ſtripped the captives of their military ornaments; but the *Gauls* were ſuffered to appear in their belts, in deriſion of the vow they had made not to quit them till they were upon the capitol; and there they were taken from them, amidſt the hiſſes of all the people[z].

However, this terrible defeat did not make the *Gauls* ſubmit. The republic therefore caſt her eyes on two commanders of great experience, who had been both conſuls before, in hopes they would finiſh this important war. Theſe were *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*; but they performed nothing worth mentioning. Their marches being retarded with violent rains, they could not paſs the *Po*, as they deſigned; beſides, a plague broke out in their army, which not only kept them in a ſtate of inaction, but prevented them from returning to *Rome* at the uſual time; ſo that it was neceſſary to create a dictator, who was the famous *Cæcilius Metellus*, to hold the comitia in their abſence for a new election of conſuls. *C. Flaminius Nepos* and *P. Furius Philo* were choſen. Theſe were the firſt *Roman* generals who paſſed the *Po*; but they were ſo terrified at the very ſight of the *Inſubres*, whoſe country they intended to invade, that they entered into a treaty with them, and, repaſſing the *Po*, took refuge among their faithful allies the *Cænomani*. Having rambled about thoſe

Polyb. l. xi. c. 29—32. Diodor. Sicul. l. xxv. Flor. l. i. Zonar. l. viii. c. 20. [z] Flor. l. i.

a thoſe unknown regions for ſome time, they reſolved to make another attempt upon *Inſubria*; but the *Romans* being at this time much frightened with prodigies, the augurs declared, that there muſt have been ſome defect in the election of the conſuls. Whereupon the ſenate immediately diſpatched a courier with a letter, commanding them to return to *Rome* and abdicate. The conſuls, who were then in ſight of the enemy, thinking a retreat through ſo many nations, whoſe fidelity was dubious, might be attended with dangerous conſequences, reſolved not to open the letter till after the battle. The conſul *Flaminius* ſeems to have taken the whole command upon himſelf on the day of the battle; for no hiſtorian makes mention of his collegue *Furius* in deſcribing it. As the *Romans* were far inferior to the enemy in numbers, the conſul
b deſigned at firſt to reinforce his army with thoſe *Gauls*, who were in amity with the *Roman* people, and ſent orders to them to come and join him; but, upon their arrival, he began to conſider, that it was a dangerous thing to truſt thoſe auxiliaries, who were a wavering people, and might, in the heat of the action, out of compaſſion for their countrymen, deſert the *Romans*, and even turn their arms againſt them. Upon this conſideration, he reſolved not to truſt them in an affair of ſo great importance, and therefore ordered them to paſs the river *Addua*; which they no ſooner did, than he cauſed the bridge to be broken down, and, by that means, as the river was not fordable, prevented them from ſiding with the enemy, ſince he could not reſolve to truſt them as friends. This was the only prudent ſtep the conſul took, either
c before, or in the time of, the action; for he drew up his men, not after the *Roman* manner, but ſo cloſe, that the whole army ſeemed to be one phalanx; and beſides, he poſted the laſt line ſo near the *Addua*, that, if they had been preſſed ever ſo little, they would have been forced into the river; but the ſkill and management of the legionary tribunes made amends for the conſul's imprudent conduct. Theſe had obſerved, in their former battles with the *Gauls*, that they made but one briſk attack, after which their fire abated; and that their ſwords were only fit for cutting and eaſily bent; ſo that, if they had not time to ſet them ſtrait again with their foot on the ground, after a cut or two, they became quite uſeleſs. The tribunes therefore took two precautions, which determined the fate of the day in their favour. In the
d firſt place, they diſtributed among the ſoldiers of the firſt line the javelins uſed by the *Triarii*, which were a kind of halberts, ordering them to preſent the points of their javelins to the enemy, and by that means keep them at ſuch a diſtance, as to prevent them from making uſe of their ſwords. In the ſecond place, the tribunes commanded their men to throw down the javelins, as ſoon as the firſt fire of the enemy was ſpent, and cloſing with them ſword in hand, ſtab them in the throat and breaſt. To theſe orders the *Romans* owed the victory; for the *Gauls* having, in the beginning of the attack, blunted their ſwords againſt the long javelins of the *Romans*, the latter no ſooner perceived that their ardor began to cool, than they ſhortened their ſwords, and cloſing with the enemy, ſo as to leave them no room to lift up their arms, ſtabbed
e them, as they had been ordered, without running any danger themſelves, the ſwords of the *Gauls* having no point. Nine thouſand of the enemy were killed upon the ſpot, and ſeventeen thouſand taken priſoners. Thus, in ſpite of all the bad prognoſtics and the orders of the ſuperſtitious ſenate, a complete victory was gained, tho' it was rather owing to the conduct of the ſubalterns, than to the ſkill or prudence of the general [a].

The Inſubrians *defeated.*

After the action, the conſuls opened the packet, when *Furius*, who perhaps had declined the command during the action, out of reſpect to the ſenate, was for immediately obeying the order; but *Flaminius*, thinking a ſucceſsful act of diſobedience more honourable than a blind and timorous ſubmiſſion, was for purſuing the advan-
f tages of the victory; which he did accordingly, enriching his ſoldiers with booty, while his collegue continued inactive, waiting to join him, when he ſhould return from his incurſions into *Inſubria*. At length *Flaminius* rejoined his collegue, and they returned to *Rome* together, where they met with a very cold reception both from the ſenate and people; but the troops of *Flaminius*, whom he had enriched with the ſpoils of the enemy, prevailed upon the people to grant both the conſuls a triumph, ſince the victory had been gained under the auſpices of both. However, the ſenate obliged them to abdicate immediately after it; ſo that the republic fell into an inter-regnum, when the centuries choſe *M. Claudius Marcellus*, one of the greateſt men *Rome* ever produced,

[a] Polyb. l. xi. c. 31, 32. Oros. l. iv. c. 13. Plut. in Marcel. Zonar. l. viii. c. 20.

produced, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio* to the conſulate. They had ſcarce entered upon a their office, when the *Inſubres* ſent embaſſadors to *Rome*, to beg a peace upon any terms; but the ſenate having, at the inſtigation of their new conſuls, diſmiſſed their deputies with a refuſal, they reſolved to make their laſt effort; and accordingly took into their pay thirty thouſand *Gæſatæ*, who, paſſing the *Alps*, entered *Italy*, under the command of their king *Viridomarus*. Early in the ſpring the conſuls paſſed the *Po*, and opened the campaign with the ſiege of *Acerræ*, a place near that river. Hereupon the *Gauls*, who were now ninety thouſand ſtrong, in order to make a diverſion and oblige the *Romans* to raiſe the ſiege they had undertaken, paſſed the *Po*, and, entering the *Roman* territories, inveſted *Calſtidium*, a city placed by *Plutarch* in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, but by *Livy* in *Liguria Montana*. Upon the news of this b motion of the enemy, *Marcellus*, with two thirds of the cavalry and about ſix hundred of the light-armed infantry, haſtened to the relief of the place. The *Gauls*, receiving intelligence of his approach, raiſed the ſiege, and marched in order of battle to meet him. *Marcellus* drew up his ſmall army with great ſkill, and advanced leiſurely in order of battle againſt the enemy. When the two armies drew near each other, *Viridomarus* advanced before his troops, and challenged the *Roman* general to a ſingle combat. *Marcellus* readily accepted the challenge; ſo that both parties, leaving the field free for the champions, retired to wait for the iſſue of the combat. *Marcellus*, ruſhing upon the enemy full ſpeed, pierced his breaſt-plate with his lance, and gave him a deep wound. Then ſpurring his horſe with great violence c againſt that of his adverſary, he made him recoil, rear, and throw his rider, whom he ſoon diſpatched with repeated blows. The *Gæſatæ* being diſheartened by the death of their leader, the *Romans* charged them with great fury and put them to flight. Thus a handful of *Romans* defeated a numerous army of *Gauls*, and obliged them to ſhelter themſelves in the woods and foreſts of their own country [b].

Marcellus *kills the king of the* Gæſatæ *in ſingle combat.*

During the abſence of *Marcellus*, *Acerræ* had been taken by his collegue, who from thence had marched to inveſt *Mediolanum*, the largeſt, richeſt, and moſt populous city of *Inſubria*; but he was himſelf more cloſely beſieged by the *Gauls*, than *Mediolanum* was by him. But, upon the arrival of *Marcellus*, the ſcene changed; the *Gæſatæ* retired with precipitation, repaſſed the *Alps*, and left the inhabitants of *Mediolanum* to the mercy of the conquerors. The city immediately ſurrendered at diſcre- d tion, as did alſo *Comum*, another city of great importance. Thus all *Italy*, from the *Alps* to the *Ionian* ſea, became intirely *Roman*. *Inſubria* and *Liguria* were now made one province, and called *Ciſalpine Gaul*, which was governed by a prætor ſent annually from *Rome*. In order to keep the conquered *Gauls* from revolting, two *Roman* colonies were ſettled at *Cremona* and *Placentia*, on the oppoſite banks of the *Po* [c].

Inſubria *and* Liguria *made a* Roman *province.*

Marcellus was decreed at *Rome* an extraordinary triumph, *for having conquered*, as the decree was worded, *the* Inſubres *and the* Germans [d]. And this is the firſt time we find the *Germans* mentioned in the hiſtory of *Rome*. *Polybius* indeed places the c *Gæſatæ* on the banks of the *Rhone*; but other writers tell us, that they inhabited the countries bordering on the *Rhine*. *Marcellus*, in his triumphal proceſſion, carried on his ſhoulders the rich armour and ſpoils of *Viridomarus*, and dedicated the third and laſt *opima ſpolia* to *Jupiter Feretrius*, ſingle combats between generals growing out of uſe after this time. Part of the rich ſpoils taken on this occaſion was ſent to good king *Hiero*, who was yet living, and a gold cup made out of them ſent to the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*. As for *Cornelius*, he did not receive the honours of a triumph, but was continued in the new province in quality of proconſul to regulate affairs there.

The third opima ſpolia.

The new conſuls, *M. Minucius Rufus* and *P. Cornelius Scipio Aſina*, were ordered to make war upon the *Iſtrians*, for having taken ſome *Roman* ſhips. All *Iſtria* was f reduced in one year's time, tho' ſome writers tell us, that the reduction of it coſt the conquerors a great deal of blood [e].

Iſtria *conquered.*

During the preſent conſulate, news was brought to *Rome* of the death of *Aſdrubal* in *Spain*; which gave the *Romans* great concern, becauſe he had been ever faithful to his treaties, and the republic thought ſhe had much more to fear from the bold and enterpriſing genius of young *Hannibal*, who was appointed to ſucceed him, though at that time not above twenty-ſix years of age. And indeed the firſt expedition of this young warrior confirmed the *Romans* in their fears. In his firſt campaign, he made war upon

Aſdrubal *ſucceded by* Hannibal.

[b] Plut. in Marcell. Polyb. l. xi. c. 34. [c] Plut. ibid. [d] Tab. triumph. [e] Oros. l. iv. c. 13. Zonar. l. viii. c. 21. Liv. epit. l. xx.

upon the *Olcades*, a people bordering on the *Iberus*, and gave reaſon to believe, that he would ſoon paſs that river, contrary to the treaty. *Althæa*, and ſeveral other cities in that neighbourhood, ſubmitted to him; however, as *Rome* had yet no reaſon to declare herſelf his enemy, ſhe turned her arms another way. *Demetrius* of *Pharos*, on whom the republic had heaped many favours, ſeeing the government of *Illyricum* lodged in his hands, and the *Romans* engaged in a troubleſome war with the *Gauls*, had deſpiſed their orders; and acting not as regent, but as king of *Illyricum*, had obliged the *Atintanes* to renounce their alliance with *Rome*, and come into his meaſures; nay, he even ventured, contrary to the treaty, to ſend fifty ſhips of war, beyond the *Lyſſos*, to pillage the *Cyclades*. Complaints being brought to *Rome* from all parts, the new conſuls, *L. Veturius Philo* and *C. Lutatius*, would have immediately ſet ſail for *Illyricum*, if they had not been obliged to abdicate, upon ſome defect found in their election. They were ſucceeded by *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *M. Valerius Lævinus*; but the year being too far advanced to begin the expedition, it was poſtponed to the next conſulſhip. This year ended with a cenſus, by which the number of *Roman* citizens fit to bear arms appeared to be two hundred ſeventy thouſand two hundred and thirteen. At the time of the cenſus, all the *libertini* or freed-men, who lived diſperſed among all the tribes, and occaſioned great diſturbances in the city, were confined to four tribes, *viz.* the *Eſquilina*, the *Palatina*, the *Suburrana*, and the *Collina* [f].

An army ſent againſt Demetrius *of* Pharos.

And now both conſuls, *M. Livius Salinator* and *L. Æmilius Paulus*, imbarqued for *Illyricum*, and opened the campaign with the ſiege of *Dimalum*, a city of importance in that country, which *Demetrius* had fortified with ſo many works, that it was deemed impregnable. However, the *Romans*, by ſurpriſing efforts, took this formidable bulwark, by which the regent pretended to ſcreen himſelf from the vengeance of *Rome*, in the ſpace of ſeven days. Their next attempt was upon *Pharos*, an iſland in the *Adriatic* ſea, and the birth-place of *Demetrius*. Here he had aſſembled the flower of his troops, looking upon this iſland and city as his laſt refuge. As the *Roman* fleet had two conſular armies on board, one was landed in the night, with orders to conceal themſelves in the foreſts and behind the rocks, till the ſignal was given. Then the fleet appeared off *Pharos* in open day, as it were to land ſome forces. Hereupon *Demetrius* marched out of the town at the head of his troops, to prevent the deſcent; and then the legionaries, leaving their ambuſh, marched ſilently, and ſeized an eminence between the city and the port. *Demetrius* endeavoured to diſlodge them; but, in the mean time, the *Romans* on board the ſquadron having made their deſcent, the *Illyrians* were inveſted on all ſides, and ſoon diſperſed. *Demetrius* made his eſcape to *Macedon*, on board a veſſel he had kept ready for that purpoſe. The city of *Pharos* was taken, plundered, and razed; ſo that *Rome* was now the ſecond time miſtreſs of *Illyricum*, which, however, ſhe did not reduce to the form of a province, having ſome compaſſion for the young king *Pinæus*, who had been brought into theſe troubles merely by the fault of his guardians [g]. The conſuls, on their return to *Rome*, were accuſed before the tribes of having applied to their own uſe great part of the ſpoils taken from the enemy, and of diſtributing the reſt partially among the ſoldiers. *Æmilius* indeed was acquitted; but his collegue *Salinator* was condemned by all the tribes, except the tribe *Mæcia*; an affront which he could not brook, and therefore appeared no more in public, but retired to a houſe he had in the country, and there led a ſolitary life, till the calamities of his country brought him upon the ſtage again. When he was afterwards cenſor, he deprived all the tribes, except the tribe *Mæcia*, of the right of ſuffrage and all the privileges of *Roman* citizens. To ſuch a height did he carry his reſentment [h]. In this conſulſhip, one *Archagathus* of *Peloponneſus* introduced the art of ſurgery into *Rome*. Till his time every one had their family receipts, as *Pliny* calls them [i], conveyed down to him by tradition; but the *Peloponneſian* cured all ſorts of wounds in a regular way; on which account he was honoured with the right of citizenſhip, and had a houſe built for him at the expence of the public; but as he uſed to make large inciſions in order to cure wounds with more certainty, the *Romans* gave him the name of *Butcher*, which ſoon brought his profeſſion into diſrepute [k].

Illyricum *reduced a ſecond time.*

The art of ſurgery introduced at Rome.

While the *Romans* were engaged in the *Illyrican* war, *Hannibal* was puſhing on his conqueſts in *Spain*. The *Vaccæi*, the *Olcades*, and the *Carpetani* had attempted to oppoſe

[f] Flor. in epit. Liv. l. xx. Strat. l. iv. c. 1. Liv. l. xxix. c. 37.
[g] Zonar. l. viii. c. 20.
[h] Auth. vit. vir. illuſt. Front.
[i] Plin. l. xxix. c. 1.
[k] Idem ibid.

oppoſe his progreſs with an army of a hundred thouſand men; but that brave commander had defeated them by his ſuperior ſkill in war, and obliged them to ſubmit to the yoke. Elated with this ſucceſs, he advanced, at the head of his army, into the territory of *Saguntum*, and, contrary to the late treaty between *Rome* and *Carthage*, laid ſiege to that city. Hereupon the *Roman* ſenate diſpatched two embaſſadors, *P. Valerius Flaccus* and *Q. Bebius Tamphilus*, to *Hannibal*, with orders to proceed to *Carthage*, in caſe the *Carthaginian* general refuſed to comply with their requeſt. They were ſcarce landed, when *Hannibal*, who was carrying on the ſiege with great vigor, ſent them word, that he had ſomething elſe to do than to give audience to embaſſadors; however, he admitted them at laſt, and, in anſwer to their remonſtrances, told them, that the *Saguntines* had drawn their misfortunes on themſelves, by committing hoſtilities againſt the allies of *Carthage*; and at the ſame time deſired the deputies, if they had any complaints to make of him, to carry them to the ſenate of *Carthage*. However, the artful *Carthaginian* immediately diſpatched to *Carthage* ſome friends, in whom he could confide, to give the ſenate favourable prepoſſeſſions with relation to his enterprize upon *Saguntum*. He then returned to the attack of that city, which he had interrupted for ſome days, in order to refreſh his troops. The *Saguntines* defended themſelves for the ſpace of ſix months with ſurpriſing bravery; and when they could hold out no longer, they firſt burnt all their richeſt effects, and then ſhutting themſelves up in their houſes, ſet fire to them, and periſhed with their wives and children in the flames [1].

Hannibal *beſieges* Saguntum.

In the mean time, the *Roman* embaſſadors arriving at *Carthage*, found the ſenate there divided into two factions; the *Barcan*, of which *Hamilcar Barcas*, the father of *Hannibal*, had been the head, and that of *Hanno*, which conſiſted of the oldeſt ſenators and wiſeſt men in the republic. The embaſſadors, after having complained to the ſenate of *Hannibal*'s haughtineſs and unjuſt violences, demanded, that he ſhould be delivered up to the *Romans*, to be puniſhed according to his deſerts; and at the ſame time declared, that *Rome* would look on the refuſal of ſo juſt a demand, as a public approbation of the infraction of the treaty and the deſtruction of *Saguntum*. This demand had the air of authority, which was very ſhocking, eſpecially in times of proſperity. It ſeemed both cruel and ſhameful for the *Carthaginians* to deliver up to his implacable enemies a young conqueror, who was the glory and hopes of his nation. However, *Hanno*, in a warm ſpeech, preſſed the ſenate to give the *Romans* the ſatisfaction they required; but the *Barcan* faction oppoſed this motion, and, being more numerous, prevailed. A commiſſioner, expert in negotiations, was appointed to diſcuſs the affair with the *Roman* embaſſadors, and to anſwer their complaints; but, after ſeveral conferences, in which the *African* negotiator uſed all the chicanery and evaſions poſſible to colour the proceeding of *Hannibal*, the embaſſadors renewed their demand before the ſenate, and, to cut off endleſs diſputes, the chief of the embaſſadors, having made two folds in his robe, ſaid, addreſſing himſelf to the ſenate, *On one ſide is peace, on the other war; chuſe which you pleaſe.* The preſident of the aſſembly anſwered, *We will chuſe neither; give us which you pleaſe. Take war then*, replied the embaſſador. At which words the *Barcan* faction cried out with joy, *War, war*; a fatal declaration, which brought both nations to the brink of ruin. If we conſider only the laſt hoſtilities committed by *Hannibal*, his republic was certainly in the wrong; for they were a manifeſt infraction of the treaty with *Aſdrubal*: but, if we trace the matter higher, we ſhall find, that the *Carthaginians* were not to blame, the *Romans* having obliged them, by their haughty behaviour, their repeated extortions, and their unjuſt invaſions of *Corſica* and *Sardinia*, to take up arms in their own defence.

Roman *embaſſadors ſent to* Carthage.

War declared between Rome *and* Carthage. *Year of the flood* 2785. *Before Chriſt* 214. *Of* Rome 534.

[1] Liv. l. xxi. c. 7.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The hiſtory of Rome, *from the beginning to the end of the ſecond* Punic *war.*

a THE new conſuls, *P. Cornelius Scipio* and *Tib. Sempronius Longus*, had ſcarce entered upon their office, when the embaſſadors ſent firſt to *Hannibal*, and then to *Carthage*, returned to *Rome*. The account they gave of their embaſſy, and the news of the deſtruction of *Saguntum*, left the ſenate no room to deliberate about war or peace. The former was now unavoidable, and even declared by their embaſſadors, purſuant to the inſtructions they had received before they left *Rome*. The conſuls were therefore ordered to draw lots for their reſpective provinces. *Africa* fell to *Sempronius*, and *Spain* to *Cornelius Scipio*. The former was directed to paſs over into *Sicily*, aſſemble all the troops in that iſland, and ſail from thence to *Africa*, and begin hoſtilities there. *Cornelius*, on the other hand, was commanded to go
b into *Spain*, and uſe all poſſible means to prevent *Hannibal* from entering *Italy*. Extraordinary levies were made all over *Italy*. Six legions were raiſed, amounting to twenty-four thouſand foot and eighteen hundred horſe; and among the ſeveral nations in *Italy* ſubject to the republic, four thouſand horſe more and forty-four thouſand foot. As for the fleet, *Rome* equipped two hundred and twenty quinqueremes, and twenty other light veſſels. Two legions, conſiſting each of four thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, with fourteen thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe of the allies, were put under the command of *Cornelius Scipio*, who was to tranſport them on board a fleet of ſixty quinqueremes to *Tranſalpine Gaul*. Two legions, with fourteen thouſand foot and ſixteen hundred horſe of the allies, were left in *Italy*, under the command of the prætor *L. Manlius*, to keep *Ciſalpine Gaul* in awe. As for the conſul *Sem-*
c *pronius*, who was deſigned for *Africa*, his army conſiſted of two legions, ſixteen thouſand foot of the allies, and eighteen hundred horſe. Theſe troops were put on board a fleet of a hundred and ſixty gallies and twenty light veſſels. Before the arrival of *Sempronius* in *Sicily*, the *Carthaginians* had ſent out a ſquadron of twenty ſail to plunder the coaſts of *Italy*; but theſe ſhips being diſperſed by a ſtorm, king *Hiero*, who happened to be then at *Meſſana* with his fleet, had detached part of it, and taken ſome of them. The priſoners informed him, that *Carthage* had equipped another ſquadron of thirty-five gallies, with a deſign to ſurprize *Lilybæum*. This intelligence the king immed diately communicated to *Æmilius* prætor of *Sicily*, who, without loſs of time, ſailed with his ſmall ſquadron to join the *Syracuſan* fleet, in order to defend the threatened city. The *Carthaginians* finding, upon their arrival, both fleets riding at anchor before the mouth of the harbour, did not attempt to enter it, but, keeping at ſome diſtance, drew up in line of battle. The *Romans* and *Syracuſans* accepted the challenge; ſo that an engagement enſued, in which the *Carthaginians* were defeated, with the loſs of ſeven ſhips. Seventeen hundred of their men were taken priſoners, and a great many killed in the action. The *Romans* did not loſe one ſingle galley, and had but a very ſmall number of men killed. The king, on his return to *Meſſana*, finding *Sempronius* arrived there, went immediately on board the conſul's ſhip, embraced him tenderly, and aſſured him, that he ſhould continue the ſame affection for *Rome* in his old age, which he had always ſhewn her in his youth; nor was this all, he clothed
c the legionaries and the crews of the *Roman* ſhips at his own expence, ſupplied the whole army with corn, and then ſet ſail with the conſul for *Lilybæum*, where they parted with regret [m].

Levies made for a war with Carthage.

The Carthaginians *defeated at ſea.*

Sempronius, from *Lilybæum*, ſteered his courſe to the iſland of *Melita*, ſituated between *Sicily* and *Africa*; and he no ſooner appeared before it, than one *Hamilcar*, the *Carthaginian* governor, ſurrendered up to him the iſland, the city, and the gariſon. But, in the mean time, the *Carthaginians* having made a deſcent on the coaſts of *Italy*, *Sempronius* was preparing to drive them from thence, when news was brought him, that *Hannibal* had paſſed the *Alps*, and at the ſame time an order from the ſenate to return in all haſte to *Italy*. Leaving therefore the prætor *Æmilius* in *Sicily*, with

The iſland of Melita *ſeized by the* Romans.

a

m Liv. l. xxi. c. 17. Appian. in Punic. Zonar. l. viii. c. 22.

a ſufficient number of troops and ſhips to defend the iſland, he went on board his a
fleet, and entered the *Adriatic* ſea, with a deſign to land at *Ariminum*.

Hannibal, being authorized by the ſenate of *Carthage* to act againſt the *Romans* as he thought fit, reſolved not to wait for their coming to attack him in *Spain*, but to carry the war into the very heart of their dominions. With this view he had made it his whole buſineſs, during the winter, to ſettle affairs in *Spain*. He appointed his brother *Aſdrubal* governor of that country in his abſence; and, in order to put him in a condition to oppoſe any deſcents there, he left him fifty quinqueremes, four quadriremes, and five triremes. As to the land-forces, he did not leave his brother to the mercy of the *Spaniards*, but tranſported thirteen thouſand eight hundred and fifty foot, and one thouſand two hundred horſe, of the *Spaniſh* troops, into *Africa*, and b
brought fifteen thouſand *Africans* into *Spain*. By this exchange he wiſely provided for the ſecurity of both countries. After theſe prudent regulations, he waited only for the anſwers of the *Italic Gauls*, to whom he had ſent his emiſſaries, ſoliciting them to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke. He no ſooner received aſſurances of their earneſt deſire to ſee him in *Italy*, than he applied himſelf wholly to the preparations for his march.

Hannibal *begins his march for* Italy.

He began by putting himſelf under the protection of *Hercules*, who was worſhipped at *Gades*, whither he took a journey to offer ſacrifices and vows to that god. Then he aſſembled his troops, harangued them, and, upon a muſter, found, that they amounted to ninety thouſand foot and twelve thouſand horſe. However, by the deſertion of ſome of his troops, by his diſmiſſing others, and by the ſeveral detach- c
ments he made for the ſecurity of the new conquered provinces, his army, when he croſſed the *Pyrenees*, conſiſted only of fifty thouſand foot and nine thouſand horſe[n]. With theſe troops, having paſſed the *Pyrenees* without oppoſition, he arrived at *Illiberis*, a city of *Gallia Narbonenſis* on the coaſt of the *Mediterranean*, which he had appointed for the place of the general rendezvous.

The Boii *revolt*.

In the mean time, the *Boii*, receiving intelligence that *Hannibal* was ſet out on his march to *Italy*, began to act as if he had already croſſed the *Alps*. They bore an implacable hatred to the *Romans*, and therefore, impatient to wait till the arrival of the *Carthaginians*, they openly revolted, and, being joined by the *Inſubres*, fell upon the two new colonies of *Placentia* and *Cremona*. The inhabitants, who were but juſt d
come, fled for refuge to *Mutina*, an old *Roman* colony, whither the rebels purſued them, with a deſign to beſiege the place; but as they were not ſkilled in taking cities, they had recourſe to treachery, drew the three leaders of the colony, who were men of diſtinction, out of the place, under pretence of a conference, and then ſeized them, with a deſign to exchange them for the hoſtages they had formerly left in the hands of the *Romans*. This rouſed the prætor *Manlius*, who had been left, by *Cornelius Scipio*, with two legions, to keep *Ciſalpine Gaul* in ſubjection. He immediately led one of them to the relief of *Mutina*; but as the country, through which he marched, was covered with foreſts, the *Gauls*, who were acquainted with all the roads, ſurprized him, and cut moſt of his legionaries in pieces, the prætor himſelf eſcaping e
with great difficulty to an eminence, whence he retired to *Tanetum*, a city on the banks of the *Nicia*, where he was immediately inveſted by the enemy. However, upon the approach of the prætor *Lucius Attilius*, at the head of the other legion and five thouſand auxiliaries, they raiſed the ſieges both of *Tanetum* and *Mutina*, and diſperſed [o].

In the mean time, the conſul *Cornelius Scipio*, having ſailed from *Piſa*, and kept along the coaſt of *Liguria*, had landed his troops at that mouth of the *Rhone*, which is neareſt *Maſilia*. His deſign was to wait there for *Hannibal*, and give him battle before he attempted to croſs the *Alps*. He had indeed received notice of *Hannibal*'s having paſſed the *Pyrenees*; but could not imagine that he was near, conſidering the f
vaſt countries, and the many *Gauliſh* nations, through which he was to paſs. He therefore encamped on an iſland formed by the *Rhone*, which the ancients call *Camaria*, and the moderns *La Camarque*, and remained there a few days to refreſh his troops after the fatigues of the ſea. But *Hannibal*, more expeditious than *Scipio* imagined, having ſurmounted all difficulties, was actually encamped on the banks of the *Rhone*, and contriving means to paſs that rapid ſtream. The *Gauls* on his ſide the river favoured him through fear; but thoſe on the other ſide, jealous of ſo powerful an army, prepared to oppoſe his paſſage with all their might. *Scipio* knew nothing of

[n] Polyb. l. iii. c. 25. Liv. l. xxi. c. 23. [o] Liv. ibid. Polyb. l. iii. c. 35.

A Map of ye Rout wch Hannibal took through Gaul & over the Alpes into Italy.

CELTIC GAUL

TRANSALPINE GAUL

NARBONENSIS

ITALIA

CISALPINA

LIGURIA

THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

THE SEA OF LIGURIA

SPAIN

Boii
Ædui
Insubres
Helvetii
Seguſiani
Allobroges
Segalauni
Velauni
Gabales
Cadurci
Rutheni
Heleuteri
Volcæ Tectosa
Volcæ Arecomici
Volcæ
Nemes
Tricaſtini
Mimeni
Voconti
Caturiges
Embrunenſes
Sontii
Cavares
Vulgi
Albici
Salyes
Deciates Transalpina
Oxobii
The Marſellois
Camatullici
Suelteri
Marſeilles
Arles
Narbone
Beziers
Toulouſe
Agde
Ruſcino
Illiberis
Steccades Islands
The Mouths of ye Rhone
Seduni
Veragri
Lepontii
Lake Verbanus
Orobii
Milan
Salaſſii
Centrones
Graii
Alpes Penninæ
Alpes Cottiæ
Alpes Maritimæ
Libici
Insubria
Segusini
Taurini
Genoa
Vienne R.
Limouſins
Auvergnats
Dordogne R.
Lot R.
Tarn R.
Garonne R.
Aude R.
Lez R.
The Pyrenees
Rhone R.
Loire R.
Allier R.
Saone R.
Isere R.
Drac R.
Durance R.
Var R.
Po R.
Tanarus R.
Doire R.
The little Doire R.
Hannibal's Rout
Hannibal's Rout
Roman Miles of 5000 feet each
10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

J.e Barlow Sculp.t

a of this; otherwiſe, by joining the *Gauls*, who were determined to diſpute his paſſage, he would, in all likelihood, have made the *Rhone* the boundary of *Hannibal*'s expedition; but, in this great criſis, *Hannibal*'s fortune was equal to his valour. On the other hand, the *Carthaginian* ſuſpecting that a conſular army was not far off, and being therefore obliged without delay to paſs the river, which was no-where fordable, in ſight of the enemy, he had recourſe to ſtratagem. He detached part of his army, under the command of *Hanno* the ſon of *Bomilcar*, with orders to march up along the river, croſs it out of ſight of the enemy's camp, and, by taking a tour, to get behind them and lie in ambuſh. *Hanno* having executed his commiſſion and given the ſignal agreed on, *Hannibal* prepared to paſs the river with that part of the army which
b remained with him. He ordered his cavalry to embarque on the greater veſſels, and his foot on canoes, made only of hollowed trees. He directed thoſe who governed the greater veſſels to keep their bow upon the ſtream, thereby to check the current of the river, and cover the others from danger. The horſes were not embarqued but ſwam after the ſmall boats, one man holding three or four by the bridle on each ſide the boat. While they were thus contending againſt the violence of the ſtream, and animating each other, the enemy waited for them on the oppoſite bank, and, with their cries and howlings, gave them to underſtand, that they were ready to receive them; but, in the mean time, *Hanno*'s detachment attacking them in the rear, they were ſeized with ſuch a panic, that they immediately betook themſelves to
c flight, and diſperſed, every one making the beſt of his way to his own village [p].

Hannibal *croſſes the* Rhone.

In the mean time, news being brought to *Scipio*, that the enemy was already encamped on the banks of the *Rhone*, he did not at firſt believe it, it ſeeming to him incredible, that they ſhould be able to perform ſo long a march in ſo ſhort a time. However, in order to get ſuch intelligence as he might rely on, he commanded out three hundred choſen horſe to reconnoitre. Theſe fell in with a party of five hundred *Numidian* horſe, ſent out by *Hannibal* for the ſame purpoſe; whereupon a ſharp action enſued, in which the *Numidians* loſt two hundred men, and the *Romans* a hundred and ſixty. The *Numidians* were put to flight; and this advantage, how inconſiderable ſoever, was looked upon by the *Romans*, who laid great ſtreſs upon pre-
d ſages, as a happy omen for the reſt of the war. However, it did not diſcourage *Hannibal*, who, upon certain information that the conſular army was not far off, was for ſome time in doubt, whether he ſhould attack the *Romans*, or march ſtrait for *Italy*; but the deputies from the *Ciſalpine Gauls*, the chief of whom was one *Magalus* or *Mægilus*, determined him, by their advice, to lead his army over the mountains intire, and not run the hazard of weakening it by a diſaſter. They made *Hannibal* rich preſents, tendered him their ſervice, and took upon them to be his guides over the *Alps*. The *Carthaginian* therefore, to avoid *Scipio*, marched up the river, and encamped at the conflux of the *Rhodanus* and the *Araris*, or the *Rhone* and the *Saone*. Here *Hannibal* found two brothers diſputing for the dominions of the country, and their armies
e drawn up ready to engage. At the requeſt of the elder brother *Hannibal* joined him againſt the younger, whom he drove out of the country. The conqueror immediately expreſſed his gratitude, by furniſhing the *Carthaginians* with clothes, which they greatly wanted, moſt of them being half-naked and bare-foot, and ſupplying them with what was neceſſary to guard them againſt the ſnow and ice of the *Alps*. Nor was this all; as the *Carthaginians* were afraid of being attacked by the *Gauls* diſperſed about thoſe unknown countries, the king guarded them in perſon, and conducted them ſafe to the foot of the mountains, which they reached after ten days march [q].

And here a hiſtorian is as much at a loſs what rout to take as *Hannibal* himſelf was,
f the ancients having left us in great darkneſs, as to the exact place where the *Carthaginian* general paſſed the mountains. Some of the moderns point out one place, and ſome another; but as they may be all, for aught we know, equally miſtaken, we ſhall follow *Hannibal*, through the immenſe difficulties he met with in this his famous paſſage, without pretending to aſcertain the preciſe place, where he attempted, and happily accompliſhed ſo bold an undertaking. As ſoon as the king we have mentioned above left the *Carthaginian* army, *Hannibal* ordered his troops to begin their march up the mountains; and then the petty kings of the country, aſſembling their troops in great numbers, poſſeſſed themſelves of the eminencies, over which the

Hannibal *paſſes the* Alps.

[p] Polyb. l. iii. c. 45. 46. [q] Liv. l. xxi. c. 31. Polyb. l. iii. c. 47.

Carthaginians muſt neceſſarily paſs. And indeed, had they concealed themſelves a longer, the *Carthaginian* army would have been in great danger; but, by appearing openly, they leſſened their advantage, and tho' they killed great numbers of the enemy, they loſt an equal number of their own men. However, they continued haraſſing the *Carthaginians*, and were no ſooner driven from one eminence, than they ſeized another, diſputing every inch of ground with the enemy, and deſtroying great numbers of them by the advantage they had of the ground. Hereupon *Hannibal* made his army halt, and take up their quarters that night among the rocks. In the mean time, being informed by the *Gauls*, who ſerved him as guides, that the barbarians kept guard in thoſe places only in the day-time, and in the night retired to a village not far off, he decamped in broad day, and moving ſlowly, drew near the b poſt which the mountaineers poſſeſſed in the evening, as if he deſigned to paſs the night there; but, as ſoon as it was dark, and the enemy were, according to their cuſtom, retired, he put himſelf at the head of a detachment of choſen men, and gained one of the eminences. When day diſcovered to the enemy what had paſſed, they reſolved to attack the *Carthaginians* from the other eminences, which commanded the narrow, ſtony, and broken way through which they marched. Accordingly leaping from rock to rock with the agility of hinds, they fell upon them from all quarters at once. The *Carthaginians* loſt in this unforeſeen attack an incredible number of horſes and beaſts of burden; for, the way being narrow and broken, the beaſts of burden were eaſily thrown down: but the horſes that were wounded gave them moſt trouble; for c falling in ſo narrow and crouded a way, they threw down others by ſtriving to recover their feet, and by that means occaſioned a general confuſion. *Hannibal*, obſerveing this, immediately left the poſt he had taken, and falling on the enemy from the higher ground, killed moſt of them on the ſpot, and diſperſed the reſt. Having eſcaped this danger, he marched himſelf at the head of a ſtrong detachment againſt the town, which had harboured the enemy, and finding it deſerted, took it without oppoſition. Here he found the priſoners, horſes, and beaſts of burden, which had fallen into the enemy's hands, and beſides, cattle and corn ſufficient to ſupport the army for three days. In this town *Hannibal* remained a day to reſt and refreſh his troops, and then purſued his march for three days together, without the leaſt moleſtation or d alarm; but the fourth day he fell into a greater danger than that he had lately eſcaped. Other mountaineers, who inhabited the towns on the way he was to paſs, met him with olive branches and garlands of flowers, ſymbols of peace and friendſhip, and tendered him their ſervice. *Hannibal*, thinking it equally dangerous to truſt or diſtruſt them, endeavoured, by ſeveral queſtions, to ſound their deſign. They told him, that his having defeated thoſe who oppoſed him, and taken their town, had prompted them to come and implore his protection; and that as to themſelves, they were reſolved to do him no injury, nor ſuffer any to be done him by others. *Hannibal* at firſt only pretended to truſt them for fear of diſobliging them; but after they e had ſupplied his army with proviſions, and converſed with all manner of freedom and confidence with his ſoldiers, he began to entertain a better opinion of their ſincerity, and even put ſo much confidence in them, as to accept their tenders of ſerving him as guides. However, as he ſtill retained a ſecret doubt of their ſincerity, he placed his elephants and horſe in the van, and his choiceſt foot in the rear. And this precaution preſerved his army from being intirely deſtroyed; for theſe faithleſs guides having led the army into a valley, ſurrounded with rocks and ſteep hills, all on a ſudden faced about, and fell upon them in front, while their countrymen, who lay concealed among the rocks, attacked their rear; but the elephants ſtopped the fury of the one, and the infantry ſtood their ground againſt the other. Nevertheleſs the f *Carthaginians* ſuffered no ſmall loſs both of men and horſes on this occaſion; for the enemy, rolling down huge ſtones from the upper ground, killed a great number of them. The conſternation was ſo great in *Hannibal*'s army, that he himſelf was obliged to ſtop, and take up his quarters that night on the top of an eminence, expoſed to the open air, with that part of the army which was with him, remote from the baggage and the reſt of the troops, who had much ado to compaſs their paſſage through the valley before day-break. In the morning, the enemy being now retired, *Hannibal* joined his army and baggage, and continued his march. After this the *Gauls* appeared only in ſmall bodies, falling ſometimes on the van, and ſometimes on the rear of the army, and ſeldom failing to carry off part of the baggage. At length, after many fatigues and loſſes, *Hannibal* arrived at the top of the mountains

a tains, nine days after he had begun to aſcend them. There he encamped, and halted two days, to give his weary troops ſome repoſe, and to wait for the ſtragglers. During this ſtay, he ſaw with pleaſure many horſes arrive, which he thought loſt, and ſome of his men, who had not been able to keep up with the army. As the ſnow was lately fallen in great plenty on the tops of thoſe high mountains and covered the ground, this ſight terrified the *Africans* and *Spaniards*, who were much affected with the cold. In order therefore to encourage them, and inſpire them with new reſolution againſt the ſufferings that yet threatened them, the *Carthaginian* general led them to the top of the higheſt rock on the ſide of *Italy*, and thence gave them a view of the large and fruitful plains of *Inſubria*, acquainting them, that the *Gauls*, whoſe country they ſaw, were ready to join them. He alſo pointed out to them the place
b whereabout *Rome* ſtood, telling them, that, by climbing the *Alps*, they had ſcaled the walls of that rich metropolis. Having thus animated his haraſſed troops, after two days reſt he decamped, and began to deſcend the mountains[r].

The difficulties they met with in going down were equal to thoſe they had found in the aſcent. They had indeed no enemy to contend with, ſaving ſome ſcattered parties, that came rather to ſteal than to fight; but the deep ſnows, mountains of ice, craggy rocks, and frightful precipices, proved more terrible than any enemy. However, the troops, now inured to the greateſt hardſhips, were proof againſt all difficulties, and went through them with chearfulneſs. After they had for ſome days marched through narrow, ſteep, and ſlippery ways, they came at length to a place,
c which neither men, elephants, nor horſes could paſs. The way, which lay between two precipices, was exceeding narrow, and the declivity, which was very ſteep of itſelf, was become more dangerous by the falling away of the earth. Here the guides ſtopped, and the whole army being terrified, *Hannibal* propoſed at firſt to march round about, and attempt another way; but all places round him being covered with ſnow to a great depth, he found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity, either of turning back, and climbing up the mountains again, or getting down a place, which was almoſt perpendicular, and where a thin ſurface of freſh ſnow covered a hard and thick ice. However, the infantry began to deſcend; but their feet ſlipping, and there
d being nothing to catch hold of, they rolled down into the precipices, which were on either ſide of this narrow paſſage, and were either cruſhed to pieces, or buried in the ſnow. Hereupon *Hannibal*, having ordered the ſnow to be removed, which covered all the ground, and the ice to be broken, encamped at the entrance of this paſs, in order to deliberate on the proper method of ſurmounting the preſent difficulty. After he had well conſidered the nature of the place, he concluded, that the only means of getting over it was to cut a way into the rock itſelf, through which his men, horſes, and elephants might paſs, without danger of falling into the precipices. This was a laborious piece of work; but the *Numidians* ſetting chearfully about it, and frequently relieving one another, with unſpeakable pains made, in one day, a way in the rock for the foot, and in three days more for the horſe, and likewiſe for the elephants,
e which had ſuffered much and were almoſt dead with hunger, the ground being in that part of the *Alps* covered with ſnow; ſo that no forage could be found. Some hiſtorians tells us, that the *Numidians* uſed vinegar to ſoften the rocks[s]; but the ſilence of the moſt judicious writers, as to this particular, is ſufficient to juſtify our not giving credit to ſo idle a ſtory. All they tell us is, that the *Africans* made uſe of fire, pick-axes, and other inſtruments of iron, for the accompliſhing of ſo laborious an undertaking. Thus *Hannibal*, having ſpent nine days in climbing up the *Alps*, and ſix in deſcending them, gained at length *Inſubria*, and, notwithſtanding his many diſaſters by the way, entered that country with all the boldneſs of a conqueror. In the
f account we have given of this ſo much celebrated paſſage of *Hannibal* over the *Alps*, we have chiefly followed *Polybius*, who advances nothing but what he learned from thoſe who lived at that time, and who took himſelf a journey to the *Alps* for his better information[t].

Hannibal *enters* Inſubria.

Hannibal, upon his entering *Inſubria*, reviewed his army, when he found, that of the fifty thouſand foot, with which he had ſet out from *New Carthage* five months and fifteen days before, he had now but twelve thouſand *Carthaginians*, and eight thouſand *Spaniards*; and that his twelve thouſand horſe were reduced to ſix thouſand. Some writers tells us, that *Hannibal* entered *Italy* at the head of forty thouſand foot and

[r] Liv. & Polyb. ibid. [s] Liv. l. xxi. c. 37. [t] Polyb. l. iii. c. 55.

and ten thouſand horſe; others make his troops amount to two hundred thouſand a
foot and twenty thouſand horſe [u]. But the above-mentioned number was ſpecified
by *Hannibal* himſelf, and engraved, as *Polybius* informs us, on a column, which he
erected near the *Lacinian Promontory* in *Calabria* [w]. *Hannibal*'s firſt care, after he had
entered *Italy*, was to refreſh his troops, who, after ſo long a march, and ſo many
inexpreſſible hardſhips, looked like ſo many ſkeletons raiſed from the dead, or
ſavages born in a deſert. However, he did not ſuffer them to languiſh long in idle-
Takes Tau- neſs; but, joining the *Inſubres*, who were at war with the *Taurinians*, laid ſiege to
rinum. *Taurinum*, the only city in the country, and made himſelf maſter of it in three days
time, putting all who made reſiſtance to the ſword. This ſtruck ſuch terror into
the neighbouring barbarians, that they all ſubmitted to the conqueror, and ſupplied b
his army with all ſorts of proviſions [x].

But to return to *Scipio*, whom we left encamped on the iſland of *Camaria*: When
that general underſtood, upon the return of the party he had ſent out, that *Hannibal*
was arrived at the banks of the *Rhone*, he immediately decamped, and marched up
the river, with a deſign to give him battle; but finding that the *Carthaginian* had
croſſed the river three days before, and was purſuing his march over the *Alps* into
Italy, he marched back to his fleet with all poſſible expedition; and having diſpatched
his brother *Cneius Scipio* with the beſt part of his troops to carry on the war in *Spain*
againſt *Aſdrubal*, he imbarqued the reſt, with a deſign to return to *Italy* by ſea, and
meet *Hannibal* on his deſcending the *Alps*. He ſoon arrived at *Piſa*, and from thence c
croſſing *Hetruria*, joined that army, which the conſul *Manlius* had ſo unfortunately
led againſt the *Boii*. With this, and the few troops he had with him, he paſſed the
Po, and encamped on the banks of the *Ticinus*, which diſcharges itſelf into that river.
Hannibal was greatly ſurprized, when he underſtood, that *Scipio*, whom he had left
on the banks of the *Rhone*, was already returned from *Gaul* to *Italy*, had croſſed
Hetruria, paſſed the *Po*, and was ready to receive him. On the other hand, *Scipio*
was no leſs ſtruck with admiration at *Hannibal*'s expedition in croſſing the *Alps*,
through ways which he deemed impaſſable. This reciprocal reſpect, which the two
generals had for each other, increaſed their emulation, and inſpired them with an
eager deſire of entering the liſts together. In the mean time, the news of *Hannibal*'s d
arrival in *Italy* at the head of a powerful army, of his taking *Taurinum*, and advance-
ing to meet the conſul *Scipio*, filled *Rome* with terror. The ſenate expected every
hour the tidings of a battle, and the uncertainty of the ſucceſs kept all men in ſuſpenſe:
and indeed the two armies were too near each other to defer entering upon action.
Scipio encouraged his troops in an harangue well ſuited to the occaſion; but *Hannibal*
employed a new kind of eloquence, which made deep impreſſions on the minds of his
Carthaginians. He had treated the priſoners he had taken on the *Alps* with the utmoſt
rigour; ſo that they earneſtly wiſhed to put an end to their miſeries with death. They
were loaded night and day with heavy chains, ſtarved almoſt to death, and daily
beaten with rods in a moſt barbarous manner. *Hannibal*, from the time he took e
them, deſigned them for the diverſion with which he now entertained his troops; for
he cauſed them to be brought out at the head of the army, which he aſſembled for
that purpoſe, and aſked them whether they were willing to engage each other in
ſingle combats, and fight till one of them was killed in ſight of his troops? He
ordered horſes and rich habits and furniture to be produced at the ſame time, as
rewards for the conquerors, and comforted the vanquiſhed before-hand with the hopes
of death, which would put an end to their inſupportable miſeries. There was not
one of them, who did not, with great joy, conſent to the propoſal. Hereupon *Han-*
nibal ordered a certain number of them to be choſen by lot, in order to enter the liſts
two and two. Thoſe on whom the lot fell leaped for joy, while the others broke out f
into loud lamentations. While they fought, the reſt of the priſoners looked on the
conquered as no leſs fortunate than the conquerors, having by their death put a period
to the miſeries they endured. The conſtancy of thoſe who died was more admired,
by the *Carthaginian* ſoldiers, than the valour and ſkill of the ſurvivors. While their
imaginations were warm with theſe objects, *Hannibal* told them, that their fate was
like that of the captives, whoſe glorious deaths they had admired, and whoſe rewards
they had envied; that *Italy* was a vaſt priſon to them, having the enemy's country be-
fore them, and behind them the *Alps*; that they could not eſcape the miſeries to
which

[u] Cincius Alimentus apud Liv. l. xxi. c. 39. [w] Polyb. l. iii. c. 56. [x] Polyb. ibid.

a which hunger, thirſt, nakedneſs, and heavy chains would reduce them, unleſs they purchaſed liberty, neceſſaries, and life itſelf by their bravery; that, ſince they could entertain no hopes of returning to their native countries by flight, they ought to have the ſame ſentiments, which they had juſt before admired in the captives, ſince they were under the ſame neceſſity of conquering or dying; that, if they conquered, not fine horſes only and rich furniture would be their lot, but all the wealth of the richeſt country and city in the world, *&c.*

THE diſcourſe of the general was applauded by the whole army, every man declareing that he was determined to conquer or die. With this diſpoſition the army drew near the *Ticinus*, which *Scipio* had already paſſed. The next day the two armies came
b in ſight of each other, when *Scipio* advanced at the head of the cavalry, with ſome companies of dart-men, to obſerve the enemy's motions and diſpoſition. *Hannibal* marched out againſt him at the head of his *Spaniſh* and *Numidian* cavalry. As the leaders on both ſides and the troops they commanded were eager to engage, they ſoon came to blows; but ſcarce had the *Roman* dart-men, whom *Scipio* had placed in the front, made their firſt diſcharge, when they retired into the ſpaces between their troops, through fear of being trod down by the horſe. *Hannibal*'s horſe made but one large front, the *Numidians* in the two wings, and the *Spaniards* in the center. The onſet began between the cavalry of the *Gauls*, in the *Roman* army, and the *Spaniſh* horſe, in the *Carthaginian*. The former, ſupported by the dart-men, who were drawn
c up in the intervals between the ſquadrons, ſuſtained the ſhock of the *Spaniſh* horſe with great reſolution; but, in the mean time, the *Numidians*, taking a compaſs, attacked the *Romans* in flank, and, after an obſtinate and long diſpute, obliged them to give ground. Hereupon the *Gauls*, who had hitherto fought with great bravery, retired likewiſe in ſome confuſion. *Scipio*, at the head of a ſmall body of horſe, endeavoured to animate his men, more by his example than by words, till he fell from his horſe by a wound he received. Then the *Romans*, believing their general killed, betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight; and *Scipio* would have been left upon the place, had not his ſon, attended by a few *Roman* knights, in ſpite of all oppoſition, reſcued him and carried him back to the camp. Some ſay, that a *Ligurian* ſlave
d ſaved the conſul; but moſt writers give this honour to young *Scipio*. Be that as it will, the latter tradition prevailed, perhaps from the inclination of the *Romans* to magnify the riſing merit of one of the greateſt heroes their republic ever produced *y*.

He defeats the Romans *on the banks of the* Ticinus.

Scipio, conſidering that the enemy was ſtronger in horſe, and conſequently that it would be dangerous to give them battle in the champaign country, abandoned his camp, repaſſed the *Po*, and retired to *Placentia*. *Hannibal*, on the other hand, ſtaid ſome time in the field of battle, in expectation that the legions would appear; but, when he underſtood, that the conſul was decamped, he purſued him cloſe as far as the bridge, over which he had paſſed the *Ticinus*; but finding it broke down, he took ſix hundred men, whom the *Roman* general had left to defend a ſmall fort, and, without
e loſs of time, marched up the *Ticinus*, till he came to the banks of the *Po*, which he croſſed on a bridge of boats. He then divided his army into two bodies, giving the command of one to his brother *Mago*, with orders to purſue the enemy, while he himſelf remained in the neighbourhood of the *Po*, to receive the deputies of ſeveral *Gauliſh* nations, whom his firſt advantage had brought over to him. They engaged to ſupply him with as many men, arms, and proviſions, as he ſhould want. Encouraged by theſe offers, he marched forward, joined his brother, and took the road to *Placentia*, where the conſul was encamped. *Scipio*, believing himſelf ſafe there, thought of nothing but curing his own and his ſoldiers wounds. He was therefore greatly ſurprized to ſee *Hannibal* advance within reach of his entrenchments, draw up
f his army, and offer him battle. *Scipio*, inſtead of accepting the challenge, fortified himſelf in his camp; and *Hannibal*, not thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to force the enemy's lines, encamped ten miles from him *z*.

IN the mean time, an unexpected event doubled the apprehenſions of the *Romans*, and increaſed the confidence of the enemy. About two thouſand foot and two hundred horſe, of thoſe *Gauls* who ſerved in the conſul's army, about the fourth watch, when all was quiet in the *Roman* camp, entered the tents that were next to them, murdered the *Romans* while they were aſleep, and, cutting off their heads, made their eſcape to *Hannibal*, who, by the kind reception he gave them, ſhewed how acceptable

Treachery of the Gauls *in the* Roman *army.*

y POLYB. & LIV. ibid. *z* LIV. l. ii. c. 47. POLYB. l. iii. c. 66.

áble that black and treacherous action was to him. He invited them with great promiſes into his ſervice; but gave them leave for the preſent to retire to their reſpective habitations, thereby to ſpread the fame of this action, and win over their countrymen to the ſervice of the *Carthaginians*. At the ſame time embaſſadors came to him from the *Boii*, bringing with them the three commiſſioners of the two *Roman* colonies, whom they had formerly taken by treachery. *Hannibal* received the deputies with great demonſtrations of kindneſs; but left the three illuſtrious captives in their hands, adviſing them to make uſe of them, as they had formerly propoſed, to redeem their hoſtages [a]. a

In the mean time, *Scipio*, not doubting but the *Gauls*, after their countrymen had acted ſo criminal a part, would all declare for the enemy, reſolved to leave his camp at *Placentia*, where he was ſurrounded on all ſides by *Gauliſh* nations, and to ſeek ſome ſafer poſt, where his troops would not be ſo much intimidated by ſuſpected neighbours. Accordingly he decamped about the fourth watch of the following night, and paſſing the *Trebia*, a ſmall river which falls into the *Po*, poſted himſelf on an eminence near that river, in the neighbourhood of many of the allies of the *Roman* people. *Hannibal*, upon intelligence of the conſul's march, detached his *Numidian* horſe in purſuit of him, while he himſelf followed with the main body of the army. The *Numidians*, finding the *Roman* camp empty, ſtaid to ſet fire to it; and this delay gave the *Romans* time to paſs the plains, where the cavalry might have made a great ſlaughter of them, and gain the eminences on the other ſide of the river. *Scipio* intrenched himſelf in his new poſt, reſolved not to leave it till his wound was cured, and his collegue *Sempronius*, whom he impatiently expected from *Sicily*, was arrived with another conſular army. *Hannibal*, that he might not loſe ſight of the enemy, came and encamped within five miles of them, on the other ſide of the *Trebia*. Hither great numbers of *Gauls* flocked to him from all parts, inſomuch, that proviſions grew ſcarce in his camp; but he ſoon ſupplied this want, by bribing one *Daſius*, a *Brunduſian*, governor of *Claſtidium*, where the *Romans* had fixed their magazines of arms and proviſions, to deliver up the place to him; by which means he transferred the ſcarcity from his own camp to that of the *Romans* [b]. b

Claſtidium *delivered up to* Hannibal.

When news was brought to *Rome* of the battle of the horſe, and the iſſue of that engagement, the ſenate was greatly ſurprized, as expecting quite different ſucceſs. Some blamed *Scipio*, others imputed that misfurtune to the perfidiouſneſs of the *Gauls*, who, by their deſertion, had given a plain proof of their treachery and hatred to the *Romans*; but after all, as the legions were intire, they took courage, not doubting but that fine body of foot would be able to ſtop the progreſs of the conqueror. Their confidence was heightened by the joyful tidings of the arrival of the conſul *Sempronius* at *Ariminum*, after a voyage of forty days from *Sicily* to that place. He immediately ſet out on his march, and in a few days joined his collegue on the banks of the *Trebia*. After he had refreſhed his troops, and informed himſelf of the circumſtances of the engagement upon the *Ticinus*, the ſtrength of the enemy, and the character of their leader, impatient to enter upon action, he detached all his cavalry, contrary to the opinion of his collegue, with orders to paſs the *Trebia*, and attack a party of *Numidian* and *Gauliſh* horſe, which *Hannibal* had ſent out to lay waſte the lands of thoſe *Gauls*, who yet adhered to the *Romans*. The trivial advantage he gained on this occaſion made him reſolve to hazard a general engagement. *Scipio*, whoſe wound, grown worſe by his removing from one camp to another, confined him to his bed, did all that lay in his power to divert his collegue from ſo dangerous a deſign. Among other things he told him, that, as ſoon as his ſtrength would allow him to act, he had an enterprize to put in execution, which, he was confident, would much redound to the ſervice of his country; but this, inſtead of diverting *Sempronius* from his firſt deſign, made him more eager to engage the enemy, before *Scipio* could appear in the field and ſhare with him the glory of the victory; nay, becauſe that prudent commander would not by any means approve of his ill-timed eagerneſs for an engagement, he told him, That his mind was more affected than his body, and that his wound gave him an averſion to battles. Thus *Sempronius*, blinded with ambition, and pleaſed with the hopes of a complete victory, without *Scipio*'s ſharing in the honour of it, reſolved to come to a pitched battle with the *Carthaginians*. In the mean time, *Hannibal*, having learned the conſul's deſign by ſome ſpies, whom he ſent into the d c e f

[a] Polyb. ibid. c. 67. [b] Idem ibid.

a the *Roman* camp, detached the following night his brother *Mago*, with two thouſand choſen men, half horſe and half foot, ordering them to conceal themſelves under the banks of a winding rivulet, which watered a neighbouring plain, and wait there, till they ſhould receive orders to quit their ambuſcade. Early next morning the *Carthaginian* commanded a ſtrong detachment of *Numidian* horſe to march out, inſult the enemy in their camp, and then retiring ſlowly before the *Roman* cavalry, who, he did not doubt, would keep cloſe at their heels, to paſs the *Trebia*, and enter the plain. The *Numidians*, purſuant to their orders, advanced to the conſul's intrenchments, as if they intended to brave the *Romans*; which *Sempronius* not being able to bear, he firſt ſent out his cavalry againſt them, then his dart-men, and laſtly marched
b out himſelf at the head of all his legionaries. The *Romans* had not yet taken any nouriſhment, and beſides the day was very cold and ſnowy, and the nearer they drew to the river, the more ſharp the wind blew; however, ſuch was the eagerneſs of the conſul to come up with the enemy, who had juſt paſſed the river on horſeback, that he commanded the *Roman* infantry to leap into the water, which they did without heſitation, tho' it reached to their waiſts. When they came out of the river, they found themſelves ſo chilled and benumbed with cold, that they could not handle their arms; and beſides, as the day was far advanced before they all got over, they began to be pinched with hunger, for they had not yet taken any food; while, on the other hand, the *Carthaginians* had refreſhed themſelves with a plentiful repaſt, and anointed
c their bodies to arm themſelves againſt the cold [b].

The Romans *engage* Hannibal *on the banks of the* Trebia.

THE *Romans* no ſooner appeared in the plain, than *Hannibal* drew up his army in battalia. He placed eight thouſand *Spaniards*, moſt of them of the *Balearic* iſlands, armed with ſlings, in the advanced guard. Theſe were followed by twenty thouſand foot, *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, and *Africans*, all drawn up in one line, to make the larger front. His cavalry, to the number of ten thouſand, moſt of them *Gauls*, were poſted in the two wings, and, at the two extremities of the main body, were ranged the elephants, to cover the flanks of the army. *Sempronius*'s troops conſiſted of ſixteen thouſand legionaries, twenty thouſand auxiliary forces, a handful of *Cænomani*, the only *Gauls* who continued faithful to the *Romans*, and four thouſand *Roman* horſe. The conſul
d drew up his men in the uſual order, keeping the triarii for a body of reſerve, and poſting his cavalry in the wings. The two armies being thus drawn up, *Hannibal*, to keep his men warm, ordered them to march briſkly againſt the enemy, who were waiting for them, and ſtarving with cold in the plain. However, at their approach, the *Romans* gave a great ſhout, the trumpets ſounded, and the attack began. The light-armed infantry on both ſides made their diſcharges, the *Baleares* throwing ſtones with their ſlings, and the *Romans* their little javelins; but this way of fighting did not laſt long, the *Romans* retiring within the ſpaces in their lines, and the *Baleares* to the wings of their army. Hereupon the main bodies of the two armies advanced, the cavalry moving with the lines they flanked; but the *Roman* horſe, being juſt returned
e from purſuing the *Numidians*, being already much fatigued, were ſoon put to flight by the *Gauliſh* cavalry. Hereupon the flanks of the conſular army being expoſed and left naked, the *Numidians* fell upon them with great fury, and put them in confuſion. Then *Hannibal* ordered his elephants to advance, which increaſed the diſorder of the *Roman* army; but nevertheleſs the legionaries in the ſecond and third lines ſtill kept their ground, and fought with incredible bravery, till the *Numidians*, under the conduct of *Mago*, riſing out of their ambuſcade, attacked with great ſhouts their rear. Then the brave legionaries, finding themſelves ſurrounded on all ſides, fought like men in deſpair, and being headed by *Sempronius*, who was a man of great perſonal courage, cut their way through the battalions of the *Gauls* and *Africans*, who oppoſed
f them, ſtrewed the ground with their dead bodies, and, in ſpite of all oppoſition, retired in good order, to the number of ten thouſand, to *Placentia*, their return to the camp being obſtructed by the *Trebia* and the victorious cavalry of the enemy, who, ſcouring the plain, cut all in pieces they met with. The allies in the two wings endeavoured to regain their camp; but ſome of them were drowned in the river, others killed by the enemy, while they were attempting to paſs it, and moſt of them trod down by the horſe and elephants; ſo that the rout was general, and the ſlaughter great. A ſmall body only of foot and a party of horſe, beſides the ten thouſand legionaries, made their eſcape, the enemy not being able, on account of the exceſſive cold,

And are defeated.

[b] POLYB. l. iii. c. 71. LIV. l. xxi. c. 53, 54.

cold, to purſue them beyond the river. *Scipio*, who continued indiſpoſed in his tent, a no ſooner received the ſad tidings of this defeat, than he decamped, and joined his collegue at *Placentia*[c].

Sempronius, to prevent a conſternation at *Rome*, ſent diſpatches thither, acquainting the ſenate, that he had engaged the *Carthaginian* army; but that the ſeverity of the ſeaſon and the coldneſs of the weather had ſnatched the victory out of his hands. This the *Romans* were at firſt willing to believe; but when they underſtood, that *Hannibal* was maſter of the conſul's camp; that all the nations of the *Gauls* declared for him; that the *Roman* forces were all fled to the neighbouring colonies for refuge; and that the army had no proviſions, but what were conveyed to them by water up the *Po*, the city was filled with terror, every one taking it for granted, that the b conqueror would ſoon appear at their gates. But, notwithſtanding this conſternation, intrigue had a greater ſhare in the election of new conſuls, than a due regard for the wants of the ſtate. As both the conſuls were abſent, the ſenate had already paſſed a decree for nominating a dictator to preſide in the comitia, when, to their great ſurprize, *Sempronius* arrived. Raſhneſs had been always his character; and on this occaſion it ſucceeded: for tho' the roads between *Placentia* and *Rome* were much infeſted by *Gauls* and *Africans* diſperſed all over the country, yet *Sempronius*, without either diſguiſe or guard, ventured to croſs thoſe countries, and got ſafe to *Rome*, where he preſided in the comitia, when the famous *C. Flaminius* was choſen, a man without either morals or religion, and who had ſix years before ſignalized his conſul- c ſhip, by diſobeying the orders of the republic, commanding him to abdicate, and by an open contempt of the gods and auſpices; but he had joined the tribunes of the people in promoting a law, which confined commerce to the plebeians (K), and therefore was by them raiſed to the conſulate the ſecond time. The collegue appointed him was *P. Servilius Geminus*, a man of great integrity, but of moderate abilities in war. It fell by lot to *Flaminius* to oppoſe *Hannibal*, and to the other to command an army in *Ciſalpine Gaul*. In the ſame comitia *P. Cornelius Scipio*, whoſe wound was not yet cured, was appointed to go into *Spain* in quality of proconſul, whither he had ſent his brother *Cn. Scipio* to carry on the war againſt *Aſdrubal*. The elections being over, and the conſulſhip of *Sempronius* not yet expired, he returned to *Placentia*, d where he had taken up his quarters. As for *Hannibal*, he did not continue idle, notwithſtanding the inconveniencies of the ſeaſon, but made two attempts on two different places belonging to the *Romans*. The firſt was on a village on the banks of the *Po*, which the *Romans* had fortified and made their magazine of corn; but *Sempronius*, who was very good at theſe ſudden expeditions, hearing from *Placentia* the ſhouts of the gariſon, haſtened with all his cavalry to their relief, and obliged *Hannibal*, who was wounded on this occaſion, to retire with great loſs. But the indefatigable *Carthaginian*, before his wound was well cured, made a new attempt upon *Victumviæ*, a ſmall city of *Inſubria*, which the *Romans* had built and fortified during their war with the *Gauls*. This place *Hannibal* took, and gave it up to be plundered by his *Africans*, e who committed ſuch cruelties, as had never before been practiſed in *Italy*[d].

Victumviæ *taken by* Hannibal.

In the mean time, the ſenate at *Rome* provided every thing neceſſary for the next campaign. Forces were diſpatched into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, under the command of their proper prætors; and *Tarentum*, as well as the other cities on the coaſt, ſecured with ſtrong gariſons, to prevent a deſcent. Sixty quinqueremes were equipped to cruize on the *Mediterranean* and *Adriatic*, and great convoys ſent into *Ciſalpine Gaul* and *Hetruria*, which were, in all likelihood, to be the ſeats of the war. But now *Hannibal*, finding the *Gauls* uneaſy at his reſiding ſo long among them, began to grow jealous of that nation; and his apprehenſions were ſuch, that, fearing they might make ſome attempt upon his life, he invented the uſe of falſe hair of ſeveral colours, f which he changed ſeveral times a day, as well as his dreſs, to diſguiſe himſelf; but as this ſubjection did not ſuit his temper, he reſolved to croſs the *Apennines*, and enter *Hetru-*

[c] Polyb. ibid. c. 72. Liv. l. xxi. c. 55. [d] Liv. ibid. c. 57.]

(K) *Flaminius*, entering into all the intrigues of the tribunes of the people againſt the nobility, had been the promoter of a law contrary to the intereſt of the nobility, which from him was called the *Flaminian law*. It was then cuſtomary for the nobility to fit out ſhips, and trade for their private advantage; but *Flaminius* confined the liberty of commerce to the plebeians, by getting a law paſſed, forbidding the ſenators to poſſeſs more than one veſſel each, and that only fit to bring proviſions from their country-houſes.

a *Hetruria*, at a time when thoſe mountains were almoſt impaſſable. He was not apprized of the dreadful ſtorms which the wind raiſes on thoſe high rocks, eſpecially towards the end of winter; and therefore unwarily expoſed his troops to great danger, in attempting to croſs them at that ſeaſon. So terrible a hurricane ſurprized him on his march, and the wind blew the ſnow mixed with rain ſo violently in the faces of his men, that, not being able to advance a ſtep, they were forced to halt, and let the ſtorm blow over. When the rain ceaſed, the wind became more violent; inſomuch, that, after they had in vain attempted to pitch their tents, they were obliged to return to the plain, after two days fatigue and diſtreſs. *Hannibal* loſt on this occaſion a great many men, who were ſtarved to death with cold, and ſeven out of the b ſmall number of elephants that ſtill remained; however, his natural activity did not allow him to take any reſt. Early the next morning he marched out of his intrenchments, with twelve thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, and offered the conſul *Sempronius* battle. The *Roman* general, always ready to engage, accepted the challenge, and, after a moſt obſtinate diſpute, which laſted till three hours after noon, repulſed the enemy quite to their camp, the raſh conſul, intoxicated with this ſucceſs, thought now of nothing leſs than forcing *Hannibal*'s camp; but, after he had fatigued his men to no purpoſe in this raſh enterprize, he was forced to ſound a retreat. As the *Romans* were retiring, *Hannibal*, having firſt ſent out detachments to attack them in flank, fell upon their rear himſelf with all his infantry. The *Romans* faced about, c and the battle was renewed with ſuch fury, as threatened a dreadful ſlaughter on both ſides, if night coming on had not put an end to it [e].

He attempts in vain to croſs the Appennines.

As *Hannibal* had only poſtponed his deſign of entering *Hetruria*, he now began to inquire of thoſe who were acquainted with the country, which was the beſt road to take; and being informed that there were two, the one longer, but more eaſy, the other ſhorter, but leading through marſhy grounds ſcarce paſſable, he choſe the latter, being on all occaſions prompted by his natural inclination to imbarque in ſuch enterprizes, as were apt to raiſe admiration and ſtrike terror into the enemy. Being therefore aſſured, that tho' great part of the country, through which he was to paſs, lay under water, the bottom was ſound, he ordered his army to begin their d march. He placed the *Spaniards* and *Africans* with their proviſions in the van, next to them the *Gauls*, and the horſe in the rear. *Mago*, with a body of *Numidians*, kept hovering about the flanks of the army, to prevent the ſoldiers from ſtraggling, and the *Gauls*, who were impatient of labour, from deſerting. The *Spaniards* and *Africans*, who were inured to all ſorts of hardſhips, went into the water without heſitation, and tho' they were half-way up the leg in mud, kept their ranks; but the *Gauls*, who followed them, marched with great difficulty, the ground being potched and broken by the multitudes of men and beaſts of burden who went before them. The whole army ſuffered unſpeakable hardſhips on this march, being obliged to paſs four days and as many nights in the water and mire, without finding a dry place on which they could take any reſt. The horſe of the *Gauls* were moſt part of e them loſt by the way, falling and ſticking in the mire; which, however, proved ſome ſort of relief to the ſoldiers, who made uſe of them as they lay with their burdens above water to get a moment's ſleep, the want of which was their greateſt torment. Great numbers of the *Gauls* ſunk under the fatigue and died. Nor was *Hannibal* himſelf without his ſhare of the inconveniencies of the march; for tho' he rode the only elephant he had left, yet as he was before much affected with a defluxion in his eyes, the evil grew to ſuch a height, by the unwholeſome qualities of the damp air, that he loſt one intirely [f].

His painful march into Hetruria.

Hannibal, having thus, to the great ſurprize of all, paſſed the marſhes, incamped f in *Hetruria*, where he was informed, that *Sempronius*, immediately after his departure, had left *Placentia*, marched his army to *Lucca*, and there ſurrendered the command of it to the new conſul *Flaminius*. We have obſerved above, that *Flaminius* obtained the conſulſhip by the favour of the people, contrary to the inclinations of the ſenate. Being therefore apprehenſive, leſt, when he came to be inaugurated, the augurs, influenced by his enemies, ſhould find ſome pretence to render his election invalid, he left *Rome*, without performing the uſual ceremonies of religion; and, putting himſelf at the head of the army, incamped with four legions under the walls of *Aretium* in *Hetruria*. The ſenators, highly provoked at this unprecedented ſtep, ſent

The conſul Flaminius *leaves* Rome *without being inaugurated.*

[e] Polyb. l. iii. c. 75. [f] Idem, c. 78.

ſent deputies to him, ordering him to return to *Rome*, and perform there the uſual ceremonies of religion; but *Flaminius*, without paying any regard to their orders, continued in his camp, and diſmiſſed their deputies with ſcorn. As for his collegue *Servilius*, whoſe province was *Ciſalpine Gaul*, he was detained at *Rome*, to aſſiſt at various expiations, the people being much terrified by accounts of prodigies. On the other hand, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being now cured of his wound, ſailed for *Spain*, to join his brother *Cneius*, who had gained great advantages over *Aſdrubal*. He had defeated the *Carthaginian* army in a pitched battle, taken *Hanno* their commander, with *Indibilis* a *Spaniſh* prince, reduced the whole country bordering on the *Iberus*, and gained over many princes to his republic. Tho' the news of theſe ſucceſſes raiſed a little the courage of the conſcript fathers, yet they were very anxious about the b conduct of *Flaminius*, who was a man of a fiery temper, bold, and enterpriſing, and had a crafty and experienced enemy to deal with. And indeed *Hannibal*, having learnt the true character of the conſul, did not doubt but he ſhould ſoon bring him to a battle. With this view he advanced towards *Aretium*, where the conſul was incamped, and taking the way to *Rome*, left the *Roman* camp behind him. *Flaminius*, looking on this conduct of the enemy as perſonal affront, reſolved to follow him and venture an engagement. All the officers of the army, in a council of war, endeavoured to divert him from ſo dangerous a reſolution; but he, reproaching them with cowardice, ruſhed out of the council in a rage, and gave the ſignal both for marching and fighting. He mounted his horſe in ſuch a hurry, that he fell from him; c which was thought an ill omen. At the ſame time he was told, that the enſigns ſtuck ſo faſt in the ground, that the ſoldiers could not pull them out. This prodigy was no doubt feigned, on purpoſe to keep him in the camp; but the conſul, without paying any regard to ſuch omens, orderered the ſtandard-bearers to make uſe of ſpades and pick-axes, if they could not pull them up with their hands. He then marched out at the head of his troops, whoſe minds he ſo filled with hopes of victory, that the rabble, who followed the army for plunder, carrying with them chains and ſhackles to ſecure the priſoners, were as numerous as the ſoldiers. As for *Hannibal*, who was before the conſular army, by the terrible ravages he committed in the plains of *Cortona*, he provoked the conſul ſtill more to follow him, and at length drew him inſen- d ſibly into an ambuſcade. Adjoining to *Cortona* are ſome pretty high mountains, near a great lake called *Thraſimenus*, now the lake of *Perugia*. Between theſe mountains and the lake is a large valley, into which there is but one narrow paſſage. Through this defile *Hannibal* marched, and incamped his *Spaniſh* and *African* infantry in the valley. His light-armed foot he drew up in one long line, and poſted them at the foot of the hills, on the left-ſide of the valley; and with his horſe he lined the right-ſide of it. *Flaminius*, without ſending ſcouts before to diſcover the ſituation of the enemy, entered the dangerous paſs. As it was late when he came into the valley, he had only time to pitch his camp before it was dark. As he ſaw nothing but *Han-* e

The battle of the lake Thraſimenus.

nibal's camp before him, he was under no apprehenſion; but as ſoon as the *Romans* began to march again at break of day, they found themſelves attacked on a ſudden in front, in rear, and in flank, and yet, by reaſon of a thick fog from the lake, could not perceive the enemy by whom they were thus galled. *Flaminius* heard from his poſt the cries of his ſoldiers in different places, and the groans of dying men in the very center of his army; but as he could not, for the thickneſs of the fog, perceive whence the miſchief came, he ran ſometimes one way, and ſometimes another, in great perplexity, exhorting his ſoldiers, who in their diſtreſs were imploring the aſſiſtance of the gods, not to depend on idle prayers, but on their arms. The confuſion of the *Romans* was inexpreſſible. Every one endeavoured to ſhift for himſelf; but were ſtopped either by crouds of their fellow ſoldiers, who were flying as well as themſelves, or by the enemy, who ſurrounded them on all ſides. Some conſidering that it was in vain to fly, ſince they were ſhut in by a lake, by mountains, and by narrow paſſes well guarded, reſolved to ſell their lives dear. Accordingly they rallied, as it were by chance; and the officers mixing with the ſoldiers, without obſerving the uſual order in battle, they fell on the enemy with ſuch eagerneſs and fury, that they were not ſenſible of an earthquake, which overturned many cities in *Italy*. The ſlaughter continued three hours without intermiſſion. At length one *Ducarius*, an *Inſubrian* in the *Carthaginian* army, knowing *Flaminius*, whom he had formerly ſeen laying waſte his country with fire and ſword, cried out, There is the conſul, who did ſo much miſchief to our fields and cities. I will make him a victim to appeaſe

the

a the manes of my countrymen. At theſe words, he ſpurred on his horſe, broke through the *Romans* who guarded their general, and run his lance through his body. *Flaminius* fell down dead, and the *Gaul* was preparing to ſtrip him; but the triarii covered him with their bodies and bucklers. And now the *Romans* were intimidated to ſuch a degree, that ſome leaped into the lake and were drowned; others attempted to climb over the mountains; and a body of ſix thouſand of them opened themſelves a way through the narrow paſs, ſword in hand, and eſcaped to an eminence, whence they retired to a town in *Hetruria*, and there intrenched themſelves. *Hannibal* detached *Adherbal* after them with all his cavalry and a great part of his infantry. The fugitives, being inveſted in the village and deſtitute of all manner of proviſions, ſurrendered to *Maherbal*, who promiſed them their lives and liberties; but *Hannibal*, pretending that *Maherbal* had not been impowered by him to make ſuch a promiſe, loaded the *Romans* with chains; but diſmiſſed their allies, aſſuring them, that he was come into *Italy* to deliver them from the tyrannical yoke of *Rome*, and reſtore them that liberty, which their fathers had enjoyed. By this artful proceeding, he hoped to draw over to his ſide the friends and allies of *Rome* [g].

b

Flaminius killed, and the Romans defeated.

AETER this complete victory, the conqueror ordered the dead to be numbered, and found, that he had loſt but fifteen hundred men; whereas the *Romans* had loſt as many thouſands dead upon the ſpot. The number of priſoners taken by *Hannibal* amounted, according to *Plutarch*, to ten thouſand; according to *Polybius* to fifteen thouſand; but *Livy* and *Valerius Maximus* tell us, that ſix thouſand only were made captives on this occaſion. About ten thouſand *Romans*, moſt of them wounded, made their eſcape, and took their rout to *Rome*, whither few of them arrived, the reſt dying of their wounds before they reached the capital. When news was brought to *Rome* of this great overthrow, the prætor *Pomponius*, knowing it could not be long concealed, mounted the roſtra about ſun-ſet, and to an exceeding numerous aſſembly, even the women crouding to it, contrary to cuſtom, pronounced the following words, *We are overcome*; which ſtruck all with ſuch terror, that ſome who were preſent and had been in the battle, thought the defeat was greater at *Rome*, than it had been in the field. The dejection of the citizens was inexpreſſible. They haſtened in crouds to the gates of the city, to wait for thoſe who had eſcaped the general ſlaughter, and to learn from them the particulars of the action. Two mothers were ſo tranſported with joy, one at the gate of the city, when ſhe ſaw her ſon unexpectedly appear, the other at home, where ſhe found her ſon whom ſhe had given up for loſt, that they both expired on the ſpot. In this general conſternation the ſenators alone preſerved their ſteadineſs. The prætor aſſembled them, and kept them ſitting three days together from ſun-riſing to ſun-ſet; but, before they came to any reſolution, news was brought of a ſecond defeat. The conſul *Servilius*, having heard at *Ariminum*, that his collegue had reſolved to give battle, had detached four thouſand horſe to his aſſiſtance, under the command of the proprætor *Centenius*; but *Hannibal*, hearing of this reinforcement immediately after the action, ſent out *Adherbal* with all his cavalry and a body of infantry, who meeting with the *Roman* horſe, killed two thouſand of them, and obliged the reſt to take ſanctuary on a neighbouring hill, where they were inveſted, and the next day forced to ſurrender [h].

c

d

e

Rome in the utmoſt conſternation.

A detachment of 4000 Roman *horſe cut in pieces or taken.*

AND now the ſenate, judging that the republic wanted an abſolute governor, without waiting for a nomination from the ſurviving conſul, of their own authority named a dictator; but, out of regard to the ancient cuſtom, they gave him only the title of *Pro-dictator*. The perſon choſen was *Fabius Maximus*, ſurnamed *Verrucoſus*, a man as cool and cautious in his conduct, as *Sempronius* and *Flaminius* had been warm and impetuous. The people did not ſuffer him, as was cuſtomary for dictators, to name his general of the horſe, but appointed one themſelves, and pitched upon *M. Minucius Rufus*, a great favourite of the people, and a zealous partizan of the plebeian party. The new dictator began the functions of his office, by commanding the decemviri to conſult the *Sibylline* books, in order to learn from thoſe myſterious oracles the cauſes of the preſent calamities. The decemviri reported, that the misfortunes of the republic were owing to the non-performance of a vow made formerly by *Aulus Cornelius* to *Mars*, which was, to ſacrifice to that god all the pigs, lambs, kids, and calves that ſhould be brought forth in one ſpring; that is, from the firſt of *March* to the firſt of *May*. This is what the ancients called *ver ſacrum*. This vow being renewed, and

Fabius Maximus *dictator.*

f

[g] POLYB. l. iii. c. 84, 85. LIV. l. xxii. c. 7. [h] POLYB. & LIV. ibid.

and ſeveral others made, the dictator took the field at the head of the army *Servilius* a had commanded, to which he added two new legions, appointing the city of *Tibur* for the place of general rendezvous. From thence he ſent orders to all the country people to burn their houſes, and retire with all their effects into places of ſafety. After this he ſet out on his march to meet *Hannibal*, not with a deſign to engage him, but only to watch his motions, ſtraiten his quarters, and cut off his proviſions, which, he knew, was the moſt effectual means of deſtroying him in a country ſo far from his own. Accordingly he followed him through *Umbria* and *Picenum* into the territory of *Adria*, and then through the countries of the *Marrucini* and *Frentani* into *Apulia*. When the enemy marched, he followed them; when they incamped, he did the ſame; but for the moſt part on eminencies and at ſome diſtance from their camp, watch- b ing all their motions, cutting off their ſtragglers, and keeping them in a continual alarm. This cautious way of proceeding, which gained him the ſurname of *Cunctator*, greatly diſtreſſed the enemy, but at the ſame time raiſed murmurs in the army. *Minucius*, who was a favourite of the people and ambitious of the chief command, made no ſcruple to accuſe the dictator of cowardice under the appearance of prudence; but neither the invectives of *Minucius*, nor the devaſtations which *Hannibal* committed in the countries of the allies of *Rome*, could make *Fabius* alter his meaſures. He ſtill continued following the *Carthaginian* army, without hazarding a battle, and was never above one, or, at the moſt, two leagues from it. *Hannibal*, who was well appriſed, that the meaſures *Fabius* had taken muſt at length utterly ruin the *Carthaginian* army, did all that lay in his power to bring him to a battle. He ravaged *Samnium*, plundered the territory of *Beneventum*, a *Roman* colony, and laid ſiege to *Teleſia*, a city at the foot of the *Apennines*. But finding that neither the ravaging of the country, nor even the taking of ſome cities, could make *Fabius* quit his eminences, he reſolved to make uſe of a ſtronger bait, which was to enter *Campania*, the fineſt country in *Italy*, and lay it waſte under the dictator's eyes, hoping by that means to bring him to an action. Accordingly he ordered his guides, who were three *Campanian* horſemen in his army, to lead him to the territory of *Caſinum*; but, as he ſpoke *Latin* very indifferently, he pronounced the word *Caſinum* in ſuch a manner, that the guides underſtood *Caſilinum*, and led his troops into narrow paſſes, which divide *Sam-* d *nium* from *Campania*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Caſilinum*. He had no ſooner entered the ſtraits, than *Fabius*, who watched all his motions, attacked from the eminences his rear, put it into diſorder, and killed about eight hundred of his men. *Hannibal*, thinking himſelf betrayed by his guides, ordered them all to be crucified; or, as *Livy* has it, vented his rage on one of them only, cauſing him to be firſt beaten with rods, and then crucified, for an example of terror to others[i].

Fabius *follows* Hannibal, *without hazarding a battle.*

The ravages he committed in *Campania* raiſed ſuch complaints in the *Roman* army againſt the dictator, that, for fear of irritating his men, he pretended to be as impatient of coming to a battle as *Minucius*, and accordingly marched after *Hannibal* with more expedition than uſual; but at the ſame time avoided an engagement, under va- e rious pretences, with more care than the enemy ſought it. He beheld, from the top of mount *Maſſicus*, the *Carthaginians* laying waſte the fruitful plains of *Falernum*, without ſtirring from his poſt. Hereupon both officers and ſoldiers began to mutiny, and hearken with pleaſure to the invectives of *Minucius*. *We have indeed*, ſaid the general of the horſe, *a noble leader*; *for fear of endangering our lives, he hides us in the clouds.* When theſe and ſuch like reflections were told *Fabius*, he only replied, That he ſhould be more cowardly than they ſuppoſed him, if, through fear of idle railleries, he neglected to follow the dictates of his reaſon, and continued the ſame conduct, notwithſtanding he underſtood, that his precaution and delays were blamed even at *Rome*. *Hannibal*, finding he could not by any means bring the dictator to a battle, reſolved to f quit *Campania*, which he found abounding more with fruit and wine than with corn, and to return into *Samnium*, through the paſs called *Eribanus*. *Fabius* concluded from his march, that this was his deſign, got there before him, and incamped on mount *Callicula*, which commanded the paſs, after having placed ſeveral bodies in all the avenues leading to it. *Hannibal* was for ſome time at a loſs what to do; but at laſt contrived the following ſtratagem, which *Fabius* could not foreſee nor guard againſt. Being incamped at the foot of mount *Callicula*, he ordered *Aſdrubal* to pick out of the cattle taken in the country two thouſand of the ſtrongeſt and nimbleſt oxen, to tie faggots

Fabius *is rallied as a coward by his own army.*

Hannibal's *ſtratagem to get through the paſs* Eribanus.

[i] Plut. in Fab. Liv. l. xxii. c. 13. Polyb. l. iii. c. 91.

a faggots to their horns, and to have them and the herdſmen ready without the camp. After ſupper, when all was quiet, the cattle were brought in good order to the hill, where *Fabius* had placed ſome *Roman* parties in ambuſh to ſtop up the paſs. Upon a ſignal given, the faggots on the horns of the oxen were ſet on fire, and the herdſmen, ſupported by ſome battalions armed with ſmall javelins, drove them on quietly. The *Romans* ſeeing the light of the fires, imagined, that the *Carthaginians* were marching by torch-light. However, *Fabius* kept cloſe in his camp, depending on the troops he had placed in ambuſcade; but when the oxen, feeling the fire on their heads, began to run up and down the hills, the *Romans* in ambuſh, thinking themſelves ſurrounded on all ſides, abandoned their poſts, and, climbing the ways where
b they ſaw leaſt light, returned to their camp. Then *Hannibal*, ſeeing the paſs open, entered it, and getting ſafe through with his army and baggage, gained the plain before day-light, and incamped near *Allifæ*, on the confines of *Samnium* and *Campania*. *Fabius*, tho' rallied by his ſoldiers for having been thus over-reached by the *Carthaginian*, ſtill purſued the ſame meaſures, marched directly after *Hannibal*, and incamped on the eminences near *Allifæ*. From thence he followed him all over *Samnium* into *Apulia*, intercepting many of his ſtragglers and convoys; but when he came to *Larinum* in the country of the *Frentani*, he received a letter from the ſenate, recalling him to *Rome*, on pretence of a ſolemn ſacrifice which required his preſence; and then the virtue of this great man was put to a ſevere trial. Not only the blind multi-
c tude, but even the conſcript fathers, had imbibed falſe prejudices againſt him. As *Hannibal* had artfully ſpared his lands in the general devaſtation, they began to ſuſpect him of holding a ſecret correſpondence with the enemy, Of this groundleſs ſuſpicion they gave a ſignal proof, by refuſing to ſend him a ſum of money for the redemption of two hundred and forty-ſeven captives, whom *Hannibal* had releaſed, purſuant to an agreement between him and the dictator concerning the exchange of priſoners: but this ingratitude of the ſenate ſerved only to heighten the luſtre of his virtue; for, as he was a religious obſerver of his word, he ordered his ſon to ſell his lands, and with the memory paid the ſum ſtipulated [k].

Fabius *recalled to* Rome.

The dictator, upon his leaving the army, commanded his general of the horſe
d not to hazard a battle during his abſence; but *Minucius*, without paying any regard to his orders, immediately ſent out ſtrong parties to attack the *Carthaginian* foragers, and in two bloody ſkirmiſhes cut many of them in pieces, and took from them all their booty. The news of this ſucceſs reaching *Rome* before the dictator, he found, on his arrival, both the ſenate and people ſtrangely prepoſſeſſed againſt him, and in favour of his general of the horſe. One *Metilius*, a tribune of the people, made an harangue to the multitude in the preſence of *Fabius*, full of the blackeſt accuſations againſt him; but the dictator, thinking it beneath him to make an apology, addreſſed himſelf to the aſſembly with the following words: Fabius *cannot be ſuſpected by his country*. And then, with an air of grandeur and intrepidity ſuitable to his rank, *Romans*, ſaid he, *let us make haſte to finiſh the religious ceremonies, which detain me from return-*
e *ing to the army. I have a refractory man to chaſtize, and a breach of military diſcipline to puniſh. I forbad* Minucius *to give battle; but he has diſobeyed my orders, and I muſt make an example of him.* The friends of *Minucius*, ſtruck dumb with this declaration, began to conſult how they could ſcreen him from the ſeverity of a magiſtrate inveſted with an uncontroulable power. *Metilius* adviſed the people to give the general of the horſe an equal authority with the dictator. *Terentius Varro* was the only tribune, whom *Metilius* could prevail upon to ſecond his motion. He was the ſon of a butcher, and had followed his father's profeſſion in his youth; but growing rich, he had forſaken that mean calling, and, by the favour of the people, obtained firſt the prætorſhip, and afterwards the tribuneſhip. Now he aſpired to the conſulate, and therefore,
f ſeeing the people greatly inclined to favour *Minucius*, he did not ſcruple to promote his fortune at the expence of his honour. He ſeconded *Metilius*, and both together got the law paſſed, eſtabliſhing, by an unheard-of innovation, an equality between the dictator and his general of the horſe. The ſenate, out of ſome unaccountable prejudice againſt *Fabius*, were mean-ſpirited enough to confirm this ſtrange law. *Fabius*, having aſſiſted at the ſacrifice to which he had been called, and preſided at the election of a new conſul, *Attilius Regulus*, in the room of *Flaminius*, had left *Rome* before the decree was confirmed by the ſenate, but was overtaken on the road by

Minucius, *his general of the horſe, put upon an equal foot with him.*

[k] Plut. in Fab. Polyb. l. iii. c. 92. Liv. l. xxii. c. 15.

by a meſſenger, injoining him in the name of the *Roman* people and ſenate, to give a his general of the horſe an equal ſhare of the command. When he arrived at the camp, *Minucius*, in the firſt conference he had with him, propoſed, that each ſhould take his turn in the command of the whole army for a day, or a week; but *Fabius* choſe to divide the army, and to command his ſhare ſeparately, hoping by that means to ſave at leaſt a part of the *Roman* forces. The army being divided, the two generals did not remove far from each other, but incamped at a due diſtance, *Fabius* on the hill, and *Minucius* a little below him, almoſt in the plain. *Hannibal* poſted himſelf over-againſt the latter, and, by his artful management, ſoon brought him to an engagement, in which, by the maſterly ſkill of the *Carthaginian* in laying ambuſhes, he was ſurrounded on all ſides, and would have been cut off with all his troops, b had not *Fabius*, ſacrificing his private reſentment to the welfare of his country, haſtened to his relief. That brave *Roman*, moved with compaſſion at the ſight of the terrible ſlaughter that was made of his countrymen, ruſhed down like a torrent from his hills, fell upon the enemy where *Minucius* was moſt preſſed, cut all in pieces who oppoſed him, and put the reſt into the utmoſt confuſion. Then *Minucius*'s troops rallying, the two armies united, and advanced in good order to renew the fight; but *Hannibal*, not caring to venture a ſecond action, ſounded the retreat and retired to his camp. He was heard to ſay, as he marched back, *I have always foreſeen, that the cloud, which appeared ſo conſtantly on the mountains, would, ſome time or other, break out into a ſtorm, and diſcharge itſelf upon our heads.* After the action, *Mi-* c *nucius* and *Fabius* returned to their reſpective camps. The latter did not drop a word which ſavoured of oſtentation or of contempt for his collegue; and *Minucius* did juſtice both to himſelf and to *Fabius*. Having aſſembled his troops, he told them, He had learned by experience that he was not born to command; but that obedience ought to be his province; and that he was therefore reſolved to return to the ſtation, which he had preſumptuouſly left. Come then, dear fellow-ſoldiers, ſaid he, let us go and offer our ſervices to the dictator, and put ourſelves again wholly under his conduct. Let him command alone, ſince he alone is fit to be the ſoul of ſo great a body. I will call him father; and you ought to give his ſoldiers, who deli- vered you, the title of patrons. It will be a greater glory for us to have conquered d ourſelves, than to have conquered *Hannibal*. Having thus ſpoke, he immediately marched his legions to the dictator's camp, preſented himſelf before him, made his acknowledgements, and reſigned the authority with which he had been entruſted. He declared, that he ſhould think himſelf happy, if the dictator would only continue him in his office of general of the horſe, and begged, that none of his officers might be degraded, ſince his raſhneſs alone had brought diſhonour upon them. *Fabius* tenderly embraced him, granted him what he aſked; and the day, which began with ſo much terror, ended with an univerſal joy in the camp. The ſix months of the dictatorſhip being ſoon after expired, *Fabius* returned to *Rome*, after having reſigned the com- mand of the army to the conſuls *Servilius* and *Attilius*, who, obſerving the ſame con- e duct with *Fabius*, watched from the eminences the enemy's motions, without giving *Hannibal*, for the remainder of their year, an opportunity of attacking them[1].

Fabius *ſaves his collegue from being totally defeated.*

Minucius *reſigns his new authority.*

The ſtate of affairs in Spain.

During theſe tranſactions in *Italy*, *Cneius Scipio* made a ſurpriſing progreſs in *Spain*. All the nations between the *Iberus* and the *Pyrenees* ſubmitted to him, and put him in poſſeſſion of a hundred cities. The *Celtiberians* entered into an alliance with him. and engaging *Aſdrubal*, defeated him in two pitched battles, killed five thouſand of his men, and took four thouſand priſoners. This was the ſtate of the *Roman* affairs in *Spain*, when *P. Scipio*, the brother of *Cneius*, arrived there with the character of proconſul, carrying with him eight thouſand *Roman* troops. With this additional ſtrength the two brothers paſſed the *Iberus*, and, penetrating into the heart of the *Car-* f *thaginian* provinces, marched towards *Saguntum*, which *Hannibal* had rebuilt before he left *Spain*, and ſecured with a ſtrong gariſon, under the command of *Boſtar* a *Carthaginian*, having placed in it all the young noblemen, whom he had obliged their parents to put into his hands, as pledges of their fidelity. As theſe hoſtages prevented the *Spaniſh* lords from revolting to the *Romans*, the two *Scipios* marched to *Saguntum*, in order to ſet them free. Their deſign was executed by one *Abelox*, a *Spaniſh* officer in the gariſon, who, having an inclination to go over to the *Romans*, perſuaded *Boſtar*, that it would be much for the *Carthaginian* intereſt, to oblige the *Spaniſh* noblemen

[1] Polyb. l. iii c. 101, 102. Liv. l. xxii. c. 28, 29, 30. Plut. in Fab.


The Cantabrican Ocean
Part of Gaul
The Western Ocean
Mediterranean Sea
Antient Spain
The Gulf of Gades now Cadiz
Straights of Hercules
Part of Africa
The Pyrenees
Balearides or Gymnesiæ Isles
Major
Minor
Lusitania
Bætica
Tarraconensis
Artabri
Lucen
Callaici
Augustani
Transmontani
Astures
Cantabri
Concani
Autrigones
Varduli
Vascones
Berones
Pelendones
Arevaca
Vaccæi
Vetto
Carpetani
Olcades
Oretani
Bastitani
Turdetani
Turduli
Celtici
Bastuli
Lusones
Lobetani
Edetani or Sedetani
Ilercao
Ilergetes
Suessitani
Lacetani
Cempsi
Ceretani
Ausetani
Laletani
Contestani
Bargusii
Spartarius campus
Illicitanus Gulf
Sucronensis Gulf
Ebusus
Pityusæ
Ophiusa
Sacred Point
Barbarium Point
Moon point
Durius R.
Minius R.
Tagus R.
Anas R.
Bætis R.
Iberus R.
Tarraco
Sagunto
Emporiæ
Barcino
Calpe point or Columna
Abyla Columna Herculis
Pompey's Tropæa
J. Bazire Sculp.

noblemen by a voluntary releaſe of their children, urging, that, if the *Romans* ſhould
a take the place, and reſtore them to their parents, innumerable nations would imme-
diately declare for them. He offered to conduct the hoſtages himſelf to their re-
ſpective countries; but the inconſiderate *Carthaginian* had no ſooner given his con-
ſent to this motion, than *Abelox*, ſtealing away in the night to the *Roman* camp,
acquainted the proconſul with what he had done; and it was agreed between them,
that the following night a detachment of *Romans* ſhould lie in ambuſh, and ſurprize
both the youths and their leader. The project was happily executed; and *Scipio*,
by ſending back the hoſtages to their parents, ſecured ſuch an intereſt in the country,
that he was ſtronger there than the *Carthaginians* [m].

And now the time for a new election drawing near, one of the conſuls named a
b dictator to preſide in the comitia, it not being ſafe for either of them to leave the
army. The perſon named was *L. Veturius Philo*; but, the augurs finding ſome defect
in his nomination, he was forced to abdicate, and give place to an inter-regnum;
when *Terentius Varro*, of whom we have ſpoken above, was choſen to the conſulate,
in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the whole body of the nobility. The collegue given
him was *Æmilius Paulus*, as bitter an enemy to the plebeians, as *Varro* was to the
patricians. *Servilius* and *Attilius* were continued, in quality of proconſuls, at the
head of the armies; but with orders to act under the direction of the new conſuls.
That *Terentius*, who was a great favourite of the people, might have the glory of
conquering *Hannibal*, eight new legions were raiſed, conſiſting each of five thouſand
c foot, and three hundred horſe; and the allies were ordered to furniſh the republic
with double their contingents both of horſe and foot. The winter being ſpent in
theſe preparations, the conſuls took the field early in the ſpring, and arriving at the
camp, found affairs in a good condition there, *Servilius* and *Attilius* having avoided
a general action, and in ſome ſkirmiſhes gained conſiderable advantages. *Hanni-
bal*, ſoon after the arrival of the new conſuls, whoſe army conſiſted in all of eighty-
ſeven thouſand men, being reduced to great ſtreights for want of proviſions, reſolved
to leave *Samnium*, and penetrate into the heart of *Apulia*. Accordingly he decamped
in the night, and, by leaving fires burning and tents ſtanding in his camp, made the
Romans believe for ſome time, that his retreat was only feigned. When the truth
d was diſcovered, *Æmilius* was againſt purſuing him; but *Terentius*, contrary to the
opinion of all the officers in the army, except the proconſul *Servilius*, was obſtinately
bent on following the enemy, whom he overtook at *Cannæ*, till this time an obſcure
city in *Apulia* (L). It ſtood on the banks of the *Aufidus*, in a vaſt plain, five miles
from *Canuſium*, and ſix from the *Adriatic* ſea. Here *Hannibal* halted, not only be-
cauſe he found a magazine of corn on the place, but becauſe he thought the open
country about it very proper for a battle, there being room enough for his cavalry,
the main ſtrength and hopes of his army, to extend themſelves. The conſuls being
divided in opinion about fighting, courier after courier was ſent to *Rome*, and even
Æmilius went thither himſelf to receive the orders of the ſenate, who judged it neceſ-
e ſary to fight the enemy; but adviſed *Terentius* not to do it yet. In the mean time,
Hannibal took his poſt on the banks of the river, and diſpoſed all things as if he were
juſt coming to a battle. His troops had the ſun behind them at noon; ſo that the
Romans muſt be expoſed not only to the inconvenience of too great a light, but to
that of great clouds of duſt, which the ſouth-weſt wind, that blows almoſt every day
in *Apulia*, would carry in their faces. As for the conſuls, they were no ſooner within
reach of *Cannæ*, than a diſpute aroſe between them. *Æmilius* was for incamping on
the eminencies, where the enemy's cavalry, which was far ſuperior to theirs, could
not act; and accordingly, when it was his turn to command, he pitched his camp
among the hills; but *Terentius* the next day advanced into the plain, and brought the
army

Eight new legions raiſed in Rome.

[m] Polyb. l. iii. c. 95. Liv. l. xxii. c. 19, 21, 22.

(L) *Cannæ*, according to *Livy*, *Appian*, and *Florus*, was only a poor village, which afterwards became famous, on account of the battle fought near it; but *Polybius*, who lived near the time of the ſecond *Punic* war, ſtyles *Cannæ* a city; but adds, that it had been razed a year before the defeat of the *Roman* army. The account of *Silius* agrees with that of *Polybius*.

Ut ventum ad Cannas, urbis veſtigia priſcæ,

ſays that poet. It was afterwards rebuilt; for *Pliny* ranks it among the cities of *Apulia* (27). The ruins of *Cannæ* are ſtill to be ſeen in the territory of *Bari*, formerly called *Apulia Peucetia*.

(27) *Plin. l.* iii. *c.* 11.

army into ſuch a ſituation, that *Æmilius* the following day could not retire, without a
expoſing the army to great danger. He therefore fortified two camps, the greater
on the weſt ſide of the river, and the leſſer on the eaſt, and opened a communication
The two Roman *conſuls diſagree.* between them by a bridge. And now there was no longer the leaſt harmony between
the conſuls; they had quite different maxims and purſued oppoſite meaſures, each
ſucceeding day deſtroying the projects of the preceding. *Hannibal*, perceiving that
the *Romans* could not long avoid a general action, having harangued his troops,
drew them up in battalia, and bid the enemy defiance. It was *Æmilius*'s day to
command; and he, knowing that *Hannibal* would be ſoon obliged to decamp for
want of proviſions, deſpiſed his bravadoes, and kept cloſe in his intrenchments; but
the next morning, by break of day, *Terentius*, whoſe turn it was to command, marched b
his troops into the great plain, where the little camp was pitched, and drew them up
The diſpoſition of the two armies at the battle of Cannæ. after the uſual manner, the haſtati in the firſt line, the principes in the ſecond, and
the triarii in the third. The cavalry were poſted on the wings. In the right the *Roman*
knights flanked the legionaries; in the left the cavalry of the allies covered their own
infantry. The two conſuls commanded the two wings, *Æmilius* the right, and *Teren-
tius* the left; and the two proconſuls, *Servilius* and *Attilius*, the main body. On the other
hand, *Hannibal*, whoſe army conſiſted of forty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe,
placed his *Gauliſh* and *Spaniſh* cavalry in his left wing, to face the *Roman* knights, and
the *Numidian* horſe in his right, over-againſt the cavalry of the allies of *Rome*. As to
his infantry, he divided the *African* battalions into two bodies, one of which he poſted c
near the *Gauliſh* and *Spaniſh* horſe, the other near the *Numidian*. Between theſe two
bodies were placed, on one ſide the *Gauliſh*, on the other the *Spaniſh*, infantry, drawn
up in ſuch a manner, as to form a kind of obtuſe angle, projecting a conſiderable
way beyond the two wings. Behind this firſt line he drew up a ſecond, which had
no projection. *Aſdrubal* commanded the left wing, *Maherbal* the right, and *Hannibal*
himſelf, with his brother *Mago*, the main body. The onſet was begun with the
light-armed infantry, the *Romans* diſcharging their javelins, and the *Baleares* their
ſtones, with equal ſucceſs; nevertheleſs the conſul *Æmilius* was wounded. Then the
Roman cavalry in the right wing advanced againſt the *Gauliſh* and *Spaniſh* in *Hannibal*'s
left wing. As they were ſhut in by the river on one ſide, and their infantry on the d
other, they did not fight, as uſual, by charging and wheeling off, and then return-
ing to the charge, but continued fighting each man againſt his adverſary, till one of
them was killed or retired. After they had made inconceivable efforts on both ſides
to overbear each other, they all on a ſudden diſmounted, and fought on foot man to
man with incredible fury. But this attack was more bloody than long; the *Gauls*
The Roman *horſe defeated.* and *Spaniards* prevailed, put the *Romans* to the rout, and purſuing them along the
river, ſtrewed the ground with their dead bodies, *Aſdrubal* giving no quarter. This
action was ſcarce over, when the infantry advanced on both ſides. The *Romans*
fell firſt upon the *Spaniards* and *Gauls*, who, as we have obſerved above, formed a e
kind of triangle, projecting beyond the two wings. Theſe gave ground, and, pur-
ſuant to *Hannibal*'s directions, ſunk into the void ſpace in their rear; by which means
they inſenſibly brought the *Romans*, who followed them with more ardor than cau-
tion, into the centre of the *African* infantry, and then rallying, attacked them in
front, while the *Africans* charged them on both their flanks. The *Romans* being,
by this artful retreat, drawn into the ſnare and ſurrounded, no longer kept their
ranks, but formed ſeveral platoons, in order to face every way. *Æmilius*, who was
in the right wing, ſeeing the danger of the main body, at the head of the legionaries,
who were his only hopes, after the defeat of the cavalry, acted the part both of a
ſoldier and general, penetrating into the very heart of the enemy's battalions, and
cutting in pieces all who oppoſed him. All the *Roman* cavalry that was left attended f
the brave conſul on foot, and, encouraged by his example, fought like men in deſpair.
But, in the mean time, *Aſdrubal*, at the head of a detachment of *Gauliſh* and *Spaniſh*
infantry brought from the centre, attacked *Æmilius*'s legionaries, who were greatly
fatigued, with ſuch fury, that they were forced to give ground and fly. *Æmilius*,
covered with wounds and blood, was too weak to reach the camp; and therefore,
being deſerted by his men, ſat down on a ſtone, and in that condition was found
by one *Lentulus*, a tribune, who was flying as well as the reſt. *Lentulus*, knowing
the conſul, immediately diſmounted, and offered him his horſe; but *Æmilius* replied
with a faint voice, I have lived long enough, dear *Lentulus*; fly, and let me die.
Take care to give the ſenate timely notice of our misfortunes, that they may guard
and

a and fortify *Rome*, and tell *Fabius*, that I have followed the advice he gave me at our parting to the very laſt. Then *Lentulus* paſſed on, and the enemy's cavalry, who purſued the *Romans*, coming up, killed the conſul without knowing him (M). Thus fell one of the braveſt conſuls, and beſt citizens, *Rome* ever had [n]. *The conſul Æmilius Paulus killed,*

In the main body, the *Romans*, though inveſted on all ſides, continued to ſell their lives dear, fighting in platoons, and making a great ſlaughter of the enemy. But, being at length overpowered, and diſheartened by the loſs of the two proconſuls, *Servilius* and *Attilius*, who headed them, they diſperſed and fled, ſome to the right, and ſome to the left, as the ground or the enemy gave them an opportunity. But the *Numidian* horſe, more fit for a purſuit than a pitched battle, cut moſt of them *And the Roman army defeated with great ſlaughter.*

b in pieces. The whole plain was covered with heaps of dead bodies; inſomuch, that *Hannibal* himſelf, thinking the butchery too terrible, ordered his men to put a ſtop to it. As for *Terentius Varro*, the author of all theſe misfortunes, after the *Numidians* had put the wing he commanded into confuſion, he, without attempting to rally his men, fled to *Venuſia* with only ſeventy horſe. In this bloody action at leaſt forty-five thouſand *Romans* were left dead upon the ſpot (N); among whom were one conſul, two proconſuls, two military quæſtors, twenty-nine legionary tribunes, and fourſcore ſenators or magiſtrates who had a right of voting in the ſenate, and had ſerved as voluntiers. Among the reſt, the famous *Minucius* was killed, who had been general of the horſe the laſt year under *Fabius*. About ſeventeen

c thouſand of the right wing had fled to the two camps, ten thouſand to the great camp, and ſeven thouſand to the little one. The former, having loſt their officers, and expecting to be inveſted the next day, invited the latter to join them, that they might march away together in the night, and take refuge in *Canuſium*, a ſtrong city not far off. But it was with the utmoſt difficulty that *Sempronius Tuditanus*, a legionary tribune, could prevail upon any of thoſe in the little camp to hearken to his propoſal, they being all afraid, leſt the enemy ſhould intercept them in paſſing from one camp to the other. However, the braveſt of them drew themſelves up at length into a *cuneus*, that is, in the form of a wedge, marched out in good order, and arrived ſafe at the great camp; where they joined their fellow-ſoldiers, marched

d away before day-break, and got to *Canuſium*.

In the *Carthaginian* camp, the night was ſpent in feaſtings and rejoicings. *Hannibal* had never gained a more complete or more ſeaſonable victory. As ſoon as the day returned, he beheld with infinite ſatisfaction the whole plain covered with *Romans*, who had been ſlain in the action, while, in ſurveying the field of battle, he found that his loſs amounted to no more than four thouſand *Gauls*, fifteen hundred *Africans* and *Spaniards*, and about two hundred horſe. *Hannibal* took, what in the action and what in the purſuit, ten thouſand priſoners. Such a number of knights are ſaid to have been found dead on the field, that three buſhels of their rings were ſent to *Carthage*. Immediately after the victory, *Maherbal* preſſed *Hannibal* to march ſtrait to *Rome*

e and beſiege that capital; which he refuſing to do, *Maherbal* took the liberty to tell him, that he knew how to conquer, but knew not how to uſe and improve his victories. Many of the ancients have thought as *Maherbal* did, and have reproached the *Carthaginian* general with the ſame fault; but whether juſtly or not, may be well queſtioned.

[n] Polyb. l. iii. c. 115, 116. Liv. l. xxi. c. 48, 49.

(M) The account *Plutarch* gives us of the conſul *Æmilius Paulus*'s death, is ſomewhat different from this. This great man, ſays he, after he had diſcharged all the duties of a good citizen and able commander, was thrown by his horſe, which probably had been wounded. Hereupon the knights round him diſmounted to defend him; which the reſt of the cavalry obſerving, believed that they had diſmounted by the general's order, and did the ſame. In the mean time, *Æmilius*, having received many wounds, and loſt a great quantity of blood, reſted ſome time on a ſtone; and then threw himſelf into the middle of the enemy's ſquadrons, who diſpatched him with innumerable wounds.

(N) There is a great diſagreement among authors as to the number of *Romans* killed and taken in the battle of *Cannæ*. According to *Livy*, the republic loſt on that occaſion fifty thouſand men, the auxiliaries included. According to *Polybius*, of ſix thouſand *Roman* horſe only ſeventy eſcaped to *Venuſia* with *Terentius Varro*, and three hundred of the auxiliary horſe. As to the infantry, that writer tells us, that ſeventy thouſand of the *Roman* foot died on the field of battle, fighting like brave men, and that thirteen thouſand were taken priſoners. According to *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, of ſix thouſand horſe only three hundred and ſeventy eſcaped the general ſlaughtet, and of eighty thouſand foot, three thouſand only. If we give credit to a tradition, which continued in *Plutarch*'s time, fifty thouſand *Romans* were killed on the ſpot, and four thouſand made priſoners, excluſive of the ten thouſand who were, according to him, taken in the two camps the day after the battle. *Livy* ſays, that eight thouſand of the beſt *Carthaginian* troops were killed in the action.

queſtioned. The advantages he had gained were chiefly owing to his cavalry, who a could be of no uſe in a ſiege. The *Roman* infantry were no-ways inferior to his, and would be invincible, when ſheltered by walls and ramparts. The inhabitants of ſo populous a city were all bred up to arms from their infancy; obliged to ſerve as ſoon as they attained to the age of manhood, and would uſe their utmoſt efforts in defence of their wives, their children, and their domeſtic gods. They had as many generals as ſenators, moſt of them men of great prudence and conduct; whereas the advantages hitherto gained over them were owing to the raſhneſs of ſome preſumptuous and unexperienced generals, who had been placed at the head of their armies by the favour of the people, contrary to the intereſt of the public. Beſides, no one nation or city of *Italy* had yet declared for him; and he might judge it neceſſary, and not without b reaſon, to gain over or conquer ſome of them before he attempted the ſiege of *Rome*. *Hannibal* having, probably on theſe conſiderations, determined not to follow the advice of *Maherbal*, continued ſome days on the field of battle, allowing his ſoldiers to ſtrip the dead, and gather up the booty, which the *Romans* had left on the plain. On this occaſion the *Carthaginians*, among other moving objects, found, to their great ſurpriſe, a *Numidian* yet alive, lying under the dead body of a *Roman*, who had thrown himſelf headlong on his enemy and beat him down; but being no longer able to make uſe of his weapons, becauſe he had loſt his hands, had tore off the noſe and ears of the *Numidian* with his teeth, and in that fit of rage expired. The *Carthaginians*, having ſpent a whole day in ſtripping the dead bodies of the c unhappy *Romans*, the victorious general inveſted the two camps in the evening, which he eaſily made himſelf maſter of, there being none in them but wounded men or cowards, who had not had courage enough to retire with their companions to *Canuſium*. They all ſurrendered upon terms, and were allowed to march out with their cloaths, but without arms. The *Romans* were to pay three hundred *denarii* a head for their ranſom, that is, 9*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* their allies two hundred, and each ſlave one hundred. Till this was done, *Hannibal* divided them into ſeveral companies, and kept them priſoners under different guards. They amounted in all to four thouſand men, the reſt having retired, as we have related above, to *Canuſium* [a].

The two Roman *camps taken.*

Among thoſe *Romans*, who had fled to *Canuſium*, were four legionary tribunes; d and of theſe the ſoldiers choſe two to be their chief commanders, viz. *Appius Claudius Pulcher* and young *Scipio*, the ſon of the proconſul in *Spain*, who was at this time but eighteen years of age. While *Scipio* was deliberating with his collegue what meaſures to take, notice was given him, that the young nobility among the troops were aſſembled in a houſe, and contriving how to leave *Italy*, and retire to ſome of thoſe kings who were friends to *Rome*, which they gave up for loſt. Hereupon the young tribune, filled with zeal, took with him a band of ſoldiers, ſurpriſed the cowards, and with his ſword drawn came up to *Cæcilius Metellus*, the author of this pernicious deſign, whom he addreſſed thus; *I call the great* Jupiter *to witneſs, that I will never depart my country; nor will I ſuffer any man to do it. This I ſolemnly* e *ſwear; and do you*, Cæcilius, *either take the ſame oath, or die.* The fear of preſent death made them all take the ſame oath; and then *Scipio* ſecured them with a ſtrong guard. Thus this young *Roman*, whom we ſhall afterwards ſee honoured with the glorious ſurname of *Africanus*, ſignalized his zeal for the public welfare on his firſt entering upon public life. The conſul *Terentius*, ſince his coming to *Venuſia*, whither he had fled with only ſeventy men, had been joined by five thouſand of the fugitives. With theſe he went to *Canuſium*, as ſoon as he heard that there were ſix thouſand more in that place, and joined his troops to them; ſo that the whole had now the appearance of a conſular army.

In the mean time it was reported at *Rome*, that both conſuls were killed, and f that of eighty-ſeven thouſand men there was ſcarce one left alive. Never was the city filled with more terror, nor a more univerſal conſternation ſeen there. All the *Roman* conſtancy was neceſſary to prevent the fatal conſequences of ſo ſhocking an affliction. For want of conſuls, the two prætors aſſembled the ſenators, who could hardly give their opinions, being every moment interrupted by the cries of the people, and the ſhrieks of the women, who lamented the loſs of their huſbands, children, or fathers. As the conduct of *Fabius* was now fully juſtified by the defeat of *Terentius*, his counſel was liſtened to and followed. He adviſed them to ſend to the *Appian* and *Latin* ways

[a] Liv. ibid. c. 51.

Measures taken at Rome *after the defeat at* Cannæ.

a ways horſemen well mounted, to learn from the fugitives the ſtate of affairs; what was become of the conſuls? to what place the remains of the army had retired? where *Hannibal* was incamped? what he was doing? and what he deſigned to do? That the women ſhould by a decree be forbid to appear in public, and diſturb the city with their outcries and lamentations; that when any courier arrived, he ſhould be brought, privately and without noiſe, to the prætors; and that no perſon ſhould be ſuffered to go out of the city, leſt it ſhould be deſerted. This advice was applauded; the crouds that filled the ſtreets were diſperſed; and each ſenator undertook to keep every thing quiet in his own neighbourhood. Such was the ſituation of affairs, when at length a courier arrived from *Terentius* with letters, importing, that the *Roman* b army had been defeated; that *Æmilius* was ſlain; that he himſelf was retired to *Canuſium*, where he was aſſembling the remains of the troops; that about ten thouſand men of different corps had joined him, but moſt of them without officers; that *Hannibal* was ſtill incamped at *Cannæ*, and buſy there in fixing the ranſoms of the priſoners he had taken. At the ſame time a veſſel arrived from *Sicily*, with letters from the prætor *Otacilius*, acquainting the ſenate, that a *Carthaginian* ſquadron was ravaging the coaſt of *Syracuſe*, and waiting for an opportunity to make a deſcent. The conſcript fathers, in the midſt of theſe perplexities, behaved with incredible conſtancy; and aſſembling daily made the neceſſary preparations for the defence both of *Italy* and *Sicily*. *Marcellus*, an hero already honoured with an extraordinary tri- c umph, for having defeated the *Gauls* and killed their king in a ſingle combat, had been appointed prætor of *Sicily*, and was now equipping a fleet at *Oſtia*. But the ſenate ordered him from thence into *Apulia*, to take upon him the command of the army at *Canuſium* in the room of *Varro*, who was recalled. *Marcellus*, purſuant to his orders, ſet out immediately for *Rome*, and from thence for *Canuſium*, where he found a body of about fourteen thouſand men. Upon his arrival *Varro* left *Canuſium* and returned to *Rome*. It is almoſt incredible, that the author of ſo many both public and private calamities ſhould be received with reſpect either by the ſenate or people. Nevertheleſs, all the ancients tell us, that he met with as kind a reception from all orders of men in the ſtate, as if he had gained a ſignal victory. All the ſenators in d a body, attended with crouds of people, went out to meet him, and thank him for *not having deſpaired of the republic* [p]. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that the ſenate and people offered him the dictatorſhip, which he refuſed, and by his modeſt refuſal wiped off, in ſome meaſure, the ſhame of his former behaviour [q]. Thus the *Romans*, by treating their unfortunate commanders with humanity, leſſened the diſgrace of their being vanquiſhed or diſcharged, while the *Carthaginians* condemned their generals to cruel deaths upon their being overcome, often without their fault, by the enemy.

Marcellus *appointed to command the army.*

Varro *is well received at* Rome.

As the preſent ſituation of affairs required an abſolute magiſtrate, the ſenators, of their own authority, appointed *M. Junius Pera*, who had bore the offices of prætor, cenſor, and conſul, to be dictator; and he choſe *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* for his e general of the horſe. *Junius* made it his whole buſineſs to put the army in a condition to make head againſt the victorious enemy. All the young *Romans* above ſeventeen years of age, of what rank ſoever, were obliged to inliſt themſelves; as were alſo thoſe who had already ſerved their legal time. By this means four legions and ten thouſand horſe were ſoon raiſed in the city. The allies of *Rome*, the colonies, and the municipia, furniſhed their contingents as uſual. To theſe were added out of the great number of ſlaves in *Rome* eight thouſand of the youngeſt and ſtrongeſt. The republic purchaſed them of their maſters, but did not oblige them to ſerve without their own conſent, which they gave, when aſked, by anſwering, *Volo*, *I am willing*; whence they were called *Volones*, to diſtinguiſh them from the other corps, by a name f leſs odious than that of ſlaves. As the *Romans*, after the loſs of ſo many battles, had no ſwords, darts, or bucklers left in their magazines, the *Volones* were ſupplied with the arms which had been formerly taken from the enemy, and hung up in the public porticos and temples. The finances of *Rome* were no leſs exhauſted; but this defect was ſupplied by the liberality of her citizens. The ſenators, ſhewing the example, were followed firſt by the knights, and afterwards by all the tribes, who, ſtripping themſelves of all the gold they had, brought it to the public treaſury. The ſenators only reſerved their rings and the *bullæ* about their childrens necks. As for the ſilver coin, it

M. Junius Pera *dictator.*

Slaves inliſted in the Roman *troops.*

[p] Plut. in Fab. Liv. l. xxii. c. 57. [q] Val. Max. l. iii. c. 6.

it was now for the firſt time alloyed with copper, and the value of it raiſed. Thus the finances were again put into a good condition, and a competent army raiſed [r]. a

In the mean time, *Hannibal*, wanting money, gave the *Roman* priſoners leave to redeem themſelves. The ranſom of each horſeman he fixed at five hundred *denarii*, that is, 16 *l.* 2 *s.* 11 *d.* that of each foot ſoldier at three hundred, and of each ſlave at one hundred. As for the allies of *Rome*, notwithſtanding his want of money, he diſmiſſed them, agreeable to his former practice, without ranſom. The *Roman* captives agreed to ſend ten of their body to negotiate their redemption at *Rome*; and *Hannibal* required no other ſecurity for their return, but their oath. *Carthalo* was ſent at the head of them to make propoſals of peace to the republic, which *Hannibal* imagined ſhe would be glad to purchaſe at any rate. But upon the firſt report of *Carthalo*'s b arrival to treat of a peace, the dictator ſent a lictor to him, commanding him forthwith to quit the *Roman* territory. As for the ten deputies, the ſenate, conſidering them as foreigners ſince their captivity, did not ſuffer them to enter the city, but met without the walls to hear what they had to offer, in behalf of themſelves and their fellow-captives. After a warm debate, which laſted many hours, it was abſolutely concluded againſt the redemption of thoſe unhappy men, who, it was pretended, had acted the part of cowards, in not retiring with their fellow-ſoldiers to *Canuſium* (O). The priſoners being thus left to the mercy of the *Carthaginian*, he ſent the moſt conſiderable among them to *Carthage*, and of the reſt made gladiators, obliging them to fight with one another, even relations with relations, for the entertainment of his c troops [s].

The Romans *refuſe to redeem their captives.*

At length *Hannibal* left *Cannæ*, and took his rout towards *Compſa*, a city of the *Hirpini*, near the head of the *Aufidus*, which ſurrendered to him, and was the firſt that fell off from the *Romans*. From thence he turned towards *Capua*, the inhabitants of which city, thinking the time now come to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke and recover their ancient liberty, ſent deputies to treat with *Hannibal*, who promiſed them an intire liberty and independence, and beſides agreed to put into their hands four hundred *Roman* knights, to be exchanged with the ſame number of *Capuan* youths in the ſervice of *Rome*. Upon theſe conditions the *Capuans* ſurrendered their city to *Hannibal*. As to the *Roman* gariſon, the people contrived to ſhut them up in the public d baths and ſuffocate them there. When *Hannibal* made his entry, all the town crouded to meet him, except *Decius Magius*, a friend of the *Romans*, and a ſmall number of the nobility, among whom was one *Perola*, the ſon of *Pacuvius*, who had been the chief author of the revolt. *Perola* was afterwards obliged by his father to go and pay his homage to *Hannibal*; but, as he had imbibed the ſentiments of *Magius*, he afterwards formed a deſign to ſtab the *Carthaginian* general at a magnificent entertainment, which his father was to give him. But *Pacuvius*, to whom he imparted his intention, in hopes of gaining his conſent, diſſuaded him from it; and *Hannibal* eſcaped this danger. The next day the ſenate of *Capua* being aſſembled, *Hannibal* complained to them of the diſaffection of *Magius*, who was thereupon delivered up e to him loaded with irons, and by his orders put on board a ſhip bound for *Carthage*. But the veſſel being driven by a ſtorm into the port of *Cyrene*, a city belonging to the king of *Egypt*, the illuſtrious priſoner ran and embraced the ſtatue of *Ptolemy Philopator*; and the *Carthaginians* not daring to drag him from that ſanctuary, he appealed to the king, and was conducted to *Alexandria*, where *Ptolemy* received him with great humanity, and gave him leave to return either to *Capua*, or to *Rome*; but he choſe to continue at *Alexandria* under the protection of his deliver [t].

Capua *ſubmits to* Hannibal.

Mago *gives an account of* Hannibal's *victories to the ſenate of* Carthage.

And now *Hannibal* diſpatched his brother *Mago* to give an account at *Carthage* of his ſucceſs. As ſoon as he arrived there, he acquainted the ſenate, that *Hannibal* in ſix

[r] Liv. ibid. c. 57, 58. Plut. in Fab. Flor. l. ii. [s] Liv. ibid. [t] Plut. in Hannibal. Liv. l. xxii. c. 9, 10.

(O) More preſſing reaſons, than the pretended cowardice of the captives, prevailed on the ſenate to conclude againſt their redemption. They were afraid of inriching *Hannibal* with the ranſom-money, and at the ſame time willing to let him know, that *Rome* was not ſo deſtitute of men, but ſhe could ſpare ſeveral thouſands. Beſides, by this ſignal puniſhment *Rome* taught her ſoldiers this great leſſon, that in ſuch conjunctures they muſt either conquer, die, or live in perpetual ſlavery, which to a *Roman* was worſe than death itſelf. One of the ten deputies mixed with the croud and diſappeared. But *Rome* would not ſuffer the perjured wretch to reap the fruit of his iniquity. She ordered him to be taken out of his houſe, and ſent back to *Hannibal*'s camp. The republic was fond of purchaſing the reputation of being juſt, when it coſt little, and the ſtate did not ſuffer by it.

a six pitched battles had killed two hundred thousand *Romans*, and taken fifty thousand prisoners; and that the *Apulians*, *Brutians*, *Lucanians*, and *Campanians*, had submitted to the *Carthaginian* dominion. So much good fortune seemed incredible, and *Mago* was not believed, till he gave a glaring proof of it, by spreading abroad in the senate-house, some say, one bushel, others, three bushels, of rings, taken from the *Roman* knights and senators (P). Having thus prepossessed the senate in favour of his brother, he proceeded to solicit succours for him, that he might be enabled to carry on so successful a war. The request was approved of, and the *Barcan* faction triumphed. *Himilco*, the head of it, turning to *Hanno*, as it were to insult him, *Well*, said he, *has the war turned to the disadvantage of our country? Must we deliver up* Hannibal *to the* Romans? *Hanno*, though thus provoked, answered with moderation: *The war*, b said he, *is successfully begun, I grant it; but I shall not be easy, till an end is put to it by a happy peace. Send me troops and provisions, says* Hannibal. *Is this the language of a conqueror, who is master of so many nations in* Italy? *The* Roman *republic, we are told, is reduced to the last extremity. Do the vanquished shew any signs of despair? Tell me,* Mago, *Do they make any advances towards a peace? Do they seem to desire it? Mago* answered, that the *Romans* indeed, notwithstanding their losses, strove to put a good face upon their affairs, however desperate. *I conclude then*, resumed *Hanno* briskly, *that we are scarce any farther advanced, than we were the day* Hannibal *entered* Italy. *We have indeed done enough to obtain an advantagious peace with* Rome; *and that ought to be our utmost view. One single defeat may undo all our mighty projects. I therefore vote* c *against sending any succours to the army in* Italy. *If* Hannibal *has really gained these great victories, he needs no supplies; if he sends us false accounts, he deserves none.* But notwithstanding *Hanno*'s speech, an immediate supply of four thousand *Numidians*, forty elephants, and a thousand talents of silver, were by a plurality of voices decreed for the army in *Italy*. Nor was this all; a commissioner was sent with *Mago* into *Spain* with powers to raise levies there, which were to be equally divided between the *Carthaginian* armies in *Spain* and *Italy*. *Asdrubal*, who had just obtained a signal victory over the revolted *Spaniards*, and subdued the country of the *Carpetani*, was ordered to leave *Spain*, and march with his army to the assistance of his brother in *Italy*. In his room *Himilco* was sent into *Spain* with a competent army, and a sufficient number d of galleys to keep the seas. But, in the mean time, the two *Scipios*, hearing that *Asdrubal* was advancing towards the *Iberus* in his way to the *Pyrenees*, and knowing of what dangerous consequence it would be for *Rome*, that *Hannibal* should receive so strong a reinforcement, resolved to oppose his passing that river. With this view they passed the *Iberus*, and having brought *Asdrubal* to a general engagement, gained a complete victory, which prevented the *Carthaginian* for some years from going into *Italy*. Thus the two *Scipios* by their victories and prudent conduct in *Spain* made *Rome* amends for the losses she sustained in *Italy*.

b Hanno's *speech in the senate.*

Asdrubal defeated in Spain *by the* Scipios.

The dictator *Junius* and the senate, encouraged by the news they received from e *Spain*, carried on their preparations for the next campaign with great expedition, while *Hannibal* was losing his time at *Capua*, being captivated with the bewitching pleasures of that place. The dictator released from prison all criminals and persons confined for debt, who were willing to inlist themselves. Of these he formed a body of six thousand foot, armed with the broad swords and bucklers which had been formerly taken from the *Gauls*. Then the *Roman* army, to the number of about twenty-five

Criminals and prisoners for debt inlisted at Rome.

(P) Authors are divided about this prodigious quantity of gold rings. *Pliny* seems to insinuate, that *Hanno* carried with him to *Carthage* three bushels of rings. To make the thing the more credible, he tells us, that in the time of the second *Punic* war, all the citizens of *Rome*, without exception, assumed the right of wearing a gold ring (28). *Florus* says, that *Hannibal* sent to *Carthage* two bushels of gold rings, and that by them the senate judged of the number of *Roman* knights, who had lost their lives in the several battles *Hannibal* had gained (29). The most probable opinion, according to *Livy*, is, that one bushel of rings was sent to *Carthage*. The same author adds, that *Hanno*, to shew how great the loss of the *Romans* was, acquainted the senate of *Carthage*, that at *Rome* only knights, and the most considerable among the citizens, had the privilege of wearing gold rings. If all, without distinction, had enjoyed this privilege, as *Pliny* insinuates, *Hannibal* might well have sent three bushels of rings to *Carthage* after the many victories he had already gained. But the opinion most agreeable to the testimony of the ancients is, that only knights and patricians at this time were allowed to wear rings. *Florus* tells us, that *Hannibal*, to shew how many *Romans* had fallen in the battle, made a bridge with their dead bodies for his troops over the river *Vergellus*. What *Florus* says is confirmed by *Valerius Maximus*; but *Polybius*, *Plutarch*, and *Livy*, make no mention either of the river *Vergellus*, or of this new kind of bridge.

(28) *Plin. l.* xxxiii. *c.* 1. (29) *Flor. l.* ii. *c.* 16.

five thouſand men, partly citizens, partly ſlaves, and partly criminals, marched out of *Rome* under the command of the dictator. The remains of *Varro*'s army, about fifteen thouſand men, were kept by *Marcellus* at *Caſilinum* in a readineſs to march, whenever there ſhould be occaſion. At length *Hannibal* began to move from *Capua*, in order to ſubdue the reſt of *Campania*. He made a fruitleſs attempt upon *Neapolis*, and then turned towards *Nola*. But the inhabitants of that city were kept ſteady by the preſence of *Marcellus*, who, leaving *Caſilinum*, paſſed the *Vulturnus*, croſſed the mountains of *Sueſſula* with incredible expedition, and unexpectedly appeared before *Nola*. Then the *Carthaginian*, after having made another unſucceſsful attempt upon *Neapolis*, fell upon *Nuceria*, which, for want of proviſions, was obliged to capitulate. From *Nuceria* he returned to *Nola*, with a deſign to beſiege it, *Marcellus* having ſhut himſelf up in the place with all his troops The inhabitants were greatly inclined to favour *Hannibal*, and their affection for the *Carthaginian* was kept up by a young man, of known valor and great intereſt among the people, by name *Bantius*. He had ſerved in the *Roman* armies with credit, and ſignalized himſelf at the battle of *Cannæ*, fighting near the conſul *Æmilius*, till being covered with wounds, he dropt down on the field of battle, where he was found the next day and brought to *Hannibal*. As none of his wounds proved mortal, *Hannibal*, underſtanding that he was a native of *Nola*, took great care of him, and, when he was cured of his wounds, ſent him home without ranſom. This friendly behaviour had its due effect on the mind of the generous *Bantius*. He returned to *Nola* wholly in the *Carthaginian* intereſt, and gained over many of the chief citizens to his party. *Marcellus* could have eaſily deſtroyed him, but he choſe rather to gain him. One day, when he came to wait on *Marcellus*, the *Roman*, pretending not to know him, aſked him his name. *My name*, replied the young warrior with a great deal of modeſty, *is* Bantius, *What, are you the famous* Bantius, anſwered the general, *ſo much celebrated at* Rome? *I have often heard of you. It was not your fault that a* Roman *conſul fell into the enemy's hands. How much blood did you loſe in endeavouring to ſave his life! What pleaſure is it to me, to ſee and embrace a brave man, who does honour to his country, and may be a means of ſaving* Rome! Then *Marcellus* to tender embraces added preſents, and in ſhort rekindled in his heart his former love for *Rome*. The recovery of this ſingle man brought many *Nolans* over to *Marcellus*, who was informed by them of all the ſecrets of the *Carthaginian* party. This was the ſituation of affairs at *Nola*, when *Hannibal* appeared before it, not doubting but he ſhould ſoon become maſter of a place, in which he had all the populace and moſt of the nobility on his ſide. But *Marcellus*, having by ſound of trumpet forbid any of the citizens to approach the ramparts, or even come out of their houſes on pain of death, drew up his men within the walls, and ſallying out at three ſeveral gates, fell unexpectedly upon *Hannibal*, killed five thouſand of his men, and obliged the reſt to retire in great confuſion. In this action, which revived the courage of the *Romans*, by ſhewing them that *Hannibal* was not invincible, the number of the killed on the ſide of the *Romans* amounted only to five hundred [u]. Some ancient writers, quoted by *Livy* [w], tell us, that the number of the dead on the ſide of the *Carthaginians* amounted to no more than two thouſand three hundred; but add, that the *Romans* loſt only one man in the action. This check, was a ſenſible mortification to *Hannibal*, who thereupon left *Nola*, and marched to *Acerræ*, a ſmall city in that neighbourhood. But the *Acerrani* upon his approach with one conſent abandoned their houſes, and retired with their moſt valuable effects to thoſe cities in *Campania*, which continued faithful to the *Romans*, The *Carthaginian* having made himſelf maſter of the empty city of *Acerra*, in order to recover his reputation, undertook the ſiege of *Caſilinum*, a ſtrong city on the banks of the *Vulturnus*, thinking it gariſoned by *Campanians*. But it had happened, that a body of *Prænestines* having found the inhabitants, as they paſſed through their city, wavering in their fidelity to *Rome*, had cut their throats in the night, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the walls. Theſe had been afterwards reinforced by about four hundred *Peruſians* from *Hetruria*, and a ſmall number of *Latins* and *Romans*. As they were all men of bravery and reſolution, they made ſuch a vigorous defence, that *Hannibal* was obliged, after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts, to turn the ſiege into a blockade [x]. Having therefore left part of his troops in the camp, as winter now approached, he quartered the reſt in the villages and open places of *Campania*, while he himſelf took up his reſidence in the voluptuous city of

Hannibal *takes* Nuceria.

Marcellus *gains an advantage over* Hannibal *before* Nola.

[u] Plut. in Marcel. [w] Liv. l. xxiii. c. 16. [x] Liv. ibid. c. 18.

a of *Capua*, where he got a thorough reliſh for pleaſure, which brought him down to a level with the reſt of mankind. The leſs he had been uſed to an effeminate life, the more he now indulged himſelf in it, ſpending moſt part of his time in feaſting and revelling with the *Capuan* women. He was more frequently ſeen, ſays *Valerius Maximus*[x], among the young debauchees in a public place called *Seplaſia*, than in his camp before *Caſilinum*. *Seplaſia* was a public place in *Capua*, whither all the debauchees reſorted; and therefore ſo infamous, that it was deemed a crime in a *Roman* barely to appear there[y]. Thus *Capua* proved more fatal to *Hannibal*, than *Cannæ* to the *Romans*. All the ancients reproach him more for the life he led at *Capua*, than for his having neglected to beſiege *Rome* after the battle of *Cannæ*. The example of

b the general infected the ſoldiery; inſomuch, that when he led them again in the ſpring to the ſiege of *Caſilinum*, he found them quite altered, and as impatient of military toils as raw levies. They were followed by troops of diſſolute women, and thinking it hard to live in tents, they deſerted in crouds, and returned to *Capua* and the other places in *Campania*, where they had ſpent the winter ſo much to their ſatisfaction. *Hannibal*, inſtead of attempting to ſtorm the beſieged town, endeavoured to reduce it by famine; and indeed the gariſon was brought to the utmoſt extremity for want of proviſions. Two *Roman* armies were within reach of the place; but neither in a condition to relieve it. The dictator *Junius* was ſoon recalled to *Rome* to conſult new auſpices, and had forbid, before his departure, *Sempronius* his general of the horſe, to

c undertake any thing during his abſence. The brave *Marcellus* was willing to relieve the beſieged at all events; but the inhabitants of *Nola* would not ſuffer him to leave them, imagining, that the blockade of *Caſilinum* was only a feint, and that *Hannibal*'s real aim was at their city. In the mean time, the gariſon of *Caſilinum*, being almoſt ſtarved to death, were ſcarce able to carry their arms. Many of them, to avoid periſhing with hunger or falling into *Hannibal*'s hands, put an end to their unhappy lives. *Sempronius*, greatly affected with the diſtreſs of theſe brave men, endeavoured to relieve them, by throwing firſt barrels of meal, and afterwards nuts, into the *Vulturnus*, which ran through the town. But this artifice being diſcovered, and all methods of ſupplying the city intirely ſtopped, *Hannibal* ſummoned the gariſon to ſurrender. But thoſe

d brave men, preferring death to ſlavery, would not hearken to his ſummons, their hunger, in the mean time, not ſuffering them to ſpare any animals whatſoever, not even rats. Nay, at length they pulled off the ſkins of their bucklers, ſoftened them in the water, and lived upon them with great frugality. Laſtly, to give the enemy a proof of their conſtancy and reſolution, they ploughed up the ground near their houſes and ſowed it with pulſe. When *Hannibal* heard this, he cried out, *What then, do the beſieged deſign to keep me here till their ſeed is come to maturity?* From that time he ſhewed himſelf inclined to conſent to a capitulation, which was ſoon agreed to by both parties, on this condition, that the freemen ſhould be allowed to march out of the town upon their paying ſeven ounces of gold a head. Thus *Hannibal* made him-

e ſelf maſter of *Caſilinum* after a long blockade, during which the *Prænestines* and *Peruſians* gave proofs of a conſtancy ſcarce to be matched by the *Romans* themſelves. The inhabitants of *Petilia*, a city in the country of the *Brutians*, which *Hannibal* beſieged next, gave him as much trouble as the gariſon of *Caſilinum*; but was taken at laſt, the *Romans* not being in a condition to ſend them ſuccours.

In the mean time, as the beſt part of the *Roman* nobility had loſt their lives in the war, the conſcript fathers began to think of filling up the vacant places in the ſenate; and, becauſe there were then no cenſors, they ordered *Terentius Varro* to nominate ſome perſon, who had been formerly cenſor, to be a ſecond dictator, whoſe office ſhould be wholly confined to this province. *Terentius* named *M. Fabius Buteo*, the oldeſt of the

f former cenſors; but did not allow him a general of the horſe. *Fabius* diſcharged his office with great prudence; for he firſt choſe to the ſenatorial dignity all thoſe, who ſince the laſt cenſors had obtained curule magiſtracies; then thoſe without exception who had been tribunes of the people, plebeian ædiles, or quæſtors; and laſtly, ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the army, or obtained any military rewards from their generals. Thus an hundred and ſeventy-ſeven new ſenators were created without jealouſy, complaints, or contention; and the dictator had no ſooner read the liſt to the people, than he abdicated his dignity, highly applauded by all ranks of men[z].

Hannibal *enervates himſelf at* Capua.

The brave defence of the gariſon of Caſilinum.

The vacant places in the Roman *ſenate filled up.*

THE

[x] Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1. [y] Vide Cic. in Piſonem. [z] Liv. ibid. c. 22.

THE ſenate being thus filled up, the next buſineſs was to chuſe conſuls for the a
enſuing year. *Sempronius Gracchus*, general of the horſe to the dictator *Junius*, and
Poſthumius Albinus, who commanded a body of troops in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, were raiſed
to the conſulate. After the election of the conſuls, the prætors and other great
officers of the ſtate were appointed; but in all theſe promotions *Marcellus*, notwith-
ſtanding the glory he had lately acquired, was intirely forgot, through the jealouſy, as
ſome writers conjecture, of the dictator *Junius*, who preſided at the election of the
new magiſtrates. The elections being over, the dictator returned to his camp; but
the conſul *Sempronius* continued in *Rome*, to conſult with the ſenate about the operations
of the approaching campaign. But, in the mean time, news was brought to *Rome*,
that *Poſthumius Albinus*, who was juſt raiſed to the conſulate a third time, had been b
cut off with all his army by the *Boii* in a vaſt foreſt, called by the *Gauls* the foreſt of
Litana, which he had been obliged to croſs. Hereupon the conſul *Sempronius*, have-
ing aſſembled the ſenate, endeavoured to raiſe their dejected ſpirits, adviſing them
among other things to withdraw all their forces out of *Gaul* and other countries, and
turn them againſt *Hannibal*, the only ſource of all their evils. If we can once drive
Hannibal out of *Italy*, ſaid he, the rebellious nations will be ſoon reduced again. This
advice was followed, and all the troops of the republic ordered into the provinces
near *Hannibal*. The army, which the dictator *Junius* had commanded, was given to
the conſul *Sempronius*. *Marcellus*'s army, which conſiſted of thoſe who had eſcaped
the general ſlaughter at *Cannæ*, was commanded to go into *Sicily*, and continue there c
as long as the war ſhould laſt in *Italy*. In exchange for them, the two legions, which
had hitherto ſerved in *Sicily*, were ordered to *Italy* to ſerve there under the conſul,
whom the centuries were ſoon to appoint in the room of *Poſthumius*, who had been
killed by the *Boii*. *Terentius Varro*, notwithſtanding his late miſconduct, was intruſted
with the command of an army in *Apulia*, with the character of proconſul. When the
time came for the electing of a new conſul, the tribes unanimouſly choſe *Marcellus*, not-
withſtanding the intrigues of *Sempronius*, who, fearing he might be eclipſed by the ex-
traordinary merit of that great man, had kept him out of the way. However, a ſtorm,
attended with dreadful claps of thunder, happening to riſe during the aſſembly, it is
incredible with what greedineſs the augurs took hold of this accident, to declare that d
the election of *Marcellus* was not agreeable to the gods. *Marcellus* was a plebeian.
as was alſo his collegue *Sempronius*; and the patricians, unwilling to ſee two plebeian
conſuls at the ſame time, influenced the augurs to pronounce the election of *Marcellus*
diſagreeable to the gods. But the people would not have acquieſced to the decla-
ration of the augurs, had not *Marcellus* ſhewed himſelf on this occaſion as zealous
a republican, as he was a great commander; for he refuſed to accept the faſces, though
offered him by the whole body of the people, ſaying, that he had rather lead a pri-
vate life, than enjoy the greateſt honours in the republic, contrary to the will of the
gods and the inclination of any of his fellow-citizens. Then the famous *Fabius* e
Maximus was choſen in his ſtead, and raiſed a third time to the conſulate [a].

A Roman *army cut in pieces by the* Boii.

Marcellus *is elected conſul; but abdicates.*

WHILE the republic was buſy in making theſe elections and preparations for pur-
ſuing the war, *Hannibal* made himſelf maſter of *Conſentia* on the *Crathis*, of *Croton*,
Locri, and ſeveral other cities in *Great Greece*. The *Romans* therefore took the field.
Fabius put himſelf at the head of thoſe troops which the late dictator had commanded.
Sempronius took upon him the command of the new levies made at *Rome*, conſiſting
moſtly of ſlaves, to whom were added twenty-five thouſand auxiliaries. The prætor
Lævinus was ordered to cover *Apulia* with two legions. *Marcellus* was appointed to
command the troops with which he had defended *Nola*; but ſuch among them as had
eſcaped from the battle at *Cannæ* were ſent over to *Sicily*, their room being ſupplied f
by two legions from that iſland. Laſtly, *Terentius Varro* led an army into *Picenum*,
to defend that country and raiſe recruits there [b].

As *Campania* was now the ſeat of the war, the *Campanians*, who had eſpouſed the
cauſe of *Hannibal*, raiſed an army of about fourteen thouſand men of their own nation,
and put one *Marius Alfius* at the head of it. His firſt attempt was upon the city of
Cumæ, which adhered to the *Romans*. The *Cuman* ſenators, and thoſe of the other
cities of *Campania*, uſed annually to meet at a place called *Hamæ*, not far from *Cumæ*,
to perform a ſolemn ſacrifice, and deliberate upon the general affairs of the province.
Alfius formed a ſcheme of ſurpriſing on this occaſion the ſenators of *Cumæ*; but they,
ſuſpecting

[a] LIV. ibid. PLUT. in Marcell. [b] LIV. & PLUT. ibid.

a ſuſpecting his deſign, gave notice of it to the conſul *Sempronius*, who, as he lay within ſix miles of them, fell on the *Campanian* army in the night, killed two thouſand of them, among whom was their leader *Alfius*, and put the reſt to flight. However, as *Hannibal* was not far off, *Sempronius*, unwilling to expoſe his unexperienced troops to the danger of a battle, immediately retired, and ſhut himſelf up in *Cumæ*, which *Hannibal* inveſted; but was obliged to raiſe the ſiege after he had loſt thirteen hundred men in that unſucceſsful attempt. At the ſame time, another *Sempronius*, ſurnamed *Longus*, who commanded a body of troops in *Lucania*, gained a conſiderable victory over *Hanno*, and *Lævinus* retook three cities in the country of the *Hirpini*, which had revolted to *Hannibal*. During theſe tranſactions, embaſſadors from *Philip* king of *Ma-*
b *cedon* to *Hannibal* being intercepted and ſent to *Rome*, the ſenate found, that a treaty of alliance offenſive and defenſive was actually concluded between the *Macedonian* and *Carthaginian*. In order therefore to keep the former out of *Italy*, *Lævinus* was ordered to imbarque at *Tarentum*, ſail for *Macedon*, and find king *Philip* employment at home. And now *Fabius*, who had hitherto continued quiet in his camp at *Cale*, being well appriſed that his rival's remiſſneſs was not feigned, as he had imagined, but real, boldly paſſed the *Vulturnus*, and croſſing a large plain near mount *Tifata*, on which *Hannibal* was incamped, joined his collegue *Sempronius* at *Cumæ*. On the other hand, *Marcellus*, who was incamped at *Nola*, made daily incurſions into the countries of the *Hirpini* and *Samnites*, who had revolted to *Hannibal*, committing every-where dreadful
c devaſtations. The *Samnites*, ſurpriſed to find *Hannibal* ſo unactive and ſo little zealous in their defence, ſent deputies to him, and by their repeated complaints prevailed upon him at laſt to come to their aſſiſtance. Upon his approach *Marcellus* retired behind the walls of *Nola*, which *Hannibal* immediately inveſted with his whole army. After he had for ſome days battered the walls with incredible fury, *Marcellus*, thinking it leſs dangerous to engage the enemy in the open field, than in the narrow ſtreets of *Nola*, the walls being already half-ruined, reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a general action. Accordingly, he marched out with his men in good order, and after having obliged the *Carthaginians*, who were carrying on the ſiege, to retire to their camp, which was about a mile from the city, he drew up his ſmall army in the plain
d between the *Carthaginian* camp and the city. *Hannibal* could not perſuade himſelf, that *Marcellus*, whoſe forces were ſo much inferior in number to his own, really deſigned to hazard a battle; however, after having encouraged his men with a ſhort harangue, in which he treated the *Romans* with the utmoſt contempt, he advanced boldly, not doubting but the enemy would retire, at the ſight of his army in battalia, behind the walls of the city. He was therefore greatly ſurpriſed, when he ſaw the *Romans* not only ſtand their ground, but at the very firſt onſet put his advance guard into diſorder. *Marcellus* had armed his infantry with long pikes, uſed only at ſea, and chiefly in boarding of ſhips, and taught them how to manage this new kind of weapon, in order to keep the enemy at a diſtance; ſo that the *Carthaginians*, who
e carried only ſhort javelins, finding it impoſſible to hurt the *Romans*, while they themſelves were run through with their long pikes, began to retire, and, in ſpite of all *Hannibal* could do, to ſave themſelves by flight to their camp. *Marcellus* purſued them cloſe, and before they got to the camp killed five thouſand of them, and took ſix hundred priſoners, nineteen ſtandards, and two elephants, which with ſome others had been lately ſent from *Carthage*. *Marcellus* loſt about a thouſand men, who were trod down by the *Numidian* horſe, headed by *Hannibal* in perſon. The *Romans*, encouraged by this advantage, aſked leave of their general to attack *Hannibal*'s camp; but the wiſe *Marcellus*, without hearkening to their requeſt, ſounded a retreat and returned to *Nola*, which he entered amidſt the acclamations of the citizens. After this defeat,
f *Hannibal* had the further mortification to be abandoned by twelve hundred and ſeventy-two of his beſt horſe, partly *Spaniards* and partly *Numidians*, who had croſſed the *Alps* with him. Some diſcontent was, without all doubt, the occaſion of their deſertion; but they gave out, that the eſteem they had conceived for the *Romans* induced them to it. Be that as it will, they continued ever after faithful to the republic, and did her important ſervices; for which they were, in their old age, rewarded with lands in their own countries, when the *Romans* had conquered *Africa* and *Spain*. *Hannibal* was ſo touched with the reproach, which this deſertion of his old companions in victory threw upon him, that he left *Campania*, and, retiring into *Apulia*, incamped near *Arpi*. He was no ſooner gone, than *Fabius*, drawing near to *Capua*, laid waſte the whole country about it, and then incamped at *Sueſſula* within reach of *Naples*
g and

The conſul Sempronius *routs the* Campanians.

Marcellus *defeats* Hannibal *in a pitched battle.*

A body of Hannibal's *beſt horſe deſert to the* Romans.

and *Nola*, in order to ſuccour them in caſe they were attacked. In the mean time, a winter approaching, *Fabius*, either out of Jealouſy, or to leſſen the expences of the republic, ordered *Marcellus* to diſband his army, and to leave in *Nola* only a ſufficient gariſon to defend it. *Marcellus* obeyed, but did not go to *Rome* with his diſbanded troops, chuſing rather to ſtay at *Nola*, than to be importuned at *Rome* by his friends, who were for his ſoliciting the conſulate in the next election. As he had contributed more to the glory of the republic and the diſcredit of *Hannibal*, than all the generals of *Rome*, and even *Fabius* himſelf, he was reſolved to owe his promotion wholly to his merit and ſervices; and therefore, diſdaining to offer himſelf as a candidate in the comitia, or to court the favour of the people, he ſpent the winter in tranquillity at *Nola* [c]. b

Sardinia *once more reduced.*

During theſe tranſactions in *Italy*, the prætor *Manlius Torquatus* defeated the *Sardinians*, who had revolted, though aſſiſted by an army ſent from *Carthage*, under the command of *Aſdrubal*, ſurnamed *The Bald*, killed twelve thouſand of the enemy upon the ſpot, took *Aſdrubal* himſelf with *Hanno* and *Mago* his chief officers priſoners, and reduced the whole iſland. The two *Scipios* were equally ſucceſsful in their wars in *Spain*, where with an army only of ſixteen thouſand men they gained a complete victory over *Aſdrubal*, whoſe forces amounted to the number of ſixty thouſand. But the accounts which the ſenate received from *Sicily* were not ſo ſatisfactory. Good king *Hiero*, who had continued ſo faithful to the republic for fifty years together, had lately ended his days there, and had been ſucceeded by his grandſon *Hieronymus*, who, having inſulted the *Roman* embaſſadors, made a treaty of alliance with the *Carthaginians*, and was entirely governed by their counſels. This gave no ſmall uneaſineſs to the ſenate, who thereupon ordered new levies to be raiſed and ſent into *Sicily*. But, in the mean time, the conſular year being near expired, *Fabius* returned to *Rome* to preſide at the election of the new conſuls. On the day appointed the tribes aſſembled, and the majority of the firſt tribe that voted nominated to the conſulſhip *T. Otacilius* and *M. Æmilius Regillus*, both men of merit, but yet not of ſuch abilities as the preſent neceſſities required. *Fabius* therefore, interrupting the election for a ſhort time, exhorted the tribes to chuſe ſuch conſuls as they would name, if they were to appoint two generals to give *Hannibal* battle. As to thoſe they had already named, he told them, that he could not be ſo partial to them, as to think them capable of making head againſt the crafty and experienced *African*. He then ordered the firſt tribe to return to their voting-place and give their ſuffrages anew. *Otacilius*, who was nearly related to *Fabius*, made at firſt ſome oppoſition to this; but the lictors, ſurrounding him with their axes, ſoon forced him to be ſilent. Then the tribes unanimouſly choſe *Fabius* himſelf and *Claudius Marcellus*, though abſent. *Rome* had never ſeen two greater men together at the head of affairs. *Fabius* had indeed by an irregular proceeding contributed to his own continuance in the conſular dignity, contrary to law and cuſtom; but yet no one accuſed him of ambition or tyranny, or imagined him actuated by any other motive than that of zeal for his country. The firſt thing the new conſuls did was, to raiſe ſix legions to be added to the twelve already on foot. As the *Sicilian* expedition ſeemed to require moſt diſpatch, *Otacilius* was ordered to imbarque with all expedition for that iſland; and, in order to equip a fleet for that ſervice, each head of a family, who by the laſt cenſor's regiſter was found worth from fifty thouſand to a hundred thouſand aſſes, was obliged to maintain a rower or ſailor at his own expence for ſix months; and the more wealthy, three, five, ſeven, in proportion to their riches. The ſenators obliged themſelves to maintain eight men, each for one year; ſo that a fleet was ſoon manned and equipped, without being any ways chargeable to the republic [d].

Aſdrubal *defeated by the* Scipios *in* Spain.

Fabius Maximus *and* Marcellus *elected conſuls.*

c d e

And now the land forces began to be in motion, when the *Capuans*, terrified at the extraordinary number of the forces of the republic commanded by ſo many able generals, recalled *Hannibal*, who, quitting *Apulia* and returning to his camp on mount *Tifata*, ordered *Hanno*, at the head of ſeventeen thouſand foot and twelve hundred horſe, to ſeize *Beneventum*. But *Sempronius*, by the direction of *Fabius*, having got to that city before the *Carthaginian*, made himſelf maſter of it, and then marched to meet *Hanno*, in order to give him battle. *Sempronius*'s army conſiſted moſtly of *Volones*, and the general, in order to engage them to exert themſelves, promiſed every man his liberty, who ſhould bring off the head of an enemy, the ſenate having impowered f

[c] Liv. ibid. c. 46. Zonar. l. ix. c. 3. [d] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 11. Val. Max. l. v. c. 6.

a powered him to ſet at liberty ſuch of his ſlaves as he pleaſed. No ſoldiers ever ſhewed a greater eagerneſs to engage an enemy, than the volones did after *Sempronius* had made them this promiſe. They ranged themſelves round the prætorium by break of day, ſoliciting the general to lead them againſt the enemy, that they might deliver themſelves from ſlavery, either by death or victory. *Sempronius* did not ſuffer their ardor to cool, but immediately led them into a neighbouring plain, through which *Hanno* was to paſs, as *Sempronius* had been informed, on his march to *Beneventum*, not knowing that the *Romans* were already maſters of that city. Accordingly, the *Roman* army was ſcarce drawn up, when *Hanno* appeared at the head of ſeventeen thouſand foot, moſtly *Brutians* and *Lucanians*, and twelve hundred
b *Numidian* horſe. The *Carthaginian* advanced in good order into the plain, not doubting, but he ſhould ſoon put to the rout a handful of ſlaves, accuſtomed to tremble, as he told his ſoldiers, at the voice of their maſters. In the mean time, the trumpets ſounded, and the attack began with incredible fury on both ſides. The volones fought with great bravery; but the promiſe *Sempronius* made them had like to have occaſioned an intire defeat of his army. He had promiſed liberty to ſuch only as carried off the head of an enemy; as ſoon therefore as any of them had diſpatched his antagoniſt, he made it his whole buſineſs to cut off his head, and loſt a great deal of time in that butchery. Beſides, the ardor of thoſe who had performed the condition, on which they were to obtain their liberty, immediately abated; ſo that *Sem-*
c *pronius* was forced to publiſh a new declaration through all the ranks of his army, *That none ſhould obtain their liberty, unleſs the* Carthaginians *were routed.* Upon this the brave ſlaves renewed the fight with freſh vigor, and gained ſo complete a victory, that ſcarce two thouſand of the enemy eſcaped. Sixteen thouſand of them were killed either on the field of battle, or in the camp, which the volones forced after they had driven them out of the plain. However, four thouſand of *Sempronius*'s ſlaves did not behave ſo well as the reſt, being afraid to purſue the enemy to their camp. Theſe, aſhamed of their cowardice, retired after the battle to a high mountain, for fear of becoming the jeſt of their companions. But *Sempronius* ſent a tribune to invite them back; and then, to perform his promiſe, declared them all free without ex-
d ception. However, to make ſome diſtinction between the brave and the cowards, he obliged the latter to take their meals ſtanding, all the time they were in the ſervice[c].

Sempronius *with an army of volones defeats* Hanno.

In the mean time, *Hannibal*, leaving his camp on mount *Tifata*, took his rout to *Nola*, being invited thither by the populace, who were ſtill in his intereſt, in oppoſition to the ſenate. But *Marcellus*, receiving timely notice of his march, followed him, and coming up with him near that city, killed two thouſand of his men, with the loſs only of four hundred. The *Romans* would in all likelihood have given him a total overthrow, had *Claudius Nero*, whom the conſul had detached with a body of horſe, to take a large compaſs and fall upon the *Carthaginians* in the rear during the action, come up in time. *Marcellus* offered *Hannibal* battle the next day, but
e he declined it, and decamped in the night, laying aſide all thoughts of taking *Nola*, which had ſo often proved fatal to his glory. From *Nola* he led his army to *Tarentum*, where ſome *Tarentine* priſoners, whom he had formerly ſent home without ranſom, had engaged many young men in his intereſt. But the proprætor *Lævinus*, who guarded that coaſt, took ſuch effectual means to prevent the deſigns of the factious, that the *Carthaginian*, being again diſappointed, abandoned the enterprize, and took the road to *Salapia*, a city in *Apulia*, with a deſign to ſpend the winter there. As the ſeaſon was not yet far advanced, *Fabius* undertook the ſiege of *Caſilinum*, which was gariſoned by two thouſand *Campanians* and ſeven hundred *Carthaginians*, under the command of a *Capuan* of diſtinction, named *Statius Metius*. The conſul had no ſooner
f inveſted the place, than *Magius*, prætor of *Capua*, which was but two miles from *Caſilinum*, formed a ſtrong body of troops, and armed even the ſlaves, with a deſign to attack the *Romans* in their trenches. *Fabius*, receiving intelligence of theſe preparations, wrote to his collegue *Marcellus*, either to come in perſon, or to ſend the prætor *Sempronius*, with two legions, to cover the ſiege. Hereupon *Marcellus*, leaveing only two thouſand men in *Nola*, for *Hannibal* was then in winter-quarters in *Apulia*, marched with the reſt of his army to join *Fabius*. And now the two greateſt generals, *Rome* had, acted together for the firſt time, the one carrying on the ſiege, and the other covering it with an army, ready to engage *Hannibal* or the *Capuans*, in caſe they

Marcellus *gains a conſiderable advantage over* Hannibal *near* Nola.

[c] Liv. ibid.

they ſhould attempt to relieve the place. The gariſon made ſo vigorous a defence, a
that *Fabius*, diſcouraged by the daily ſlaughter of his men, would have raiſed the
ſiege, had not *Marcellus* preſſed him to purſue it; which he did with ſuch vigor,
that the *Campanians*, having loſt all hopes of being relieved, either by *Hannibal* or
their prætor *Magius*, ſent deputies to *Fabius*, aſking leave to march out of the place
and return to *Capua*. The conſul conſented to what they aſked, knowing it would
Caſilinum *retaken by the* Romans. not be long ere the city ſurrendered, when defended only by a ſmall number of *Car-*
thaginians. But *Marcellus*, watching the time, when the *Campanians* were to march
out of the city, ſeized the gate before fifty of them were out, and entering the place,
put all to the ſword, without diſtinction, who oppoſed him. Thoſe who threw down
their arms, whether *Capuans* or *Carthaginians*, were made priſoners of war, and b
ſent to *Rome*, *Marcellus* pretending that he was not obliged to ſtand to the agree-
ment made by his collegue. *Fabius* being now maſter of *Caſilinum*, laid waſte great
part of *Campania*, killed or took priſoners near twenty-five thouſand men, made
incurſions into *Samnium*, where he ſurpriſed three hundred and ſeventy *Roman* de-
ſerters, and ſent them to *Rome*, where they were firſt beaten with rods, and then
thrown down the *Tarpeian* rock. *Fabius* had alſo the ſatisfaction to hear that his ſon
Accua *in* Apulia *taken by young* Fabius. had gained great glory in *Apulia*, where he took the city of *Accua*, almoſt in ſight
of the *Carthaginian* army. As for *Marcellus*, he returned to *Nola*, where he was
ſeized with a diſtemper, which for ſome time ſuſpended his martial ardor [f].

In the mean time, *Philip* king of *Macedon*, who, as we have obſerved above, had c
concluded an offenſive and defenſive alliance with *Hannibal*, began to move and draw
towards *Italy*. He firſt laid ſiege to *Apollonia*, a city at the head of the *Adriatic* ſea;
but not ſucceeding in that deſign, he turned his arms againſt *Oricum*; the inhabitants
of which city immediately ſent notice of their danger to the prætor *Lævinus*, who,
in two days after the news, arrived at *Oricum*; and finding the city already taken,
eaſily recovered it, and then formed a deſign of ſurpriſing in the night the king of
Macedon in his camp; and executed it with ſuch ſucceſs, that *Philip* himſelf had fallen
into the prætor's hands, had not a party of *Macedonians*, more reſolute than the reſt,
Lævinus *ſurpriſes the camp of the king of* Macedon. carried him off half naked to his ſhips. *Lævinus* killed about three thouſand *Mace-*
donians, and took near twice that number of priſoners. The *Macedonian* fleet, which d
lay in the port of *Oricum*, not being able to get out to ſea, by reaſon the *Roman* fleet
barred up the mouth of the harbour, *Philip* was obliged to ſet fire to his ſhips, and
return by land to his own territories, with the miſerable remains of his ſhattered
army [g]. But *Hannibal* ſoon made himſelf amends for this diſappointment on the ſide
of *Macedon*, by the troubles he found means to raiſe in *Sicily*; where, after ſeveral
plots, counter-plots, and aſſaſſinations, *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, the two agents,
whom *Hannibal* had ſent to make a treaty with king *Hieronymus*, were by the *Syra-*
cuſans choſen into the college of prætors; ſo that *Syracuſe* being now wholly devoted
Marcellus *ſent into* Italy. to the *Carthaginian* intereſt, it was thought neceſſary to ſend *Marcellus* with his army
from *Nola* to the aſſiſtance of *Claudius* and *Lentulus*, the two *Roman* prætors in *Sicily*. e
But as to the particulars of this glorious expedition, we refer our readers to our hiſtory
of *Sicily*, where we have given a diſtinct account of all the tranſactions in that iſland,
both civil and military, from the death of king *Hiero* to the intire reduction of the
city and kingdom of *Syracuſe* by the brave *Marcellus* [h].

In *Spain*, the two *Scipios* gained great advantages over the *Carthaginians*, who in
two battles loſt above twenty thouſand men. The fruit of theſe ſucceſſes was the
retaking of *Saguntum*, the city which had given riſe to the war. The old inhabi-
tants, of whom few were now alive, were reinſtated in their poſſeſſions, and the
Turdetani, who had formerly joined *Hannibal* againſt that faithful city, being obliged f
to ſurrender at diſcretion, were made ſlaves and ſold by auction [i].

The conſulſhip of *Fabius Maximus* and *Marcellus* being now expired, the conſcript
fathers, to keep theſe two great men at the head of the armies without infringing the
laws, continued *Marcellus* in *Sicily* with the title of proconſul, and made him governor
of all thoſe territories, which had formerly belonged to king *Hiero*. As for *Fabius*,
that he might ſtill have the conduct of thoſe forces, which were to act againſt *Hannibal*,
the centuries raiſed his ſon *Q. Fabius* to the conſulate, knowing that the father, who
offered to ſerve under him, would have the chief direction of the campaign. With
young *Fabius* was joined *Sempronius Gracchus*, who with an army of volones had
defeated

[f] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 19. Plut. in Fab. [g] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 40. [h] Vide Vol. III. p. 100, & ſeq. [i] Idem ibid. c. 41.

a defeated *Hanno* near *Beneventum*. The other generals were continued in their reſpective commands; the two *Scipios* remained in *Spain*; *Terentius Varro* in *Picenum*; *Mucius Scævola* in *Sardinia*; *Otacilius* commanded the fleet in *Sicily*, and *Valerius Lævinus* a ſquadron at *Brunduſium*, to watch the motions of the king of *Macedon*; the prætor *Fulvius* had the command of two legions near *Sueſſula*, and *Sempronius Tuditanus* was ſent with a body of troops into *Ciſalpine Gaul*. After the conſuls had continued at *Rome* as long as was neceſſary to calm the fears of the people, in relation to ſome odd events which ſuperſtition made formidable, young *Fabius* went to take upon him the command of the army, which was incamped near *Sueſſula*; and *Sempronius* at the ſame time ſet out for *Lucania*, where it had fallen to his lot to act. *Fabius*,

Arpi *taken by the* Romans.

b purſuant to his father's directions, opened the campaign with the ſiege of *Arpi*, in which was a gariſon of five thouſand *Carthaginians*. As the city was weak on one ſide, but deemed impregnable on the other, the troops in the town, believing it would be undoubtedly attacked on the weaker ſide, all repaired thither; which gave the *Fabii* an opportunity of ſurpriſing the place in the night. After this the *Fabii* made it their whole buſineſs to follow *Hannibal*, who did not ſo much as attempt any conſiderable enterpriſe, during this campaign, but contented himſelf with ſtanding on the defenſive. The prætor *Fulvius* near *Sueſſula* watched the motions of the *Capuans*, and was much ſurpriſed to ſee an hundred and twelve brave men of their nobility arrive at his camp, and, declaring an abhorrence of the revolt of their countrymen, demand

c to be received again into the friendſhip of the *Romans*. This change in the minds of the nobility plainly ſhewed how much *Hannibal* had loſt his credit. The prætor *Sempronius Tuditanus* beſieged and took by ſtorm the city of *Aternum*, in the country of the *Marrucini*; and, with the booty he found there and the ranſom of ſeven thouſand priſoners, much inriched the treaſury of the republic. The conſul *Sempronius* gained conſiderable advantages in *Lucania*, and obliged part of *Brutium* to return to its former obedience. In *Spain*, the two *Scipios* not only made great progreſs, but extended their views even to *Africa*, where they engaged *Syphax* king of *Maſæſylia*, the weſtern part of *Numidia*, to take arms againſt *Carthage*. But, on the other hand, the *Carthaginians*, alarmed at the motions of *Syphax*, prevailed on *Gala* king of *Maſſylia*, the

And Aternum.

Syphax *defeated by* Maſiniſſa.

d eaſtern part of *Numidia*, to join them. *Gala* himſelf was no warrior, but had a ſon in the flower of his age, whoſe inclinations were wholly for war. The young prince's name was *Maſiniſſa*; he was then only ſeventeen years old; but his genius and conduct were ſuch as made the *Maſſylians* conclude, that he would both inrich and inlarge his father's dominions. *Gala* put him at the head of his troops, and the young warrior, joining the *Carthaginians*, fell ſo vigorouſly and ſo ſeaſonably on the *Maſæſylians*, that they were intirely routed, and loſt thirty thouſand men in the action. The vanquiſhed king retired into *Mauritania*, made new levies, and prepared to paſs the ſtreights, and join the *Scipios* in *Spain*. But the great *Maſiniſſa* gave him a ſecond overthrow, which put him out of a condition of trying the fortune of arms again for

e a long time [k].

And now the time for the new elections drawing near, as both conſuls were engaged abroad, *Sempronius*, the elder of them, nominated *C. Claudius Centho* dictator to hold the comitia, in which *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* and *Appius Claudius Pulcher* were choſen conſuls for the new year. At the ſame time *P. Cornelius Scipio* and his brother *Lucius*, the ſons of the proconſul in *Spain*, were elected curule ædiles, though the elder was but twenty years of age, and the laws required that every candidate for that office ſhould be thirty. The perſonal merit of young *Cornelius Scipio*, and that of his father and uncle, made the people diſpenſe with their old cuſtoms [l]. While the new conſuls were buſy at *Rome* in raiſing two legions to be added to the twenty-

Tarentum *betrayed to* Hannibal.

f one already on foot, and in proſecuting ſome publicans guilty of notorious frauds, *Hannibal* having made himſelf maſter of *Tarentum* by the treachery of the inhabitants, laid ſiege to the citadel, whither *Livius*, the commander of the *Roman* gariſon in the city, had retired. Hereupon the conſuls, leaving *Rome*, joined their forces; and, in order to divert the *Carthaginian* from purſuing the ſiege he had undertaken, entered *Campania*, laid waſte the country round *Capua*, and threatened that city with a ſiege. The *Capuans* immediately diſpatched deputies to *Hannibal*, intreating him to haſten to their aſſiſtance, and acquainting him, that, by the devaſtation of their fields, they began already to feel the miſeries of a ſiege. The *Carthaginian*, unwilling

[k] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 49. [l] Liv. l. xxv. c. 2. Polyb. l. x. c. 5.

ling to raiſe the ſiege of the citadel, which began to be ſtreightened for want of provi- a
ſions, ordered *Hanno* with an army from *Brutium* to the relief of his favourite city. *Hanno*, purſuant to his orders, left *Brutium*; and, having collected an immenſe quantity of corn, pitched his camp near *Beneventum*, ordering the *Capuans* to ſend their waggons to fetch it from thence. In the mean time, the conſuls being informed by the people of *Beneventum* of all that paſſed, *Fulvius* marched thither with all expedition, and entering the town in the night unknown to *Hanno*, appeared the next morning by break of day before the enemy's camp. Two thouſand waggons were arrived from *Capua*, and the peaſants, mixing with the ſoldiers, cauſed great confuſion. However, as the camp was ſituated upon an aſcent, and therefore very difficult to be taken by aſſault, the conſul was for quitting the enterprize, or at leaſt ſuſpending it till the b
arrival of his collegue. But the legionaries ſignalized their bravery, on this occaſion, beyond the expectation of their general. One *Vibius*, a centurion of the *Latin* troops, and after his example *Pedanius*, a centurion of the third *Roman* legion, threw each a ſtandard over the enemy's ramparts, crying out, Let us be the curſe of all men, if we do not recover theſe enſigns out of the enemy's hands. Hereupon the ſoldiers, encouraging each other, croſſed the ditch, and, climbing up the rampart in ſpite of all oppoſition, forced the *Carthaginian* camp, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of their troops. Above ſix thouſand of them were killed, and about ſeven thouſand made priſoners. The booty was exceeding great; corn, forage, waggons, horſes, *Hanno*'s baggage, the utenſils of the *Carthaginians*, and whatever they had brought from the c
neighbouring countries, fell a prey to the *Roman* ſoldiers. As for *Hanno*, he made his eſcape, attended only by a ſmall body of horſe, and through by-roads returned into *Brutium*[m].

Hanno defeated, and his camp taken by the Romans.

The taking of the *Carthaginian* camp and the abſence of *Hanno* threw the *Capuans* into the utmoſt conſternation. Being more apprehenſive of a ſiege than ever, they ſent a new deputation to *Hannibal*, preſſing him to come to their aſſiſtance. But he was ſo intent upon reducing the citadel of *Tarentum*, that he could not be prevailed upon to move from thence. Hereupon the conſuls drew near to *Capua*, with a deſign to beſiege it in form. As they did not doubt, but *Hannibal* would haſten to the relief of his faithful *Capuans*, they ordered *Sempronius Gracchus* to leave *Lucania*, and encamp d
with his army of volones in the neighbourhood of *Capua*. *Sempronius* had already named his ſucceſſor to command in that province, and was preparing for his march, when one *Fulvius*, a *Lucanian*, who had been hitherto very zealous for the intereſt of *Rome*, changed his inclination on a ſudden, and in order to recommend himſelf to the *Carthaginians* by ſome ſignal ſervice, reſolved to betray the proconſul to them. The traitor, abuſing the confidence *Sempronius* placed in him, told him, that before he left *Lucania*, he would fain procure him the glory of uniting all the hearts of his countrymen in the intereſts of *Rome*, and pretended, that the heads of the *Carthaginian* faction deſired a private conference. The brave *Roman*, not ſuſpecting any deceit, went to the place appointed, attended only with his lictors and a ſmall body of horſe. e
But he no ſooner arrived, than he was ſurrounded by a great body of horſe and foot under the command of *Mago*, who had concealed himſelf behind a neighbouring hill. The proconſul, finding it impoſſible to make his eſcape, cried out to his ſmall troop, We are betrayed and muſt die. Let us therefore ſignalize the laſt of our days with a behaviour worthy of *Romans*. Let us turn our arms chiefly againſt the traitor *Fulvius*, and ſend him to the infernal regions before us. Having thus ſpoke, he diſmounted, and, wrapping his left arm in his *paludamentum*, or military cloak, for want of a buckler, flew ſword in hand to the place where he ſaw *Fulvius*, in hopes of killing the traitor before he fell himſelf. But he periſhed in the attempt, the *Carthaginians* being obliged by the great ſlaughter he made in the heart of their battali- f
ons to diſpatch him, though they had been ordered by *Mago* to take him alive. Thus periſhed one of the beſt generals of the republic, at a time when ſhe abounded with great men[n]. The body of this great man was carried to *Hannibal*'s camp, who could not help ſhewing marks of eſteem for ſo great a commander. He erected a funeral pile for him at the gate of his camp, and ordered his cavalry to make their evolutions round it in honour of the deceaſed. Upon his death, the volones, thinking themſelves diſcharged from their military oath, diſbanded, ſo that the conſul's project of beſieging *Capua* was a little diſconcerted.

The proconſul Sempronius *betrayed and killed.*

To

[m] Liv. l. xxv. c. 13, 14. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 2. [n] Idem ibid. c. 16.

a To this misfortune was added another on the ſide of *Spain*, which threw the republic into the utmoſt conſternation. News was brought to *Rome*, that both the *Scipios* were killed. The circumſtances of their death are thus related: The *Carthaginians* had three armies in *Spain* commanded by three officers of reputation, viz. *Aſdrubal*, *Hannibal*'s brother, *Mago*, and another *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Giſco*. The two latter had united their forces and encamped together; the former commanded an army apart, but without removing far from his collegues. The two *Roman* generals likewiſe ſeparated and divided their troops. *Publius*, who was proconſul and the eldeſt, took two-thirds of the *Roman* ſoldiers, and, leaving his brother the reſt with thirty thouſand *Celtiberian* auxiliaries, marched towards the poſt, which

The two Scipios *defeated and killed in* Spain.

b *Mago* and his collegue poſſeſſed, about five days journey from the *Roman* camp. During his abſence, the *Celtiberians*, being bribed by *Aſdrubal* with large ſums, deſerted their general, and, marching away, left him in a melancholy ſituation. His brother *Publius* was already a great way off, and he was no-ways in a condition, having but a handful of *Romans* with him, either to keep thirty thouſand *Celtiberians* in awe, or without them to defend his camp againſt the numerous forces of *Aſdrubal*. His only refuge therefore was to retire, and keep at a diſtance from the enemy, which he did accordingly, paſſing the *Iberus*, and keeping that river between him and *Aſdrubal*'s army. In the mean time, his brother *Publius*, arriving after five days march at the poſt, which *Mago* and *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Giſco*, poſſeſſed, was

c informed, that *Maſiniſſa*, after having conquered *Syphax* in *Africa*, had paſſed the ſtreights, and joined the *Carthaginians* with his victorious army. This gave no ſmall uneaſineſs to the proconſul, who expected to engage only the *Carthaginians*, under the command of *Mago* and the ſon of *Giſco*. Notice was brought him at the ſame time, that a *Spaniſh* prince, named *Indibilis*, was in full march from the country of the *Lacetani*, where he reigned, to join the *Carthaginians* with ſeven thouſand five hundred men. Upon this intelligence, he decamped in the night, with a deſign to obſtruct the march of *Indibilis*, and fight him before he reached the enemy's camp. Accordingly, the next morning he met him, and had already ſurrounded him on all ſides, when all on a ſudden *Maſiniſſa*, who had narrowly watched his motions,

d appeared at the head of a numerous body of *Numidian* horſe, and unexpectedly attacked the *Roman* army in flank. The fight was then renewed with great fury on both ſides. *Indibilis* returned with his *Lacetani* to the charge; and at the ſame time *Mago* and the ſon of *Giſco* arriving, contrary to the proconſul's expectation, attacked his army in the rear. The brave *Scipio*, thus ſurrounded by three armies, flew from manipulus to manipulus, fighting as a common ſoldier in one place, and giving orders as a general in another. Thus, by his activity and undaunted courage, he kept up the ſpirits of his legionaries, who withſtood with an unparalleled bravery the numerous forces of the enemy, till their gallant commander was run through with a lance and left dead on the ſpot. Hereupon the *Numidian* horſe, who ſaw

e him fall, gave a great ſhout, crying out, *The* Roman *general is dead.* The death of ſo brave a commander damped the courage of the *Romans*, who thought of nothing now but retiring in good order. They cut their way, ſword in hand, through the enemy's infantry; but *Maſiniſſa*, falling upon them with his *Numidian* cavalry, put them in diſorder, and made ſuch a dreadful havock of them, that not one of the *Romans* would have eſcaped, had not night, which very ſeaſonably overtook them, obliged the *Numidian* to give over the purſuit.

In the mean time, *Cneius*, knowing nothing either of the death of his brother or the defeat of his legions, kept advancing on the banks of the *Iberus* towards the provinces of *Spain*, which were well affected to the *Romans*; when all on a ſudden he ſaw

f a very numerous army advancing towards him, and was ſoon after informed, that his brother was killed, his army intirely defeated, and his troops either diſperſed or cut in pieces. At this news he ſunk into a deep melancholy, and not being able to gain any better retreat, he poſted himſelf on the top of an eminence, where the nature of the ground, which was very rocky, would not ſuffer him to make any fortifications, but with the baggage of the army. In this poſt the ſmall body he commanded was attacked by all the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spain*, under the conduct of the two *Aſdrubals*, of *Mago*, *Maſiniſſa*, and their ally *Indibilis*, who, after the defeat of *Publius*, had united their forces, in order to fall upon *Cneius*, and put an end to the war in *Spain* at one blow. The *Romans*, though ſurrounded on all ſides by numerous armies, forced their

g way through the enemies battalions, without ſo much as offering to ſurrender; and, gaining

gaining the neighbouring mountains, eſcaped through by-ways to the camp of the deceaſed proconſul, which they found guarded by a ſmall number of troops, under the command of *T. Fonteius*, one of *Publius*'s lieutenants. As for the brave *Cneius*, he loſt his life with a conſiderable number of legionaries in the action. Some writers tell us, that he retired, with ſome brave men, to a neighbouring tower, in which, the enemy having ſet fire to it, he was either ſtifled with the ſmoak, or burnt. Thus all the hopes of the *Romans* in *Spain* ſeemed extinguiſhed by the death of the two *Scipios*, who had been the chief ſupport of the republic, and had done her greater ſervices in thoſe countries, than *Hannibal* had done her hurt in *Italy*. The conſcript fathers now looked upon the affairs of *Rome* as quite ruined in *Spain*. But a young *Roman* knight, named *C. Marcius*, who had been brought up under *Cneius*, and had a wonderful genius for war, ſoon repaired the misfortunes which had made the wiſeſt men in the ſenate deſpond. *Marcius*, not diſcouraged by the loſs of two battles, put himſelf in motion, and being unanimouſly choſen general by the troops, he gathered together the fugitives, and repulſed *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Giſco*, who came to attack him in his camp. The brave *Marcius*, encouraged with this ſucceſs, formed a deſign, which would have been deemed a raſh attempt, had not his preſent circumſtances authorized it. The very next night he marched boldly to the enemy's camp, ſurpriſed it, and, having ſhut up all the paſſages out of it, ſet fire to the tents, which were covered with thatch. In the general confuſion, which the flames and the ſhouts of the *Romans* occaſioned, ſome of the *Carthaginians* haſtened to the gates of the camp, where they were cut in pieces by the legionaries who guarded them. Others leaped down from the top of the ramparts, but in endeavouring to make their eſcape, were intercepted by the ſquadrons, which *Marcius* had placed in all the avenues leading to the camp. As they were unarmed and moſt of them naked, for *Marcius* ſurpriſed the camp in the dead of the night, the maſſacre was general. We are told, that the number of the dead on the ſide of the *Carthaginians* amounted to thirty-ſeven thouſand, and that of the priſoners to eighteen hundred and thirty. Thus the mighty projects of the *Carthaginian* generals were intirely defeated, and *Rome*, notwithſtanding the great loſſes ſhe had ſuſtained, maintained herſelf in poſſeſſion of the provinces ſhe had given up for loſt [o].

The Carthaginians *defeated in* Spain *by* C. Marcius.

The firſt care of the brave *Marcius* after ſo ſignal a victory was, to diſpatch couriers with letters to the ſenate, informing them of his ſucceſs, and demanding ſuccours and proviſions to enable him to maintain the war. In theſe letters he unluckily ſtyled himſelf *proprætor*, a title which he had acquired only by a military election in the camp; and this ſlight offence againſt the authority of the haughty republic was reſented to ſuch a degree, that, notwithſtanding the important ſervices of *Marcius*, the ſenate reſolved to recal him, and ſend another general in his room. Nay, ſome were for treating him as a criminal, and citing him as ſuch to appear forthwith before the tribes. But the greater number choſe to act a more moderate part, and, ſuppreſſing the title of *proprætor* in their anſwer, ſent *Marcius* word, that they would take care to ſupply the *Roman* ſoldiers in *Spain* with cloaths and proviſions. They thought it a dangerous precedent for the legions to aſſume the liberty of chuſing their own commanders; and therefore they thought it neceſſary to convene the tribes, as ſoon as they conveniently could, in order to appoint another commander in the room of *Marcius* [p]. But, in the mean time, the conſular year being ready to expire, *Appius Claudius* was recalled from *Capua* to preſide in the comitia, when *P. Sulpicius Galba* and *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus* were raiſed to the conſular dignity. *Apulia* was aſſigned to them for their province, while the late conſuls were, in quality of proconſuls, to continue the ſiege of *Capua*, which they ſhut up on all ſides, propoſing to reduce it rather by famine, than by force. But, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the two proconſuls, a *Numidian* horſeman, having croſſed the *Roman* camp in the night, without being diſcovered, carried the news to *Hannibal* of the extremity to which the city was reduced. This engaged him at length to leave the blockade of the citadel of *Tarentum*, and march to the relief of the diſtreſſed city with his horſe, his light-armed infantry, and thirty-three elephants. He found means to give the beſieged notice when he intended to attack the *Romans*, ordering them to make a vigorous ſally at the ſame time. The proconſuls, upon the firſt notice of the approach of the enemy, divided their troops, *Appius* taking upon him to make head againſt the gariſon, and *Fulvius* to defend the intrench-

Capua *ſhut up on all ſides by the* Romans.

[o] Liv. l. xxv. c. 39. Plin. l. ii. c. 107. Val. Max. l. i. c. 6. [p] Liv. l. xxvi. c. 22.

a intrenchments againſt *Hannibal*, who, at the time agreed on before-hand with the *Capuans*, began the attack with incredible fury, while the gariſon, under the command of *Hanno* and *Boſtar*, two *Carthaginian* generals, fell upon the *Romans* at the ſame time. *Appius* found no difficulty in repulſing the gariſon; and would have entered the city with them, had he not been wounded at the very gate, and by his wound diſabled from purſuing his deſign. As for *Fulvius*, he found it more difficult to withſtand the troops of *Hannibal*, who exerted themſelves with ſuch courage, reſolution, and intrepidity, as can hardly be expreſſed. A body of *Spaniards* and *Numidians* had even the boldneſs to paſs the ditch, and, in ſpite of all oppoſition, climbing the ramparts, penetrated into the *Roman* camp. But, as they were not ſeconded by the other troops, they were b all to a man cut in pieces, which ſo diſheartened the *Carthaginian* general, eſpecially after the gariſon was repulſed, that he ſounded a retreat, which was made in good order. Some writers tell us, that eight thouſand of *Hannibal*'s army, and three thouſand of the *Capuan* gariſon, were killed upon the ſpot, and that fifteen colours were taken from the former, and eighteen from the latter. Be that as it will; for there is a great diſagreement among authors as to the number of the dead; it is certain, that *Hannibal* was much perplexed what ſtep to take next, it being impoſſible for him to ſubſiſt long in a country, which was ruined and laid waſte. At length he formed a deſign worthy of himſelf, and the fitteſt to ſupport his glory and credit. He reſolved to march directly to *Rome*, and ſurpriſe that capital, while the inhabitants expected c nothing leſs than to ſee *Hannibal* at their gates. One advantage at leaſt he concluded would attend this enterpriſe, which was a diverſion of the *Roman* forces before *Capua*; by which means proviſions might be conveyed more eaſily into that city. That the *Capuans* might not be ſo diſheartened by his abſence as to haſtily ſurrender, he found means to acquaint them with his deſign. The news of *Hannibal*'s approach cauſed great apprehenſions at *Rome*. Some of the ſenators were for calling all the armies in *Italy* into the neighbourhood of *Rome*. But the great *Fabius* oppoſed this opinion, telling the conſcript fathers, that *Hannibal*'s deſign was not to take *Rome*, but to deliver *Capua*. However, a middle way was taken, and meſſengers were ſent to the proconſuls, informing them of the ſtate of affairs, and leaving it to their judgment, d either to continue both before *Capua*, or for one of them, with ſuch forces as could be ſpared, to come to the relief of the capital. Upon this it was agreed by the two collegues, that *Appius* ſhould continue before *Capua*, and that *Fulvius*, with fifteen thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, ſhould march to *Rome*. He ſet out accordingly, but took a different rout from *Hannibal*, the latter going by the *Latin* way, and the former by the *Appian*. The *Roman* troops were plentifully ſupplied with proviſions on their march by the allies and ſubjects of *Rome*; ſo that they met with no obſtruction, except in paſſing the *Vulturnus*, *Hannibal* having ſeized and burnt all the boats, which obliged the proconſul to ſpend ſome time in cutting timber, and making rafts to convey over his troops, As for *Hannibal*, he took a great compaſs be- e fore he came in ſight of *Rome*. From *Capua* he went to *Cale*, and from thence to *Sidicinum*; from *Sidicinum* he directed his march to *Sueſſa*, then to *Allifæ*. From this latter place he retutned to the *Latin* way, and paſſing through *Caſinum*, *Aquinum*, and *Interamna*, incamped in the plains of *Fregellæ*. Hereupon the *Fregellani*, having firſt ſent one of their citizens with orders to travel night and day, in order to acquaint the ſenate with the aproach of *Hannibal*, broke down their bridge on the *Liris*, which ſtopped the enemy's march for ſome time. However, after he had laid waſte the lands of the *Fregellani*, and built a new bridge over the *Liris*, he arrived at length by the *Prænestine* way within eight hundred paces of *Rome*. The alarm, which the approach of ſo formidable an enemy gave in all the quarters of the city, is not to be expreſſed. f *Fulvius* was not yet arrived with his reinforcement, which occaſioned great uneaſineſs and doubled their fears, the more timorous, eſpecially the women, whoſe ſhrieks were heard in all the ſtreets, believing he had been cut off with his whole army by *Hannibal*. But while the city was in the utmoſt alarm, the proconſul appeared with his troops, and entered *Rome* by the gate *Capena*, having firſt received from the ſenate an authority equal to that of the conſuls for the better diſcharge of his employment. He marched through the city, and incamped with his army between the gates *Eſquilina* and *Collina*. The ædiles were charged to ſupply the camp with proviſions and all ſorts of ammuition; and the two conſuls, who had not yet left *Rome*, with the ſenate went thither to hold a council of war, in which due meaſures were taken for the defence of the city. The ſituation of *Fulvius*'s camp was approved, and all the officers

Hannibal *attempts in vain to relieve* Capua.

Hannibal *marches to* Rome.

officers were aſſigned their poſts. The ramparts were lined with ſoldiers; troops were a
ſtationed at proper diſtances within the walls; and the ſenate thought it neceſſary to keep their aſſembly continually ſitting in the forum, to be ready againſt all emergencies. Theſe diſpoſitions ſo much intimidated *Hannibal*, that, deſpairing to compaſs his deſign of making himſelf maſter of *Rome*, he retired about three miles farther from it, and incamped beyond the *Anio*. Nevertheleſs, as he had the curioſity to ſatisfy himſelf of the condition of the enemy, he advanced at the head of two thouſand horſe towards the gate *Collina*, and appeared over-againſt the temple of *Hercules*. The proconſul *Flaminius*, provoked at this inſult, ſent out a detachment of cavalry to attack him; and at the ſame time ordered the twelve hundred *Numidians*, who had formerly deſerted from *Hannibal*, to ſupport the *Roman* cavalry. As they had been b
poſted by *Fulvius* on mount *Aventine*, they were obliged to march through the city; which they did in good order. But as the people did not know that the proconſul had any *Numidians* in his army, they imagined the city ſurpriſed, and ſuch was the fright and conſternation upon this falſe apprehenſion, that moſt of the inhabitants would have abandoned the city, had not *Hannibal* been at the gates. In this panic many of the citizens took arms, and falling upon the *Numidians*, killed ſome of them before they were undeceived. At length the *Numidians*, with the utmoſt difficulty, made their way through the terrified crouds joined the *Roman* ſquadrons, and with them obliged *Hannibal* to retire in ſome confuſion to his camp. But as the *Carthaginian* general had no mind to give over the enterpriſe, without being obliged to it by the loſs c
of a battle, in which he entertained great hopes of ſucceeding, he repaſſed the *Anio*, drew up his troops within reach of the enemy, and bid them defiance. *Fulvius* readily accepted the challenge, thinking he might venture a battle, almoſt without any danger, in ſight and at the foot of the ramparts of the city. Never were combatants more nearly concerned in intereſt, than both parties now were, to exert all their courage and reſolution. To take or preſerve *Rome* was the great end which the two armies propoſed to gain by the victory. When all things were ready for the onſet, a ſudden and violent ſtorm prevented the armies from engaging. The ſame thing happened the next day, when the ſtorm returned with ſuch violence, that both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* were obliged to return to their tents. To complete this prodigy, for d
it is looked upon as ſuch by ſome declamatory hiſtorians among the *Latins*, as ſoon as the armies had left the plain, the clouds diſappeared and the ſun returned. *Polybius*, who lived in, or ſoon after, thoſe times, and has given us a minute account of what paſſed on this occaſion, makes no mention either of preparations for an engagement, or of prodigies that prevented it. It is therefore probable, that *Hannibal* continued quiet in his camp, watching ſome favourable opportunity of putting his project in execution. As *Rome* was no longer alarmed, the ſenate provided for all affairs abroad with as much tranquillity, as if the enemy had been at a great diſtance.

A good number of troops was ſent to reinforce the army in *Spain*; and this *Hannibal* looked upon as an inſult. But he was more concerned, when he was told by a e
deſerter, that a piece of land in the place, where he was then incamped, had been ſold at *Rome* as dear as if he had not been maſter of it. This exaſperated him to ſuch a degree, that he put up to ſale the bankers ſhops round the forum, and after this bravado drew nearer to the city, and incamped at a ſmall diſtance from the gate *Capena*. (Q). But he ſoon retired again, and incamping on the banks of the *Turia*, about ſix miles from *Rome*, ravaged the neighbouring country, and then marched into the territory of *Capena*; where he rifled a temple conſecrated to the goddeſs *Feronia*, carrying thence a conſiderable booty in gold and ſilver. He then purſued his march, paſſed the *Liris*, and, drawing near *Capua*, fell unexpectedly on *Appius*'s camp in the night. A great number of *Romans* were killed on the ſpot, and *Appius* forced to leave f
his

Hannibal *retires from before* Rome.

(Q). *Feſtus* tells us, that *Hannibal*, when near the city of *Rome*, ſaw ſpectres in the air, which filled him with a ſudden terror, and obliged him to *turn back* immediately; and hence, according to that author, came the name *Rediculus*, which was given by the *Romans* to a new divinity of their own making. For, after *Hannibal*'s retreat, the *Romans* erected a temple in the way to the gate *Capena*, where he had incamped, conſecrating it to the god *Rediculus*. Others derive this name from the word *ridiculus*, which ſignifies any thing that deſerves to be *laughed at*. The ill ſucceſs of *Hannibal*'s enterpriſe, ſay they, made the *Romans* very jocoſe upon him; and to perpetuate his ſhame, they erected a temple to the god *Riſus* or *Laughter*, whom they ſtyled *rediculus* or *ridiculus*. *Varro*, in his ſatire called *Hercules tuam fidem*, gives this god the name of *Tutanus*, as if he had defended *Rome* againſt *Hannibal*. He makes this god ſpeak thus:

Noctu Hannibalis cum fugavi exercitum
Tutanus hoc, Tutanus Romæ nuncupor.
Hoc propter omnes, qui laborant, invocant.

a his camp and fly to ſome eminences, where he intrenched himſelf, expecting every moment to be joined by his colleague *Fulvius*, who he apprehended could not be far off. But *Hannibal*, expecting to have all the *Roman* forces immediately upon him, abandoned all thoughts of relieving *Capua*, marched through *Lucania* and *Brutium*, and then entered the territory of *Rhegium* with ſuch expedition, that he had like to have ſurpriſed the city. In the mean time, *Fulvius* having rejoined his collegue before *Capua*, that city was ſoon reduced to the utmoſt extremity. The proconſuls offered to ſpare the lives of all thoſe who ſhould repair to the *Roman* camp; but not one *Capuan* accepted the offer. The commanders of the *Carthaginian* gariſon wrote letters to *Hannibal*, full of reproaches, and preſſing him not to deſert them in ſo ſhameful a manner. But b one of the *Numidians*, to whoſe care theſe letters were committed, being betrayed by his miſtreſs, who had followed him into the *Roman* camp, both he and his companions were ſeized, and driven back into the city, after having been whipt and had their thumbs cut off. At the ſight of the maimed *Numidians*, the people in the utmoſt conſternation obliged the ſenate to aſſemble, in order to deliberate about the proper means of delivering them from the calamities which threatened them. Fear brought the ſenators together; and the majority were for ſurrendering upon the beſt terms they could obtain. But *Vibius Virius*, the chief author of the revolt, oppoſed this motion, and in a long ſpeech ſhewed them, that there was no room to hope for any favour from the *Romans* after ſo great provocations. He concluded his harangue, in which every c thing ſavoured of rage and deſpair, with theſe words; *Death is our only remedy. I have prepared a great entertainment at my houſe; where after we have eat and drank plentifully, a cup of poiſon will end our days and misfortunes together. Let thoſe who deſpiſe life, follow me. A glorious death will procure us reſpect from the enemy, and the perfidious* Hannibal *will lament the loſs of allies, who did not deſerve to be thus deſerted and betrayed.* Twenty-ſeven of the aſſembled followed *Virius*, and cloſed the entertainment, to which they were invited, with a cup of poiſon. The reſt of the *Capuans* ſubmitted to the *Romans*, who were no ſooner in poſſeſſion of the city, than they ſeized the *Carthaginian* gariſon and all the *Capuan* ſenators. The *Carthaginians* were made priſoners of war; but the ſenators were tried by the proconſuls, d and fifty-three of them, who had been the moſt active againſt *Rome*, were ſent to two neighbouring cities, twenty-five to *Cale*, and twenty-eight to *Teanum*, to be kept there under cloſe confinement, till their fate was determined. For *Appius* being inclined to clemency, and *Fulvius* to ſeverity, the diſpute grew warm between them; and *Appius*, to put an end to it, referred the matter to the conſcript fathers, and in the mean time ſent the priſoners to the above-mentioned cities. But his collegue, without waiting for the decree of the ſenate, marched out of the camp at midnight, and haſtening with two thouſand horſe firſt to *Cale*, and then to *Teanum*, cauſed the fifty-three ſenators to be firſt beaten with rods and then beheaded. He received, juſt before the execution of thoſe at *Teanum*, letters from *Rome* with orders to ſuſpend e it; but he put the packet into his boſom, and did not open the letters till all was over. And yet the republic never blamed him for this inſtance of ſeverity; being, without all doubt, pleaſed to ſee herſelf revenged, without incurring the odious charge of inhumanity among her allies[q]. As to the city of *Capua*, the republic kept to herſelf the property of thoſe fruitful plains and of the houſes in the city; and tranſplanted thither freedmen to manure the lands. Theſe were governed by a præfect ſent thither annually to preſerve order in the place, and to hear cauſes. As to the ancient inhabitants, they were deprived of their eſtates and effects, and diſperſed without hopes of ever returning to their native city, ſome of them being ſold for ſlaves, and others confined to ſeveral priſons, where they periſhed with hunger.

Capua *ſubmits to the* Romans.

f The taking of *Capua*, in a manner before *Hannibal*'s face, ſunk his reputation in all the provinces of *Italy*. However, *Philip* king of *Macedon*, was preparing to come into *Italy*, purſuant to his engagements with the *Carthaginian* general. But the prætor *Lævinus*, having drawn ſome of the *Greek* ſtates into a confederacy with *Rome*, found him ſo much work at home, that he gave over all thoughts of carrying his arms into *Italy*, as we have related at length in our hiſtory of *Macedon*.

In *Spain*, *Claudius Nero*, who had been ſent to ſucceed the *Scipios*, ſuffered himſelf to be ſhamefully outwitted by *Aſdrubal*, the brother of *Hannibal*. He had ſhut up the *Carthaginians* on a neck of land, where they were reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that *Aſdrubal*

Aſdrubal *outwits the* Roman *commander in* Spain.

[q] Liv. l. xxvi. c. 12, 13, 14, 15.

Aſdrubal promiſed to leave *Spain* with all his troops, provided the *Romans* would only a
grant them their lives. *Claudius* accepted the propoſal; but the artful *Carthaginian*,
ſtarting every day new difficulties about evacuating the cities he poſſeſſed, found means
to convey in the mean while moſt part of his troops over the mountains in the night-
time, without the knowledge of the enemy, who, after the ſigning of the treaty, did
not keep ſo watchful an eye over them. At length all the infantry gained the plains,
Aſdrubal being left in the camp with the cavalry only and the elephants; and even
theſe he found means to ſave by the help of a thick fog, which covered both armies.
When the weather cleared up, *Claudius* found the *Carthaginian* camp deſerted, and
himſelf egregiouſly deluded. He purſued the enemy, but to no purpoſe; for *Aſdru-*
bal, having joined his infantry, retired in good order, and eſcaped with the loſs of b
a ſmall number of his men, who were killed in ſome ſkirmiſhes between his rear-
guard and the van-guard of the *Romans* [r]. The ſenate and people of *Rome* were
much mortified, when they received this news; the centuries were immediately aſ-
ſembled to chuſe a proconſul, capable of retrieving the glory of the *Roman* name in
Spain. But no candidates appearing, by reaſon that employment was generally diſ-
liked, young *Scipio*, the ſon of the deceaſed proconſul, courageouſly offered himſelf
Young Scipio *choſen proconſul of* Spain. for that hazardous enterprize. He was then but twenty-four years of age; and never-
theleſs, not only all the centuries, but every voter in each century, declared him pro-
conſul of *Spain* [s]. He imbarqued ſoon after at *Oſtia* with ten thouſand foot and a
thouſand horſe, on board a fleet of thirty quinqueremes, and ſet out for his province. c

And now the time for electing new magiſtrates drawing near, *Fulvius Centumalus*
was recalled from *Campania* to preſide in the comitia. The perſons raiſed to the
conſular dignity were *Marcellus*, the fourth time, who had lately taken the city of
Syracuſe, and *Lævinus*, the ſecond time, who lay ſick at *Anticyra* in *Greece*, after
having ſignalized himſelf againſt *Philip* of *Macedon*, as we have related in the reign
of that prince. As ſoon as *Lævinus* arrived, both conſuls applied themſelves wholly
to the preparations for the approaching campaign. *Sicily* fell to *Lævinus*, and *Mar-*
cellus was ordered to march againſt *Hannibal*, who, ſince the reduction of *Capua*,
Salapia *taken by* Marcellus. was marched into *Brutium*. *Marcellus* began the campaign with the ſiege of *Salapia*
in *Apulia*, which was betrayed to him by two leading men in the place. The *Car-* d
thaginian gariſon, which conſiſted of five hundred brave *Numinian* horſe, ſeeing
themſelves betrayed, reſolved to ſell their lives dear; and accordingly, quitting their
horſes, fought on foot, and made a great ſlaughter of the enemy, till they were all
cut in pieces, except fifty, who ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. From *Apulia*
Marcellus marched into *Samnium*, where he recovered many cities, and took above
three thouſand *Carthaginian* priſoners. But, in the mean time, the *Romans* received
two very conſiderable checks; the one at *Tarentum*, where a ſquadron of ſhips,
which they had ſent to ſupply the citadel with proviſions, was intirely defeated by
A Roman *ſquadron defeated by the* Tarentine *fleet.* the *Tarentine* fleet; the other in *Apulia*, where the proconſul *Fulvius Centumalus* was e
ſurpriſed by *Hannibal*, and cut off with eleven legionary tribunes and a great number
of private men, ſome ſay thirteen thouſand, others only ſeven thouſand. However
that be, this victory retrieved the affairs and credit of *Hannibal*, and greatly diſcou-
raged the *Roman* ſenate and people, whoſe only hopes were now in *Marcellus*. This
brave conſul was no ſooner informed of the defeat and death of *Fulvius*, than he
marched in queſt of *Hannibal*, not doubting, as he wrote to the ſenate, but he ſhould
ſoon damp the joy that ſwelled the mind of the proud conqueror. He came up
with him near *Numiſtro* in *Brutium*, and drawing up his men, offered him battle.
The *Carthaginian* accepted the challenge; whereupon a bloody engagement enſued,
which laſted the whole day, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide.
The next morning, *Marcellus* marched out his army at ſun-riſing, and drew it up in f
the ſame place, where the battle had been fought the day before. But *Hannibal*,
not caring to hazard a ſecond engagement, kept his troops cloſe in their intrenchments,
and decamped the night following. *Marcellus* purſued him from place to place; ſo
that theſe two great generals ſpent the reſt of the campaign, the one watching for an
opportunity to come to a general action, the other endeavouring to avoid it [t].

The progreſs of Scipio *in* Spain. While the *Carthaginians* were thus kept in awe by *Marcellus* in *Italy*, the arms of
the republic in *Spain* proſpered beyond expectation under the conduct of young *Scipio*;
who, by the gracefulneſs of his perſon and his wonderful complaiſance, gained, on
his

[r] Idem ibid. c. 17. [s] Polyb. l. x. c. 2. [t] Liv. l. xxvii, c. 2. Plut. in Marcell.

a his first arrival, the hearts both of the *Spaniards* and *Romans*. The first time he reviewed his troops, he asked for the brave *Marcius*, tenderly embraced him at the head of the army, heaped marks of distinction upon him, took him near his person, and was not ashamed even to consult him, and on several occasions follow his advice. When the season allowed him to take the field, he bent all his thoughts on the executing of a design, which he had formed before he left *Rome*. This design he now communicated to *C. Lælius*, the commander of his fleet, and his intimate and inseparable friend; but carefully concealed it from all others. His scheme was to surprise *New Carthage*, the capital of the *Carthaginian* empire in *Spain*, where all the enemy's treasures, machines of war, and naval stores were lodged. It was agreed, that *Lælius*
b should shut up the port with his fleet, while *Scipio* invested the city by land. With this view the whole army passed the *Iberus*, and, marching always in the night, arrived the seventh day early in the morning before *New Carthage*. Then he imparted his design both to the officers and soldiers, represented to them of what importance the reduction of that city would be with regard to the intire conquest of *Spain*, and told them, that *Neptune* had appeared to him, advised him to that enterprise, and promised him success. He added, that they would soon see a miracle wrought by the god in their favour. He knew the hour when the tide would ebb, and leave the city accessible to his land-forces on the side of the port; and he made use of this natural event, which was a mystery to the soldiers, to persuade them, that he had a supernatural know-
c ledge. Having thus encouraged his troops, as soon as the tide ebbed, *Scipio*, at the head of five hundred resolute men, entered the bason, having learnt from some fisher-men, that it was fordable when the tide was out, and marching up to the waist through the water, scaled the walls, which on that side were very low, while the *Carthaginians* were wholly intent on repulsing the *Romans*, who attacked the city on the land-side. The confusion of the besieged was so great, when they saw the *Romans* within the walls, that they abandoned the ramparts, and gave the rest of the army an opportunity of breaking down one of the gates and entering the city. *Mago*, who commanded in the town, retired with his garison, consisting of a thousand regular troops and two thousand of the inhabitants, to the citadel; but was soon obliged to surrender at discretion.
d The prisoners in all amounted to six thousand men, besides women, children, and slaves. The *Africans* were reduced to slavery; but the *Spaniards* were suffered to enjoy their estates and live according to their own laws, only in subjection to *Rome*. Eighteen galleys belonging to the enemy were taken in the port, and an hundred and thirteen merchant-ships loaded with naval stores. In the granaries were found forty thousand bushels of wheat, and two hundred and sixty thousand bushels of barley; and in the armories an immense quantity of warlike machines of all sorts with seventy-four standards. As the city was taken by assault, *Scipio* gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers, ordering them to bring all the booty into the market-place; where, upon taking an inventory of the whole, he found among other valuable effects two hundred
e and sixty cups of gold, most of them weighing a pound, eighteen thousand three hundred pounds weight of silver money, and a prodigious quantity of plate. All the brass-money was distributed among the soldiers, and the rest of the rich spoils put into the hands of *Caius Flaminius* the quæstor. The hostages likewise, whom the *Carthaginians* had demanded of the cities and provinces of *Spain*, were all found in the city, and sent home by *Scipio* loaded with presents. As for *Mago* and the other *Carthaginian* officers, they were put into the hands of *Lælius*, who treated them with great humanity[u].

Scipio *surprises* New Carthage.

After this glorious day, the proconsul, leaving *Lælius* to command in the city, returned with his army to the camp, and spent the night there. The next morning,
f his officers, knowing that he was a great admirer of the fair sex, brought to him a young virgin of extraordinary beauty. Where-ever she appeared, she charmed the eyes of all, and *Scipio* was struck at the first sight of her. But, though he was in the prime of his age, unmarried, and under no restraint, he did not suffer himself to be blinded by his rising passion. He examined the beautiful captive concerning her country, birth, and engagements; and finding that she was betrothed to a *Celtiberian* prince, named *Allucius*, he ordered both him and the captive's parents to be sent for, and put her untouched into their hands, telling them, that the only return he expected from them was, their friendship for his republic. The young *Spaniard* was so

A remarkable instance of Scipio's *continence.*

[u] Liv. l. xxvi. c. 43, & seq. Polyb. l. x. c. 11. Appian, in Ibericis.

so tranſported with joy, that he could not ſo much as return *Scipio* thanks. As for a
the parents of the captive, they had brought a conſiderable ſum for the ranſom of their
daughter, which they offered to the generous proconſul as a preſent, ſince he had freely
given her to her lover without ranſom. They preſſed and intreated him to accept of
it, and at length, throwing the money at his feet, retired. But *Scipio* immediately
beſtowed it on *Allucius*, as an addition on his part to his wife's fortune. This beha-
viour, truly heroic, did the *Roman* republic more ſervice than even the taking of *New*
Carthage. *Allucius* declared in *Celtiberia*, that the gods had ſent into *Spain* a young
conqueror almoſt equal to themſelves. Upon his report *Celtiberia* came over to the
Roman party; *Allucius* joined the *Roman* troops at the head of fourteen hundred
choſen horſe, and all *Spain* began to revolt from the *Carthaginians*. And now *Scipio* b
diſpatched *Lælius*, and with him *Mago* and the ſenators of *New Carthage*, in a quin-
queremis to *Rome*, to give the ſenate an account of his ſucceſs. Never was news re-
ceived with more applauſe. The republic little expected to recover her affairs in
Spain, and feared ſhe had hazarded too much in the hands of a young general. The
ſenate therefore was overjoyed to find, that the very firſt enterpriſe of their young
commander had eclipſed the glory both of his father and uncle. At the ſame time,
the republic received from *Sicily* the agreeable news of the total reduction of that iſland
by the conſul *Lævinus*, the particulars whereof we have related at length in our hiſto-
ry of the city and kingdom of *Syracuſe*.

Lævinus, having ſettled affairs in *Sicily*, was recalled by the ſenate to hold the comitia. c
But he was ſcarce arrived, when he was ordered to return to his province upon certain
intelligence, that the *Carthaginians* were fitting out a new fleet with a deſign to attempt
the recovery of *Sicily*. He was commanded by the ſenate to name a dictator, before
he left *Rome*, to preſide in the comitia for the new elections. But, as he inſiſted upon
deferring the nomination till he was in *Sicily*, and it was not thought proper to inter-
rupt *Marcellus* in his purſuit of *Hannibal*, the tribunes of the people took upon them
to name a dictator in their aſſembly, viz. *Fulvius Flaccus*, the proconſul of *Campania*.

The conſuls loſe the prerogative of appointing dictators.

Thus the conſuls loſt the prerogative, which they had enjoyed time out of mind, of
appointing dictators. The dictator, having aſſembled the tribes, was himſelf named
conſul with *Fabius Maximus*. Two of the tribunes oppoſed the election of *Fulvius* as d
contrary to law; but the ſenate, well pleaſed with the choice that had been made of
two ſuch able commanders, declared, that the dictatorſhip did not by any means diſ-
qualify *Fulvius* from being choſen conſul. In the mean time, *Lælius* arriving from
Spain with *Mago*, the ſenators of *New Carthage*, and the rich booty which had been
taken there, the ſenate, as a mark of diſtinction to *Scipio*, continued him in his com-
miſſion of proconſul of *Spain*, not for one year only, but till an order ſhould be made
for recalling him.

Tarentum *beſieged by the* Romans.

And now, the ſeaſon of the year being fit for action, the two conſuls left *Rome*.
Fabius undertook the ſiege of *Tarentum*, while *Fulvius* on one ſide, and *Marcellus* on
the other, watched the motions of *Hannibal*, intercepted his convoys, and prevented e
his men from going in parties to plunder at any diſtance from their camp. The *Car-
thaginian*, being thus haraſſed and reduced to great ſtraits for want of proviſions,
reſolved at length to engage *Marcellus*, while the conſul *Fulvius* was at a great diſtance.
Accordingly, having drawn up his men and exhorted them to complete the work of
Cannæ, he fell upon the *Romans* with incredible fury. After the engagement had
laſted two hours with equal ſucceſs, the right wing of the *Romans* began to give
way. Hereupon *Marcellus* ordered the eighteenth legion, which was poſted in the
ſecond line, to advance into the firſt, and take the place of the body that began to
retire; but as the legion advanced too ſlowly, and the troops, which they were to
ſucceed, retreated with too much precipitation, the enemy laid hold of this opportu- f
nity to penetrate a great way into the *Roman* manipuli, and to put the whole right
wing into diſorder. *Marcellus* ſtrove in vain to make them keep their ranks, and lead
them back to the charge. They fled in the utmoſt confuſion, and their example was

Marcellus *is routed by* Hannibal.

followed by the reſt of the army; ſo that *Marcellus*, now unſucceſsful for the firſt
time, was obliged to return to his camp, leaving two thouſand ſeven hundred auxi-
liaries and *Romans* dead on the field of battle. Among theſe were two of his lieute-
nants, four centurions, and many perſons of diſtinction. *Marcellus* the ſame night
aſſembled his troops, and, in a very angry ſpeech, reproached them with the bad
ſucceſs of that melancholy action, which, he ſaid, was intirely owing to their cowar-
dice. The ſoldiers readily owned their fault, and, aſking pardon for their ſudden
flight,

a flight, proteſted that they were ready to expoſe themſelves to any danger he ſhould think fit, with a firm reſolution either to die or conquer. Make ready then, replied the proconſul, to perform your promiſes to-morrow, and to deſerve the forgiveneſs you deſire. The next morning the legionaries were under arms, and ready to march by break of day. The manipuli, which had behaved ſo ſhamefully the day before, were placed, *Plutarch* ſays, at their own requeſt, in the firſt line, that they might have an opportunity of wiping off the ſhame of the day before. *Marcellus*, after his men had take ſome nouriſhment, without letting their ardor cool, marched out of his camp, and drew up his army as uſual. *Hannibal*, ſurpriſed at this unexpected ſtep of the *Roman* general, cried out, What a ſtrange man is this *Marcellus!* whether b conqueror, or conquered, he is always ready to fight. Let us march out, and teach him not to inſult, but to fear and reſpect, his conquerors. Having thus ſpoke, he gave orders for the battle; the trumpets ſounded, and the attack began. The victory was for ſome hours diſputed with equal ſucceſs; but at length the *Romans* prevailed, and obliged the enemy to ſhelter themſelves in their camp. In this action *Hannibal* loſt eight thouſand of his beſt troops. However, *Marcellus* bought his victory dear; for three thouſand of his legionaries were killed upon the ſpot, and almoſt all the reſt wounded; ſo that he could not purſue *Hannibal*, who decamped the night after his defeat, retired into *Brutium*, and there intrenched himſelf, while *Marcellus* led his troops to *Venuſia*, to give them ſome reſpite and time to be cured [w].

But the next day gains a complete victory over them.

c In the mean time, the conſul *Fulvius* recovered, without bloodſhed, the provinces of *Lucania* and *Hirpinia*, and great part of *Brutium*. As for *Fabius*, who had undertaken the reduction of *Tarentum*, he was put in poſſeſſion of that wealthy and important city, by the commander of the *Brutian* troops in gariſon there, who let the *Romans* into the place in the night-time. The *Romans*, ſeeing themſelves maſters of the place, ſpared neither *Carthaginians*, *Tarentines*, nor *Brutians*; nay, ſome writers tell us, that thoſe among the latter, who had been privy to the treachery of their leader, were by *Fabius*'s orders maſſacred the firſt, leſt, if he ſpared them, this fine conqueſt ſhould be imputed more to treachery, than to his prudence and bravery. But this conduct is no-ways ſuitable to the character of that great man [x]. The riches found in this d maritime city were immenſe. The quæſtors are ſaid to have received, for the public treaſury, eighty-ſeven thouſand pounds weight of gold, and three thouſand talents of ſilver. As to the pictures and ſtatues, *Fabius*, who had no taſte for arts and therefore neglected them, being aſked by the quæſtors, What he would have done with thoſe maſter-pieces of painting and ſculpture? returned the following anſwer, which all the ancients mention; *Let us leave to the* Tarentines *their angry gods.* He alluded to the attitudes, in which the gods of *Tarentum* were repreſented; for, after the *Lacedæmonian* manner, they were generally armed with ſwords and in fighting poſtures. As for the inhabitants, thirty thouſand citizens, who eſcaped the general maſſacre, were reduced to ſlavery and ſold to the beſt bidder. In ſhort, the *Tarentines* were reduced to ſo low a ſtate, that they became a reproach among their neigh- e bours, and were employed, by *Roman* magiſtrates in the provinces, only as lictors and executioners [y]. As for *Hannibal*, upon the firſt news of the ſiege of *Tarentum* he had left *Brutium*, and haſtened to its relief. But when he was within five miles of the city, an account was brought him, that the *Roman* conſul had taken it by artifice. Upon which he cried out in great ſurpriſe; *What! have the* Romans *then their* Hannibal *too!* However, to ſave his honour, he did not immediately retire; but incamped on the place where he heard the news, and continued there ſome days. As *Fabius* did not offer to attack him, he marched at length to *Metapontus*, a city in his intereſt, and there contrived a ſtratagem, which had like to have proved fatal f to *Fabius*. He ſent two of the inhabitants to the conſul with letters from the chief men of the city, offering to deliver up the place and the *Carthaginian* gariſon into his hands. *Fabius*, not ſuſpecting the cheat, fixed the day for his march, and would have fallen into an ambuſh prepared for him, had not the augurs and aruſpices, who doubtleſs were more ſuſpicious and had better intelligence than the general, detained him in the camp, by declaring, that the preſages were all unfortunate. *Hannibal*, impatient of *Fabius*'s delays, ſent new emiſſaries; but theſe, being arreſted and threatened with ſevere puniſhments, confeſſed the ſecret [z].

Tarentum reduced.

In

[w] Liv. l. xxvii. c. 12—15. Appian. in Hannibal. Plut. in Marcell. [x] Vide Plut. in Fab. [y] Liv. ibid. Plut. in Fab. Aul Gell. l. x. c. 3. [z] Liv. l. xxvii. c. 16. Cic. de ſenec. Plut. in Fab.

Further progress of Scipio *in* Spain.

In *Spain*, *Scipio*, having fortified *New Carthage* and left a ſtrong gariſon in it, a marched to *Tarracon*, where he ſpent the winter in exerciſing his troops, and teaching them the exacteſt diſcipline. Early in the ſpring he took the field, and as the *Carthaginian* forces were ſtill divided into three bodies under three generals, he marched to attack *Aſdrubal*, the brother of *Hannibal*, who was the neareſt to him, and whoſe army conſiſted almoſt wholly of *Spaniards*, except the *Numidians Maſiniſſa* had brought with him from *Africa*. The *Carthaginian* at his approach was much perplexed, not knowing what courſe to take. But at length he reſolved to hazard a battle, intending, if it proved unſucceſsful, to make the beſt of his way to the *Pyrenees*, and, croſſing *Gaul*, enter *Italy*. He poſted himſelf on an eminence, in the midſt of a plain watered by a river, which, winding round the eminence, made it a b peninſula. This was a very advantagious poſt; but *Scipio*, after two days conſideration, reſolved to attack him before he was joined by the other *Aſdrubal* and *Mago*.

Aſdrubal *intirely defeated*

He ſucceeded in the attempt; the enemy was intirely routed; and *Aſdrubal*, accompanied by *Maſiniſſa*, fled towards the *Pyrenees*, with as many troops and elephants as he could get together. The fame of this memorable action brought many of the petty princes of *Spain* to the *Roman* camp, and induced all the nations beyond the *Iberus* to renounce the *Carthaginian* party with great ſincerity. While *Scipio* continued in the camp of *Aſdrubal*, the quæſtor brought to him a youth, named *Maſſiva*, who had been found among the captives, and, by his comelineſs and an air of grandeur in his deportment, ſeemed to be of noble extraction. The proconſul, finding, upon c examining him, that he was a nephew of *Maſiniſſa*, ordered him to be treated according to his rank; and when he had finiſhed ſome other affairs, he ſent for the young prince, and aſked him, whether he deſired to return to his uncle? *Maſſiva* anſwered with tears in his eyes, that this was the utmoſt of his wiſhes. Upon this the proconſul, having ordered him to be richly dreſſed, preſented him with a horſe finely accoutred, and in this manner ſent him back under a guard. Theſe were the methods by which *Scipio* gained the affections even of his enemies. The flight of *Aſdrubal* towards the *Pyrenees* gave the proconſul no ſmall uneaſineſs; however, he would not purſue him, but choſe rather to lead his victorious army into the heart of the country, and fix the ſeveral nations in an alliance with his republic. As to the *Carthaginian* generals, they d joined their armies, and, having conſulted together about the beſt meaſures to be taken, it was reſolved, that the ſon of *Giſco* ſhould reſign his troops to *Mago*, and repair to the *Balearic* iſlands to make new levies there, that *Mago* ſhould poſt himſelf in *Luſitania*, and that *Aſdrubal* ſhould march for *Italy*, and there join his brother with as many *Spaniſh* troops as he could get together [a].

In *Italy*, the time for the new elections drawing near, *Fulvius* was recalled to preſide in the comitia, when *Marcellus* was choſen the fifth time, and with him *T. Quinctius Criſpinus* the ſecond time. The new conſuls no ſooner entered upon their office, than they took the field, and, uniting their forces, formed a deſign of making themſelves maſters of *Locri*, a ſtrong city in the intereſt of *Hannibal*. With this view e they ordered a body of troops thither, which was incamped before *Tarentum*. But

Hannibal *gains an advantage over the* Romans.

Hannibal, being informed by the *Thurians* of the march of this detachment, ſurpriſed them near the river *Laiis*, killed two thouſand of them, and took twelve hundred priſoners. Hereupon the two conſuls advanced againſt *Hannibal*, and, drawing up their forces, offered him battle, which he declined, waiting for an opportunity to deceive the enemy by ſome ſtratagem; wherein he ſucceeded at length even beyond his expectation. Between his camp and that of the *Romans* was a little hill very convenient for incampments, being well ſupplied with water. As it was neareſt to *Hannibal*, the *Romans* were ſurpriſed that he had not taken poſſeſſion of it at firſt; and murmured againſt their generals for not being ſo quick, as they would have them, to f ſeize ſuch an advantagious poſt. At length *Marcellus*, to comply with their importunity, propoſed to his collegue to go with a guard of two hundred and twenty horſe, and take a view of the eminence which ſeemed ſo inviting to the ſoldiery. *Quinctius* approving of the motion, the two conſuls ſet out on an expedition, which would have better become a private centinel or an inferior officer, than the heads of the republic. *Marcellus* was ſo little apprehenſive of danger, that he left orders with his army to decamp on the firſt ſignal, and advance to take poſſeſſion of this new poſt. *Hannibal* had hid a detachment of *Numidians* in the cavities of the hill, and under the buſhes which

[a] Liv. ibid. c. 19. Polyb. l. x. c. 37.

a which covered it. Theſe, coming out of their ambuſh, ſurpriſed and ſurrounded the two conſuls and their guards; ſo that they could neither retreat, nor gain the top of the eminence. Being overwhelmed with ſhowers of darts, they fell with fury on thoſe who cut off their retreat; and perhaps the two conſuls would have made their way through the enemy, had they not been deſerted by the cowardly *Hetrurians*, of whom their guard chiefly conſiſted. The *Hetrurians* having fled or laid down their arms at the firſt appearance of danger, the conſuls were left with only five or ſix *Roman* officers and about forty ſoldiers. Theſe brave men fought with great courage and reſolution, and had already opened a paſſage, when *Marcellus*, being mortally wounded by a dart, fell from his horſe and died. His collegue, though dangerouſly

Marcellus *is ſlain, and the other conſul mortally wounded.*

b wounded in two places, and *Marcellus* the ſon of the deceaſed conſul, then a legionary tribune, behaved themſelves ſo valiantly, that, with the aſſiſtance of their ſmall guard, they returned, in ſpite of all oppoſition, to the camp. Thus died the renowned *Marcellus*, ſurnamed *The ſword of the republic*, a man famous for many victories, the terror of *Hannibal*, and the conqueror of *Syracuſe*. Though antiquity has taxed his prudence as a general, on account of this laſt raſh attempt; yet it is certain, that on all other occaſions he diſplayed the accompliſhed hero. *Hannibal*, upon the news of his death, flew to the place, where the body of his rival lay; and at the ſight of it ſhewed no marks of joy, but ſeemed rather to pity the misfortune of ſo great a man, in loſing his life in a manner unworthy of ſo renowned a commander. His firſt care was to take

c off the ring which the dead conſul had on his finger, and with which he ſealed his diſpatches, not doubting, but he ſhould have ſome opportunity or other of making uſe of it to his advantage. Then, having for ſome time admired the ſtature and noble mien of the deceaſed, he ordered the body to be wrapt up in a rich ſtuff, laid on a funeral pile, and burnt. He gathered up the aſhes, incloſed them in a ſilver urn, on which he placed a crown of gold and another of laurel, and in this pompous manner ſent the remains of the father to the ſon, who ſhewed them all thoſe marks of diſtinction which the illuſtrious father deſerved [b]. *Livy*, without mentioning any of theſe circumſtances, only tells us, that the body of the deceaſed conſul was buried by the *Carthaginian* general [c]. The ſurviving conſul, being dangerouſly wounded,

d decamped the following night, and poſted himſelf among inacceſſible mountains, and from his aſylum diſpatched meſſengers to all the neighbouring cities in the intereſt of *Rome*, acquainting them that *Marcellus* was killed, leſt *Hannibal*, who was maſter of his ring, ſhould attempt to deceive them by letters ſent to them in his name. This precaution preſerved *Salapia* in *Apulia*. Nay, the inhabitants turned the artifice of the *Carthaginian* upon himſelf: for a *Roman* deſerter having brought them a letter, as from the deceaſed conſul, acquainting them, that he would be there the next day, and ordering them to make the neceſſary preparations for his reception, the *Salapians* admitted ſix hundred of *Hannibal*'s men, moſt of them *Roman* deſerters, into the town, and then all on a ſudden pulling up the draw-bridges, cut in pieces thoſe who

e had entered, and with a ſhower of darts from the ramparts, drove back the reſt. *Hannibal*, being thus diſappointed in his attempt upon *Salapia*, marched with all his forces to the relief of *Locri*, which the *Romans* had cloſely inveſted by ſea and land. Upon his approach the *Romans* were ſo terrified, that *Cincius*, the admiral of the fleet, immediately ſounded a retreat, and, having imbarqued all the land-forces on board his gallies, ſailed away, and returned to *Rome*. In the mean time, the conſul *Quinctius*, having left his poſt among the mountains, came and incamped near *Capua*, whence he ſent letters to the ſenate, acquainting them with the death of his collegue, and deſiring them to depute to him three men of prudence and integrity, with whom he might confer about the proper meaſures to be taken by the republic, ſince, his wounds proving mortal, he was drawing near his end. Accordingly, three ſenators were com-

The Romans *are forced to raiſe the ſiege of* Locri.

f miſſioned to receive his laſt advice; and at their requeſt he appointed a dictator to hold the comitia for the next elections. The perſon he choſe was *T. Manlius Torquatus*, who named *C. Servilius* for his general of the horſe. Soon after the conſul died. However, the *Romans* were a little comforted for the loſs of both their conſuls, with news from *Sicily*, that *Lævinus*, who commanded a fleet of an hundred ſail, had made a deſcent on *Africa*, brought from thence an immenſe booty, and afterwards defeated a *Carthaginian* fleet off *Clypea* [d].

T. Manlius Torquatus *dictator.*

To

[b] Plut. in Marcell. [c] Liv. ibid. [d] Liv. l. xxvii. c. 28. Appian. in Hannibalic. Plut. in Marcell.

To retrieve the affairs of the republic, it was neceſſary, that two men of unex- a
ceptionable prudence and bravery ſhould be raiſed to the conſulate. The ſenate there-
fore caſt their eyes on *Claudius Nero* and *M. Livius Salinator*. The former was a
man of uncommon bravery, but bold and enterpriſing, the latter more ſedate and
calm, and therefore fit to temper the vivacity of his collegue. *Livius* had diſcharged
the office of conſul twelve years before with great prudence; but, being unjuſtly cen-
ſured by the people for a pretended unequal diviſion of the ſpoils of *Illyricum*, he
had, out of pique, retired to a country-houſe, and there, letting his hair and beard
grow, lived like a man in diſgrace, till the cenſors obliged him to ſhave himſelf,
and take his place in the ſenate; and even then he ſtill ſhewed his reſentment, giving
his opinion by a *yes* or a *no*. As he was a man of unqueſtionable abilities, both the b
ſenate and the dictator thought him a proper perſon to be joined with *Nero*. But it was
with the utmoſt difficulty, that they prevailed upon him to accept the dignity offered
him. It fell to his lot to march againſt *Aſdrubal*, who was making the beſt of his way
over the *Alps* into *Italy* to join his brother, and to *Nero*'s lot to act againſt *Hannibal*
in *Brutium*. Levies were raiſed with great rigor, and the volones, formerly diſci-
plined by *Sempronius*, were obliged to ſerve again. Beſides the forces raiſed in *Italy*,
Scipio ſent from *Spain* to *Livius* two thouſand legionaries, eight thouſand *Spaniards*
and *Gauls*, and about two thouſand horſe, partly *Numidians* and partly *Spaniards*.
Early in the ſpring the two conſuls took the field. *Nero*, at the head of forty thou-
ſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe, incamped within five hundred paces of c
Hannibal's army; and having privately ſent a conſiderable detachment to fall upon the
Hannibal defeated by the conſul Nero. enemy in the rear from the eminences behind them, gained by this ſtratagem a victory,
killed eight thouſand of the enemy, and took ſeven thouſand priſoners, with the loſs
only of five hundred men. After this defeat *Hannibal* decamped in the night from
the neighbourhood of *Grumentum* in *Lucania*, where the battle was fought. But the
Romans purſued him with ſo much expedition, that they came up with him near *Ve-
nuſia*, and in another battle killed two thouſand of his men; which obliged him to
make the beſt of his way to *Metapontus*, in order to join *Hanno*, whom he had ſent
to make new levies in *Brutium* [e].

While the conſul was thus purſuing and haraſſing *Hannibal*, a courier fell into the d
hands of the *Romans* with letters from *Aſdrubal* to his brother, importing, that he had
paſſed the *Alps*, and that he was repairing to *Umbria*, in hopes that *Hannibal* would
join him there. Upon this intelligence, the conſul *Nero*, having appointed one of
his lieutenants to command the army, ſet out in the night with ſix thouſand of his
choiceſt troops, cauſing a report to be ſpread, that he was going to attack a *Carthaginian* gariſon in a neighbouring city of *Lucania*. But his true deſign, which he diſ-
cloſed to no-body, was to join his collegue, and give *Aſdrubal* battle, before his bro-
ther could come to his aſſiſtance. With this view he took the road to *Picenum*, and
advanced with incredible expedition towards *Ciſalpine Gaul*, his ſoldiers, to whom he
imparted his deſign, when he was got to a conſiderable diſtance from his camp, march- e
ing night and day at a great rate. At length he drew near his collegue's camp, and
entered it in the night to conceal his arrival from the enemy. A council of war was
held, in which it was reſolved to give the enemy battle without delay. But *Aſdrubal*,
perceiving that the *Romans* were reinforced, decamped in the night, and after a long
and tedious march came to the *Metaurus*, a river in *Umbria*, but poſtponed the paſſing
of it till day-break. In the mean time, the *Romans* overtaking him, obliged him to
Aſdrubal defeated and ſlain. give battle in a diſadvantagious ſituation, and when his men were quite ſpent with
hunger and want of reſt. The conſuls gained a complete victory, killed about fifty-
ſix thouſand of the enemy on the ſpot, and took a great many priſoners. As for *Aſ-
drubal* himſelf, as ſoon as he ſaw the total defeat of his army, he threw himſelf into f
the midſt of a *Roman* battalion, and died fighting. The *Romans* are ſaid by ſome
writers to have loſt eight thouſand men in this action; but others reduce them only to
two thouſand. The conſul *Nero* after this glorious victory did not continue ſo much
as one whole night in his collegue's camp; but, having cut off *Aſdrubal*'s head and
taken it with him, he returned with ſuch expedition, that in ſix days time he reached
his camp at *Canuſium*. On his return he ſent ſome of the natives of *Carthage*, whom he
had taken priſoners in the late battle, to *Hannibal*'s camp in chains, that they might
publiſh the victory there. At the ſame time, he ordered *Aſdrubal*'s head to be thrown
into

[e] Liv. l. xxvii. c. 35.

a into the enemy's trenches, or, as ſome ſay, to be fixed on a pole near them. This ſight, with the report of the captives, filled *Hannibal* with horror and ſadneſs. He is ſaid in the height of his grief to have cried out, *O* Carthage; *unhappy* Carthage! *I am ſinking under the preſſure of thy fate*; and then he immediately decamped and retired into *Brutium*[f].

Advantages gained by Scipio *in* Spain.

The republic for a whole year had received no account of any new exploits in *Spain*. But now, to add to her joy, *Lucius Scipio*, the brother of the proconſul, arrived at *Rome*, and brought news, that *Silanus*, the proprætor under *Scipio*, had, with a detachment of ten thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, routed the united forces of *Mago* and *Hanno*; that he himſelf with another detachment had beſieged and taken *Aurinx*, b a city of importance on the confines of *Lower Bætica*; and, laſtly, that *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Giſco*, to whom *Mago* had fled after his defeat, was confined to a corner of *Spain* near the ſtreights of *Gades*. *Lucius Scipio*, who brought this news, came to *Rome*, attended by *Hanno* and many other *Carthaginians* of diſtinction taken in the war. Thus was the proſperity of the *Romans* complete in this happy year[g].

The next year the new conſuls, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* and *L. Veturius Philo*, carried on the war jointly in *Brutium* againſt *Hannibal*, who, though his troops were in a manner ſtarving, and in want of the common neceſſaries of life, with which *Brutium* could not ſupply them, gained notwithſtanding ſome advantage over the conſuls in the plains of *Coſentia*, where he continued incamped the reſt of the ſummer, the con- c ſuls not daring to attack him. But, while *Hannibal* was upon the defenſive in *Italy*, *Scipio* gave the *Carthaginians* no reſpite in *Spain*. He marched at the head of forty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, againſt the united forces of *Mago* and *Aſdrubal*, conſiſting of ſeventy thouſand foot and four thouſand five hundred horſe, engaged them in a large plain near *Bæcula*, on the confines of *Bætica*, and gained a complete victory over them. The *Carthaginians* indeed behaved with extraordinary valor, and made ſuch a reſolute reſiſtance, as almoſt diſheartened the *Romans*; inſomuch, that *Scipio* was forced to diſmount, ſeize a buckler, and throw himſelf ſword in hand into the midſt of the *African* battalions, before he could engage his men to make the neceſſary efforts to decide the day in their favour, *Aſdrubal* fled to his camp, but d abandoned it in the night and retired towards the ſea. *Scipio* purſued him cloſe, and coming up with him, made a ſecond furious havock of his men; inſomuch, that of his vaſt army only ſix thouſand were left about him, the *Carthaginians* being for the moſt part killed, and the *Spaniards* returned after the firſt battle to their reſpective countries. With theſe ſmall remains of ſo numerous an army, the three chiefs, *Aſdrubal*, *Mago*, and *Maſiniſſa*, gained the ſummit of a ſteep hill, and there intrenched themſelves as well as they could. As the ſea was near, firſt *Aſdrubal*, and afterwards *Mago*, eſcaped in the night by a ſhameful flight, and finding ſhips ready to ſail, imbarqued for *Gades*, leaving their men to ſhift for themſelves. *Maſiniſſa* continued on the hill, where he was inveſted by *Silanus*, whom *Scipio* left there with a detach- e ment, while he himſelf returned to *Tarracon*. A few days after the departure of the proconſul, *Silanus* had a private interview with *Maſiniſſa*; and though we know not the conditions of the engagement, into which the *Numidian* king entered with *Rome*, it is certain he bound himſelf by ſuch ties as proved indiſſoluble. The effects of his good underſtanding with *Silanus* immediately appeared, the troops he commanded on the rock being allowed to diſperſe, and he to return into his own dominions, where he took proper meaſures to ſupport the party he had newly embraced[h].

Scipio *gains a complete victory over the* Carthaginians *in* Spain.

Spain being now almoſt totally reduced, *Scipio* ſent *Lælius* into *Africa* to negotiate an alliance with *Syphax*, king of *Maſæſylia*, who had eſpouſed the *Carthaginian* party. As *Lælius* was only a ſubaltern in *Scipio*'s army, the king, for his greater ſecurity, f inſiſted upon having a perſonal conference with the proconſul himſelf. Hereupon *Scipio*, whoſe great ſoul was above the fear of danger, having left the brave *Marcius* at *Tarracon* with part of the army, and ſent *Silanus* with the reſt to *New Carthage*, imbarqued with *Lælius* for *Africa*., and arrived at the capital of king *Syphax*. As the fugitive *Aſdrubal* happened to arrive there at the ſame time, the *Numidian* king would fain have had *Scipio* enter into a conference with the *Carthaginian*, in order to an amicable accommodation. But the proconſul excuſed himſelf, as not having received any commiſſion to treat of peace. However, he accepted the invitation to dine at the king's table with *Aſdrubal*; on which occaſion he appeared as much ſuperior to his rival in

Scipio *paſſes over into* Africa *to treat with king* Syphax.

[f] Liv. l. xxvii. c. 46—51. Polyb. l. xi. c. 1. Appian. in Hannibal. Oros. l. iv. Zonar. l. ix. c. 9. [g] Liv. l. xxviii. c. 1. [h] Liv. l. xxviii. c. 15, & ſeq. Appian. in Ibericis. Polyb. l. xi. c. 21.

in the charms of converſation, as he had been in war. *Syphax* was ſo taken with his eloquence, addreſs, and noble behaviour, that he entered into a ſecret treaty with him, amuſing the *Carthaginian*, who had a fleet there, till the proconſul was ſafely arrived at *New Carthage*. Upon his return he marched in perſon to beſiege *Illiturgis*, and ſent *Marcius* to reduce *Caſtulo*; both which cities had revolted from the *Romans*. The former being taken by aſſault, all the inhabitants, without diſtinction of ſex or age, were put to the ſword, and the city razed. The latter capitulated, and was more favourably treated. *Marcius* in the next place appeared before *Aſtapa*, the inhabitants of which city, obſtinately devoted to the *Carthaginians*, ſallied out in good order to attack the *Romans*, and all died fighting, except fifty, who had been left in the city to guard their effects, their wives and children, whom they had brought into the market-place, deſigning to deſtroy them all with fire and ſword, in caſe the *Romans* ſhould prevail. This truſt they diſcharged upon the firſt news of the defeat of their countrymen, ſetting fire to a great pile, on the top of which they had placed the women, children, and their moſt valuable moveables. This done, they threw themſelves into the flames, leaving the *Romans* maſters of an empty city. While *Marcius* was thus executing vengeance on the rebellious cities, *Scipio* was returned to *New Carthage*, where he fell dangerouſly ſick; and a report being ſpread that he was dead, not only *Indibilis* and *Mandonius*, two petty kings mentioned above, immediately revolted from the *Romans*; but eight thouſand legionaries, who were incamped on the banks of the *Sucro*, mutinied, drove away their leaders, and choſe two common ſoldiers, *Atrius* and *Albius*, to conduct them. Theſe fellows, ſeeing themſelves at the head of eight thouſand *Roman* legionaries, had the inſolence to uſurp the conſular dignity, and to order lictors to march before them. The pretence for the mutiny was their not having received pay for ſix months. But, in the mean time, the proconſul, having recovered his health, and by a ſtratagem ſecured the ring-leaders of the revolt, cauſed their heads to be ſtruck off; which ſo terrified the reſt, that they all returned to their duty, and took a new military oath. As to the *Spaniſh* princes, who had revolted, *Scipio* was informed, that they had raiſed an army of twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe, and that they were living upon free quarter in the territories of the friends of *Rome*. Hereupon he marched againſt them, and coming up with them in the country of the *Sedetani*, gained there a complete victory, ſeventeen thouſand *Spaniards* being killed upon the ſpot. After this defeat, the two kings had no reſource, but in the clemency of the conqueror, who contented himſelf with obliging them to ſupply him with money enough to pay his troops. After this the proconſul marched with part of his troops towards *Gades*, the only city of *Spain* in the *Carthaginian* intereſt. His chief deſign in this journey was, to have an opportunity of conferring with *Maſiniſſa*, who had ſhut himſelf up in that city with *Mago*, and was impatient to have a conference with the *Roman* general. Accordingly the *Numidian* prince, under pretence of going out to forage, met *Scipio*, and entered into an alliance with *Rome*, adviſing the proconſul to paſs over into *Africa*, and lay ſiege to *Carthage* itſelf, which, he ſaid, would be eaſily reduced. The treaty being concluded, the proconſul returned to *Tarracon*, and *Maſiniſſa* to *Gades*, after having pillaged ſome part of the continent to conceal the true deſign of his journey. Soon after *Mago* received orders to leave *Gades*, and haſten with all his forces to the aſſiſtance of *Hannibal* in *Italy*. Upon his departure, the *Gaditani* immediately ſubmitted to the *Romans*, who were now become maſters of all *Spain*. As *Mago* was coaſting along *Spain* in his way to *Italy*, he formed a raſh deſign of ſurpriſing *New Carthage*; but loſt in the attempt eight thouſand men; which misfortune obliged him to ſtop at the *Balearic* iſlands, where he forced ten thouſand of the inhabitants into the ſervice of his republic, and did not ſail from thoſe iſlands for *Italy* till the ſpring. At *Rome*, the ſenate no ſooner received an account of the intire reduction of *Spain*, but they determined to recal *Scipio*; and accordingly, without giving him time to enjoy any reſt after his fatigues, or even waiting for the new comitia, they diſpatched two perſons to ſucceed him, *Cornelius Lentulus* and *Manlius Acidinus*; the former was to govern the *Hither Spain*, from the *Pyrenees* to the *Sucro*, and the latter the *Further Spain*, from the *Sucro* to the *Ocean*. To theſe *Scipio* ſurrendered the faſces without murmuring, and, attended by his faithful *Lælius* and his brother *Lucius*, immediately ſet ſail with a ſquadron of ten ſhips, and returned to *Italy* [i].

Illiturgis, Caſtulo, and Aſtapa taken by the Romans.

A mutiny in Scipio's *army.*

The Spaniſh *rebels defeated*

Maſiniſſa *confers privately with* Scipio, *and enters into an alliance with* Rome.

Scipio, *having reduced all* Spain, *is recalled.*

As

[i] Liv. l. xxviii. c. 24, & ſeq. Appian. in Ibericis. Zonar. l. ix. c. 10, 11.

Scipio *is chosen consul.*

a As *Scipio* arrived at *Rome* about the time of the new elections, it is not to be expreſſed with what zeal the centuries gave their ſuffrages in his favour, though he had not yet attained to the years cuſtomarily required for the conſular dignity, being only between twenty-eight and twenty-nine years of age. The collegue appointed him was *P. Licinius Craſſus*, ſurnamed *Dives*, and at this time pontifex maximus. When the fathers came to ſettle the provinces of the new conſuls, *Scipio* deſired to be ſent into *Africa*. But old *Fabius*, now preſident of the ſenate, in a long and ſtudied ſpeech, laboured to ſet forth the dangers of ſuch an enterpriſe. It was very viſible, that jealouſy of a riſing merit, which already began to eclipſe his own, was what chiefly animated *Fabius* at this time; and *Scipio* in his anſwer did not fail to expoſe this infirmity of the old preſident. After long and warm debates, the affair of the provinces of the two conſuls was put to the vote, when it was decreed, that *Scipio* ſhould command in *Sicily*, and that, if he thought it for the advantage of the republic, he might, with the fleet there, conſiſting only of thirty ſhips of war, paſs over into *Africa*. As for *Licinius*, he was directed to carry on the war againſt *Hannibal* in *Brutium*. *Scipio*, whoſe thoughts were wholly bent on *Africa*, notwithſtanding his collegue, at the perſuaſion of *Fabius*, did all he could to obſtruct his meaſures, obtained leave to take with him into *Sicily* as many voluntiers as he could get together, and a power to aſk of the allies all things neceſſary for building and equipping a new fleet. Many of the provinces and cities voluntarily taxed themſelves to furniſh him with corn, iron, timber, cloth for ſails, *&c.* ſo that in forty days time after the cutting of the timber, he was in a condition to ſet ſail, with a fleet of thirty new galleys and about ſeven thouſand voluntiers [k].

And ſent into Sicily.

b

c

Mago, *the brother of* Hannibal, *lands with an army in* Italy.

In the mean time, news was brought to *Rome*, that *Mago*, the brother of *Hannibal*, had landed in *Liguria* with twelve thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, and that his army was, ſoon after his landing, greatly ſwelled by the *Gauls* and *Ligurians*, who flocked to him from all parts. At the ſame time, the conſul *Licinius* ſent the ſenate an account, that a plague raged in his camp and obliged him to continue inactive. But, as *Hannibal*'s troops were affected with the ſame diſtemper, and had alſo a famine to ſtruggle with, eighty ſhips, loaded with proviſions for him and his brother *Mago*, having been lately taken by a *Roman* ſquadron, the fears of the people were intirely quieted [l].

d

Lælius *makes a deſcent in* Africa.

During this inaction in *Italy*, *Scipio*, having diſciplined the voluntiers he had brought with him into *Sicily*, ſent *Lælius* with the choiceſt of them on board a fleet of thirty galleys, to make a deſcent in *Africa* and pillage the country. *Lælius* landed near *Hippo*, laid the territory about it waſte, and threw the people of *Carthage* into the utmoſt conſternation. *Maſiniſſa* was no ſooner informed of the arrival of *Lælius*, than he went to confer with him; and expreſſed his ſurprize, that *Scipio* ſo long delayed his departure from *Sicily*, ſince there could never be a more favourable opportunity of attacking *Carthage*, which was deſtitute both of men and proviſions. The *Numidian* promiſed to join *Scipio*, the moment he arrived, with all his forces; but adviſed *Lælius* to imbarque his troops, and return without delay, ſince the *Carthaginian* fleet was getting ready to intercept him. *Lælius* followed his advice, and, weighing anchor the next day, arrived ſafe in *Sicily* with an immenſe booty. In the mean time, *Mago* in *Liguria* received from *Carthage* a reinforcement of ſix thouſand men, with vaſt ſums for raiſing troops in *Ciſalpine Gaul*. But, notwithſtanding all he could do, *Livius* and *Lucretius*, who commanded two *Roman* armies in the neighbourhood of *Ariminum*, took their meaſures ſo well, that he was forced to continue in *Liguria*, though he had been ordered by his republic to join his brother in *Brutium* [m].

e

f

The Spaniſh *rebels intirely defeated.*

In the mean time, *Scipio*, having ſurprized the city of *Locri*, which ſtood on the ſea-coaſt near *Sicily*, and left *Pleminius* governor of the place, returned to the ſaid iſland, and there went on with the preparations for his *African* expedition, hoping, that, at leaſt the next year, the republic would ſuffer him to carry the war into the neighbourhood of *Carthage*. In *Spain*, *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, deſpiſing the new proconſuls, revolted from the *Romans*; but were intirely defeated in a pitched battle, thirteen thouſand of the *Spaniards* being killed on the ſpot, among whom was *Indibilis* himſelf, and eight thouſand taken priſoners. After this defeat, the *Spaniards* ſeized *Mandonius* with the other heads of the revolt, and ſent them under a ſtrong guard to the camp of the proconſuls *Lentulus* and *Acidinus*, who had inſiſted on this as a condition of their obtaining

[k] Liv. l. xxviii. c. 43. & ſeq. Plut. in Fab. [l] Liv. ibid. c. 45. [m] Liv. l. xxix. c. 4.

obtaining mercy. In *Italy*, the plague made a dreadful havock in the camp of the a
conſul *Licinius*, as well as in that of the enemy; ſo that nothing was attempted on
either ſide during this campaign. *Licinius*, not being in a condition to return to *Rome*,
named *Cæcilius*, the proconſul in *Brutium*, to hold the comitia for the new elections.
M. Cornelius Cethegus and *P. Sempronius Tuditanus* were choſen conſuls. The latter
was then in *Greece*, and, before he left that country, he entered into a treaty of peace
with *Philip* king of *Macedon*, which was confirmed by the ſenate. *Licinius* in quality
of proconſul was ordered to continue the war againſt *Hannibal*, *Livius* to watch *Mago*
in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and *Scipio* to remain in *Sicily*. The latter was allowed to paſs over
into *Africa*, and to chuſe ſuch of the *Roman* troops in *Sicily* as he thought fit for that
enterpriſe. We have obſerved above, that *Scipio* had gained over to the *Roman* intereſt b
the two *Numidian* kings, *Syphax* and *Maſiniſſa*. On the other hand, *Aſdrubal*, the
ſon of *Giſco*, undertook to draw off one of them at leaſt, by means of his daughter
Sophoniſba, who is repreſented by hiſtorians as a woman of extraordinary beauty, ſub-
lime genius, engaging manner, and of a courage above her ſex. Her father, to gain
Maſiniſſa, had promiſed her in marriage to him; but, that prince being afterwards
Sophoniſba *is given in marriage to* Syphax, *who enters into an alliance with* Carthage. unfortunately diſpoſſeſſed of the throne of his anceſtors, *Aſdrubal* broke his word,
and gave her to *Syphax*, who, forgetting his engagements with *Scipio*, entered into
an alliance with *Carthage*. However, to keep ſome meaſures with *Rome*, he wrote
to *Scipio*, acquainting him with his marriage, the new alliance he had made with the
Carthaginians, and the neceſſity he was under of taking part with them, in caſe they c
were attacked. The proconſul received this letter with ſome ſurpriſe; but, con-
cealing the contents of it from his army, he aſſembled his troops, and told them,
that both *Maſiniſſa* and *Syphax* complained of his dilatorineſs, and preſſed him not to
delay his departure, ſince they were ready to join him with all their forces. He
then ordered his fleet to the port of *Lilybæum*, and commanded his troops to repair
thither by land. It is not certain what number of men *Scipio* imbarqued; but never
Scipio *imbarques for* Africa. was imbarquation made with more order and ſolemnity. The concourſe of people,
who came from all parts to ſee him ſet ſail and wiſh him a proſperous voyage, was
prodigious. Juſt before he weighed anchor, he appeared on the poop of his galley,
and, after a herald had proclaimed ſilence, addreſſed a ſolemn prayer to the gods; d
which ended, he ordered a victim to be ſlain, threw the entrails into the ſea, and
then, the trumpets ſounding, he weighed anchor, ſailed out of the harbour with a
favourable wind, and, arriving ſafe on the coaſt of *Africa*, landed at the *Fair Pro-
montory*, where we ſhall leave him a while to return to the affairs of *Italy*.

Hannibal *gains ſome advantage over the conſul* Sempronius. The conſul *Sempronius* no ſooner arrived in his province, but he marched towards
Croton, where *Hannibal* was incamped. The *Carthaginian* met him unexpectedly on
his march, and having forced him to fight before he could draw up his men, killed
twelve hundred *Romans*, and obliged the reſt to retire in diſorder. The conſul incamped
at ſome diſtance from the enemy, and reſolved to hazard a ſecond battle, when
joined by the proconſul *Licinius*, who was not far off. Accordingly, he was no e
ſooner reinforced by the proconſular army, but he marched out of his intrenchments,
and bid the enemy defiance. *Hannibal* was too proud of his late victory not to accept
But is afterwards defeated by him. the challenge. The victory was long doubtful; but in the end the *Romans* pre-
vailed, killed four thouſand of the enemy on the ſpot, and took about three hundred
priſoners and eleven ſtandards. After this defeat *Hannibal* retired to *Croton*, and
appeared no more in the field the whole campaign. But the conſul *Sempronius*,
Several cities in Brutium *taken by the* Romans. taking advantage of the enemy's inaction, made himſelf maſter of *Petilia*, *Clampetia*,
Coſentia, and *Pandoſia*; and then returned to *Rome* to erect a temple to *Fortune*,
which he had vowed before the laſt battle, in caſe it proved ſucceſsful. On the other
hand, the conſul *Cethegus*, who acted againſt *Mago*, kept *Hetruria* and *Ciſalpine* f
Gaul in awe; ſo that the *Carthaginian*, who was not in a condition to force the *Roman*
intrenchments, gave over all thoughts of joining his brother this campaign [n].

Scipio *arrives in* Africa. During theſe tranſactions in *Italy*, *Scipio*, as we have obſerved above, arrived ſafe
on the coaſt of *Africa*. The alarm and terror, which this unexpected deſcent cauſed
at *Carthage*, is not to be expreſſed. The republic had no general to make head againſt
Scipio, except *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Giſco*, who was not a match for him; nor was
ſhe provided with any regular and diſciplined troops. *Scipio*, having ordered his
fleet to *Utica*, incamped with his land-forces on certain eminences at a ſmall diſtance
from

[n] Liv. l. xxix. c. 27—36. Appian. ibid.

†

a from the coaſt, and from thence ſent out a detachment of five hundred men to forage. Theſe were attacked by a flying party under the command of *Hanno*, a young warrior, who had been ordered to obſerve the enemy's motions. The *Romans* had all the advantage, and the young *Carthaginian* was killed in the engagement. *Scipio*, looking upon this firſt ſucceſs as a good augury, immediately drew near to *Locha*, a city which ſeemed to promiſe his ſoldiers a rich booty. But he had no ſooner planted his ſcaling-ladders for the aſſault, than the inhabitants ſent a herald to demand their lives with liberty to retire. Upon this *Scipio* ſounded a retreat; but the greedy ſoldiers carried on the aſſault, ſcaled the walls, and, entering the city, put all, even women and children, to the ſword. But ſo barbarous an action and ſo ſignal a diſ-

b obedience did not eſcape unpuniſhed. The centurions, who had encouraged the ſoldiers to carry on the attack, were ordered to draw lots, which of them ſhould die. Three of them were executed, and the guilty ſoldiers were deprived of the booty they had taken °.

Hanno *defeated and* Locha *taken.*

After this expedition, *Maſiniſſa* came privately in the night to confer with *Scipio*. He had been deprived of his kingdom by *Syphax*, and reſtored to it by the mediation of the *Carthaginians*, who readily embraced that opportunity of obliging a prince, whoſe bravery and enterpriſing genius gave them no ſmall umbrage. However, *Syphax* detained *Maſiniſſa*'s mother, whom he had taken priſoner, as a hoſtage to ſecure her ſon's fidelity. *Maſiniſſa* was ſenſible, that the *Carthaginians* were not ſin-

c cere at the bottom; and therefore he ſtill retained his former affection for *Rome*, tho', to comply with the times, he had joined *Aſdrubal* with a ſtrong reinforcement of horſe. In the private interview he had with *Scipio*, it was agreed, that the *Numidian* ſhould continue to deceive the credulous *Carthaginians*, till a favourable opportunity offered of breaking openly with them, and till he could free himſelf from the conſtraint he was under by the captivity of his mother. In the mean time, *Aſdrubal*, at the head of twenty thouſand foot and ſeven thouſand horſe, with an hundred and forty elephants, drew near to *Utica*, which *Scipio* was preparing to inveſt. *Maſiniſſa*, who was one of the council of war on all occaſions, perſuaded *Aſdrubal* to detach his ſon *Hanno* with a thouſand horſe, to watch the motions of the enemy and attempt to

d enter *Utica* with that reinforcement, promiſing to favour the enterprize with all his *Numidian* cavalry. He then gave notice to *Scipio* of the deſign, who ſurpriſed the detachment and took *Hanno* priſoner. And now *Maſiniſſa*, not doubting but *Aſdrubal* would willingly exchange his mother for *Hanno*, joined the *Romans* with all his his forces (R). As for *Syphax*, when he ſaw that his rival had declared for the *Romans*, he endeavoured firſt to draw him off from the party he had embraced; but not ſucceeding therein, he attempted to bribe one of his ſervants to poiſon him. This treachery was diſcovered; and then *Syphax*, who had hitherto taken upon himſelf the office of mediator between *Rome* and *Carthage*, and incamped apart with his army, which conſiſted of fifty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe, kept no longer any

e meaſures with the *Romans*. He led his troops before *Tholus*, a place where the *Romans* had

Maſiniſſa *joins the* Romans.

And Syphax *the* Carthaginians.

° Appian. in Punic.

(R) We have followed *Appian* in this matter; but *Livy* relates it in quite a different manner. According to him, *Scipio* had no ſooner landed his troops in *Africa*, than he advanced towards *Utica*, and incamped within a mile of that city. The *Carthaginians*, in order to ſtop the progreſs of the *Roman* army, had recourſe to *Syphax*, who was intirely governed by *Aſdrubal*, his father-in-law, and his new wife *So-*

f *phoniſba*. *Aſdrubal*, who was then at the court of king *Syphax*, was ordered to leave it, and haſten to the defence of his country. Till he arrived, *Hanno* was appointed to watch the motions of the enemy, and ſecure the country againſt their incurſions. The *Carthaginian*, purſuant to his commiſſion, found means to draw together a body of four thouſand horſe; and with this ſmall army he took the road to *Solera*, and cantoned his troops in that neighbourhood, about fifteen miles from the *Roman* camp, Hereupon *Scipio* ordered *Maſiniſſa*, who, according to *Livy*, had already declared openly for the *Romans*, to march with a troop of *Numidian* horſe towards *Solera*, while he himſelf, at the head of a choice body of *Roman* horſe, followed him at ſome diſtance through by ways among the hills, in order to conceal his approach from the enemy. *Maſiniſſa*, as had been concerted, advanced with his troop to the very gates of *Solera*, as it were to inſult *Hanno*, who had retired with his troops into that city. *Hanno* did not fail to ſally out againſt him; and then the *Numidian* king, returning in good order, drew the enemy by degrees into the plain, when *Scipio*, who lay in ambuſh among the rocks, ſtarting up, cut off their retreat, and ſurrounded them on all ſides. Two thouſand of the enemy were either killed or taken, and among the former was, according to *Livy*, *Hanno* himſelf, with ſeveral *Carthaginians* of diſtinction. This is the account *Livy* gives us of this action; but that of *Appian* ſeems to us to agree better with the precedent and ſubſequent events. Beſides, *Cælius* and *Valerius*, two ancient annaliſts quoted by *Livy* himſelf, tell us, that *Hanno* was not killed, but taken priſoner: as does alſo *Zonaras*, whoſe authority is an additional weight to incline the balance in favour of *Appian*.

had a magazine of corn, ſurpriſed it, and put the gariſon to the ſword. In the mean a
time, *Scipio* was ſo haraſſed by the enemy, who ſurrounded him, that he was obliged
to raiſe the ſiege of *Utica*, after he had continued it forty days, and retire as the winter
approached, to a more commodious poſt. The place which he choſe was a promon-
tory, under which his fleet was anchored. There he fortified his camp, and waited
for the return of the ſpring to renew the war with vigor [p].

In the mean time, cloaths, corn, and proviſions of all ſorts were ſent from *Rome* to
Scipio's army, in ſpite of the peeviſh jealouſy of old *Fabius*, who was ever inveighing
againſt the proconſul, and even moved in the ſenate to have him recalled. When the
comitia had elected the new conſuls, *Cn. Servilius Cæpio* and *C. Servilius Geminus*, and
came to appoint the proconſuls, *Scipio* was honoured with a particular mark of di- b
ſtinction; for while the others were nominated only for one year, he was continued
proconſul in *Africa* till the war was ended. The whole winter was ſpent in fruitleſs
negotiations between *Scipio* and *Syphax*, who had aſſumed anew the quality of media-
tor. Early in the ſpring, the proconſul ſent a detachment to take poſſeſſion of the
old poſt, where he had incamped when he beſieged *Utica*. Both the *Romans* and
Africans imagined, that his intention was to renew that enterprize. But his deſign
was to attack the two camps of the enemy in the night; for *Syphax* was incamped
with his army apart from the *Carthaginians*. This ſcheme he imparted to his troops
the night before the attack; and the motion being approved of by all, tho' there
were more men in each camp than the whole of the *Roman* army, *Scipio* divided his c
troops, and gave the command of one part to *Maſiniſſa* and of another to *Lælius*, or-
dering them to inveſt the camp of *Syphax* on different ſides, and to ſet fire to their
barracks, which were of wood, mats, hurdles, and ſuch combuſtible materials. As
for himſelf, he told *Maſiniſſa* and *Lælius*, that he would watch the motions of *Aſdru-
bal*'s army, but ſuſpend the attack of his intrenchments, till he received advice, that
they had penetrated to the centre of the *Numidian* camp. The whole ſcheme was
happily executed. The camp of *Syphax* firſt, and then that of *Aſdrubal*, was ſur-
Scipio *ſur-* priſed and burnt. Many of the *Carthaginians* and *Numidians* were burnt alive in
priſes and their beds, ſome were ſuffocated with the ſmoke, others ran to the gates, and were
burns the either ſtifled in the croud, or maſſacred by the enemy. Men, beaſts of burden, and d
camps of Sy- elephants, all periſhed, either in the flames, or by the ſword. Thoſe who leaped
phax *and* Af- down from the top of the ramparts, to avoid periſhing in the flames, were cut in
drubal. pieces by parties of *Roman* troops, who had ſeized all the avenues to the two camps.
The plain was all covered with dead bodies, and the two camps filled with heaps of
aſhes and bones. Forty thouſand of the enemy were deſtroyed either by fire or ſword,
and five thouſand made priſoners. Among the latter were many perſons of diſtinction;
particularly eleven *Carthaginian* ſenators. The *Romans* ſaved out of the flames a hun-
dred and ſixty ſtandards, two thouſand ſeven hundred *Numidian* horſes, and ſix ele-
phants. *Scipio* did not loſe a hundred men in this deciſive action. The two *African*
commanders, *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax*, found means to make their eſcape, with two e
thouſand foot and five hundred horſe. The conſternation of the people at *Carthage*
was inexpreſſibly great, when they ſaw *Aſdrubal* arrive there, with the poor remains
of his ſhattered army. The *Suffetes*, or ſupreme magiſtrates, immediately aſſembled
the ſenators, who were divided in opinion, ſome being for recalling *Hannibal* without
delay, others for propoſing a truce with the enemy; but the *Barcan* faction, which
Hanno *ap-* was for purſuing the war and continuing *Hannibal* in *Italy*, prevailed. *Hanno*, the
pointed com- ſon of *Hamilcar*, was appointed to command the troops in the room of *Aſdrubal*, who
mander of the was ſentenced to die for his ill conduct; but, the troops being for him, he avoided the
Carthaginian execution of the ſentence, and, having aſſembled about eight thouſand foot and three
forces. thouſand horſe, he endeavoured to ſerve his country, without any commiſſion from the f
republic. As for *Syphax*, he had retired, after his defeat, to *Abba*, or *Obba*, where
he was ſoon joined by *Aſdrubal* and other troops; ſo that the two *African* comman-
ders found themſelves in a very ſhort time in a condition to appear anew in the field,
having drawn together from ſeveral parts near thirty thouſand men. With this army
they incamped in a place called *The Great Plain*, about five days march from *Utica*,
which *Scipio* had beſieged anew. However, the proconſul was no ſooner informed of
their motions, than he turned the ſiege into a blockade, and haſtened to attack them.
After ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes, the two armies came to a general engagement, in which the
Romans

[p] Liv. l. xxix. c. 35. Appian. in Punic.

a *Romans* prevailed, and gained a complete victory. After this ſucceſs, the proconſul diſpatched *Lælius* and *Maſiniſſa* after *Syphax*, who, with the beſt part of his troops, haſtened back into his own country. *Scipio* reſolved to make himſelf in the mean time maſter of the towns in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*. With this view he marched to *Tunis*, from whence *Carthage* could be ſeen, and took it without the loſs of a ſingle man, the gariſon having deſerted it in a fright at his approach. The *Carthaginians*, in order to divert *Scipio* from laying ſiege to their capital, having equipped with incredible expedition a fleet of a hundred galleys, ſent it, under the command of *Hamilcar*, the father of *Hanno*, to burn the *Roman* fleet, which lay under the promontory formerly mentioned. *Scipio*, perceiving from *Tunis* the courſe which the *Carthaginians*
b ſteered, made what haſte he could to preſerve his fleet; and reaching the port by land, before the enemy arrived there by ſea, drew up his galleys as near to the ſhore as he could, and repulſed the enemy, who, nevertheleſs took ſix of his galleys. With this ſmall prize *Hamilcar* returned to *Carthage*; and the proconſul thought it adviſeable to continue where he was, till he could receive from *Italy* a reinforcement of ſhips, his whole fleet conſiſting now but of fourteen galleys [q].

Scipio *gains a complete victory over* Aſdrubal *and* Syphax.

Tunis *taken by* Scipio.

In the mean time, *Lælius* and *Maſiniſſa*, who, with the third part of the legions, were gone in purſuit of *Syphax*, penetrated, after fifteen days march, into the heart of *Numidia*. *Syphax*, at the head of a very numerous army, advanced to meet them; but was vigorouſly repulſed in a general action which enſued, forced to fly, and purſued to the banks of a river, where *Maſiniſſa* himſelf took him priſoner, with his ſon
c *Vermina*. After this, the victorious *Numidian*, with the approbation of *Lælius*, who was to follow him by ſlow marches, haſtened to appear before *Cyrtha*, the capital of *Syphax*'s dominions. As he had taken the captive king with him, the city, being deſtitute of all hopes of relief, readily ſurrendered. *Maſiniſſa* entered it in triumph, and haſtened to the palace, with full intention to puniſh *Sophoniſba*, for entering into engagements with his rival, after ſhe had been betrothed to him. But he was ſoon diſarmed; for he no ſooner entered the palace, than the beautiful queen, ſet off with all the charms of dreſs, fell at his feet, and, embracing his knees, conjured him in the moſt moving manner not to deliver her up to the *Romans*, but rather to free her by
d death from the chains of an inſulting enemy. Theſe words made a deep impreſſion on *Maſiniſſa*; he looked tenderly on her, and feeling his former flame revive, he reached out his hand to her; which was a token that her requeſt was granted. But as the fair captive properly belonged to *Scipio*, and *Maſiniſſa*, who was but a ſubaltern in the *Roman* army, had no right to make ſuch a promiſe, he was greatly perplexed to know how he ſhould perform it. At length he reſolved to follow the dictates of his love, and marry her, thinking that neither *Scipio* nor *Lælius* could lay any claim to her, after he had, by a lawful marriage, made her his own. The public rejoicings on this occaſion were not over when *Lælius* arrived. He was ſo ſhocked at ſo precipitate a marriage, that he reſolved at firſt to ſnatch the queen from the nuptial
e bed, and ſend her away with the other captives to *Scipio*; but, upon ſecond thoughts, he determined to refer the matter to the judgment of the proconſul, and in the mean time let the prince enjoy his amours. As for *Syphax*, he was ſent under a ſtrong guard to *Scipio*'s camp, where he was treated with great politeneſs and reſpect, the proconſul remembering the hoſpitable entertainment this prince had formerly given him at his court. As *Scipio* took frequently pleaſure in converſing with his royal captive, he learned of him, that, if he had been left to his own judgment, he would have continued faithful to *Rome*; but that his wife *Sophoniſba*, having by her irreſiſtible charms made herſelf miſtreſs of his heart, had induced him to prefer *Carthage* to
f *Rome*. Hereupon *Scipio*, fearing ſhe might gain ſuch an aſcendant over her new huſband, reſolved to take her from him. It was not long before *Maſiniſſa*, having reduced all *Numidia*, arrived at the proconſul's camp with his new queen. *Scipio* received him with all poſſible marks of diſtinction, but took no notice of *Sophoniſba*, tho' ſhe entered his tent together with *Maſiniſſa*. From the proconſul's tent ſhe was conducted to *Maſiniſſa*'s quarters, and there reſpected as his wife; but *Scipio*, by no means liking to ſee a *Carthaginian* woman with the title of queen in the midſt of a *Roman* army, had a private conference with *Maſiniſſa* a few days after his arrival. He complimented him in the firſt place on his heroic behaviour, and then, expoſtulating with him on his late conduct, exhorted him to conquer the love of pleaſure, and not ſuffer

Syphax *defeated, and taken priſoner.*

Maſiniſſa *marries* Sophoniſba.

h Liv. l. xxx. c. 10. Appian. in Punic. Zonar. l. ix. c. 10.

ſuffer himſelf to be enſlaved by a woman, after having ſubdued a vaſt kingdom. At a
the ſame time, he put him in mind, that the ſpoils and captives taken from the enemy
belonged not to him, but to the *Romans*. He concluded his ſpeech thus: I am very
ſenſible, that your heart trembles at the thought of the ſacrifice I require of you; but
return, *Maſiniſſa*, return to your reaſon. Hitherto your weakneſs deſerves pity; but
it may become unpardonable. Your perſeverance in it may be attended with a long
repentance. The *Numidian* prince bluſhed and wept. His heart was rent with
oppoſite paſſions; but at length his virtue and his intereſt gained the aſcendant over
his love. He promiſed the general to ſhake off his chains; and ſo far got the maſtery
over his paſſion, as to carry in perſon to his beloved *Sophoniſba* the decree, which
Scipio had pronounced againſt her, declaring, that ſhe belonged to the *Roman* people. b
When he entered his tent, Receive now, ſaid he, the laſt teſtimony of my affection
and fidelity. It is abſolutely out of my power to deliver you from the ſlavery with
which you are threatened, any other way than by death. Remember only whoſe
daughter and whoſe queen you are, and then ſurely you cannot be afraid to deſcend
to the ſhades. *Maſiniſſa* will ſoon follow you thither. Tears flowed down the prince's
cheeks while he uttered theſe words; and, as ſoon as he had ſpoke them, he ruſhed
out of the tent, where all things were prepared to give the unhappy princeſs the moſt
ſpeedy and eaſy death. A ſlave, whoſe buſineſs it was to prepare poiſon, entered the
tent as ſoon as *Maſiniſſa* went out, and preſented to the queen the fatal cup, which ſhe
took with an air of great compoſure, upbraiding her weeping nurſe for diſhonouring c
her death with her tears. Then turning to the ſlave, Let my huſband, ſaid ſhe,
know that I die contented, ſince I die by his orders. Aſſure him, that I was forced,
contrary to my inclinations, to enter into engagements with another. My heart has
been enſlaved to none but him; and as for my body, I readily abandon it to the fury
of the *Romans*. Having thus ſpoke, ſhe drank the poiſon, and almoſt inſtantly
expired. *Scipio*, to conſole the *Numidian* prince, careſſed and diverted him; and,
when he had aſſembled his troops, ſtyled him king for the firſt time in a juridical way,
and preſented him with a crown of gold, a curule chair, an embroidered robe, and a
tunic adorned with palm-branches. Theſe honours counterbalanced in the prince's
heart the remembrance of his dear *Sophoniſba*, and he now conceived hopes of become- d
ing ſole maſter of all *Numidia*[r].

The Carthaginians make a fraudulent propoſal of peace.

And now, that the winter kept both armies from entering upon action, *Scipio*
diſpatched *Lælius* with *Syphax* and the reſt of the captives to *Rome*, and returned
himſelf to his old poſt near *Tunis*. The *Carthaginians*, alarmed at his neighbourhood,
endeavoured to gain time by a fraudulent treaty of peace, till *Hannibal* and *Mago*
ſhould arrive from *Italy*. The better to impoſe upon the proconſul, they ſent depu-
ties to *Rome*, and with them a ſmall number of *Roman* captives and deſerters; but
at the ſame time they prepared to renew the war with vigor, ſtrengthened their
alliances on all ſides, and once more prevailed upon *Philip* of *Macedon* to engage in e
their intereſt. While *Scipio*, deceived by the fraudulent propoſals of the *Carthagi-
nians*, was ſuſpending hoſtilities in *Africa*, *Lælius*, arriving at *Rome*, gave the con-
ſcript fathers a pompous, but true, account of his friend's exploits. This occaſioned
an univerſal joy in the city. The prætor publiſhed a decree for a general ſupplication,
and the people crouded to the temples to return thanks for the proconſul's ſucceſs.
As for *Syphax*, the ſenate ordered him to be conducted to *Alba*, in the country of the
Marſi, and there kept to grace the triumph of the *Roman* general at his return. At
the ſame time, the ſenate confirmed the title which *Scipio* had given to *Maſiniſſa*, and
ſent him new preſents in the name of the republic[s].

In *Italy*, *Hannibal* was now wholly confined to a corner of *Brutium*, and had not
attempted any thing this campaign. As for his brother *Mago*, he did not venture to f
give battle to the conſul *Servilius Geminus*, who commanded an army in *Hetruria*;
but falling down upon *Inſubria*, engaged two *Roman* armies there, under the conduct
of the proconſul *Corn. Cethegus* and the prætor *Quintilius Varus*. The victory was

Mago embarques for Africa but dies of a wound at ſea. Hannibal recalled.

long diſputed; but at length, *Mago* himſelf being wounded, the *Carthaginians* were
routed, and obliged to take ſhelter among the mountains of *Liguria*. There he
received ſtrict orders to repair forthwith to *Carthage*; but he had ſcarce doubled the
iſland of *Sardinia*, when he died of his wound. *Hannibal* received the ſame orders,
and complied with them, but not without great reluctance. He reſolved to take a
body

[r] Liv. ibid. c. 14. Appian. in Punic. Zonar. l. ix. c. 12. [s] Liv. l. xxx. c. 16.

a body of *Brutian* troops with him; but theſe, refuſing to abandon their native country, took refuge in the temple of *Juno Lucina*, where the barbarous *Carthaginian* cauſed them all to be cruelly maſſacred. When he was out at ſea, he often looked back on the country he had hoped to conquer, and is ſaid to have uttered bitter execrations againſt gods and men. The joy at *Rome*, on the news of his departure, was inexpreſſibly great; but old *Fabius* endeavoured to allay it, by exclaiming, that the *Roman* ſtate was never in a more deplorable condition; but the people confided in the abilities of *Scipio*, and public thanks were appointed to be offered to the gods for *Hannibal*'s departure [t].

The Carthaginians break the truce.

b *Scipio* had granted the *Carthaginians* in *Africa* a truce, till their embaſſadors returned from *Rome*; but, in the mean time, an accident diſcovered the inſincerity of their intentions. *Scipio* had ſent for a reinforcement of ſhips both from *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. The ſquadron from *Sicily* was diſperſed by a tempeſt, and many of the ſhips being driven near the port of *Carthage*, the *Carthaginians* ſeized and plundered them. Hereupon the proconſul ſent *M. Bæbius* with two other deputies to *Carthage*, to complain of the injuſtice, and require ſatisfaction; but the ſenate, depending on the return of *Hannibal*, agreed to ſend them back without an anſwer; nay, the quinqueremis, which carried the envoys, was attacked by the *Carthaginian* admiral, and, after ſome reſiſtance, forced to run aground near the ſhore, where moſt of the *Romans* were killed; but the embaſſadors themſelves had the good luck to eſcape [u].

c This perfidiouſneſs was too plain a proof, that the war would be renewed with freſh vigor, as ſoon as *Hannibal* arrived; and it was not long before that general, ſo much wiſhed-for, came within ſight of *Africa*, which he had left at nine years of age, and had not ſeen for thirty-three years paſt. He landed at *Little Leptis*, a city between *Suſa* and *Adrumetum*. About the ſame time *Lælius* and *Fulvius* returned from *Rome*, the latter to continue in his poſt of lieutenant in *Scipio's* army, and the former in quality of quæſtor as well as lieutenant. As for the troops which *Mago* commanded in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, the fleet, which carried them, was diſperſed by a ſtorm, and moſt of the ſhips were taken by the *Romans*.

Hannibal lands in Africa.

And now the eyes of all nations in *Europe* and *Africa* were fixed on the two heroes

d of the age, *Scipio* and *Hannibal*, who were to enter the liſts. The latter, being informed that hoſtilities were begun anew, gained over as many of the princes of *Numidia* as he could, and among the reſt the ſecond ſon of *Syphax*, who joined him with a conſiderable body of *Numidian* horſe. On the other hand, *Scipio* purſued the war with all the fury, which the perfidiouſneſs of the *Carthaginians* deſerved. He took ſeveral towns by aſſault, put the gariſons to the ſword, and made the inhabitants paſs under the yoke. However, he diſmiſſed the *Carthaginian* embaſſadors, who had been arreſted by *Bæbius* on their return from *Rome*, after having treated them with great humanity and politeneſs, tho' moſt of the officers were for retaliating upon them the injuries which their embaſſadors had ſuffered.

e In the mean time, *Tib. Claudius Nero* and *M. Servilius Pulex* being choſen conſuls for the next year, they drew lots for their provinces, and it fell to the latter to conduct the army in *Hetruria*, and to the former to command the fleet in *Africa*; but, by a decree both of the ſenate and people, he was to leave the direction of all affairs at land wholly to the proconſul.

As *Scipio* continued ravaging the territories of *Carthage* and taking her cities, *Hannibal* was ordered to advance towards the enemy and ſtop their progreſs. Accordingly he left *Adrumetum*, marched a hundred and ſeventy-five miles, and incamped near *Zama*, a town in *Africa Propria*, about ſeventy-five miles from *Carthage*. From his new camp he ſent out ſpies to obſerve the ſituation and ſtrength of the enemy.

f Theſe ſpies, being diſcovered and apprehended, were, by *Scipio's* orders, led into all the quarters of the camp, and, after they had been ſhewn every thing which they came to learn, diſmiſſed with money to defray the expences of their journey. *Hannibal* was ſo ſtruck with admiration at the magnanimity and confidence of the *Roman* general, that he immediately reſolved to aſk an interview with him, in order to a peace. With this view he addreſſed himſelf to *Maſiniſſa*, begging him to intercede with the proconſul, and perſuade him to come to an interview. *Maſiniſſa* diſcharged his commiſſion with zeal; but the people, having got the aſcendant at *Carthage*, would hearken to no meaſures that tended to a reconciliation; nay, orders were diſpatched

[t] Idem ibid. c. 19.

[u] Idem ibid. c. 25. Polyb. l. xv. c. 1.

diſpatched to the general to continue the war, and come to a deciſive battle without delay. But, notwithſtanding theſe orders, which had been extorted from the ſenate by the people, *Hannibal*, having obtained the proconſul's conſent to an interview, drew near, and incamped with his army about five miles from the *Romans*. There was between the two camps a large plain, intirely open, and where no ambuſh could be laid. Thither the two generals repaired, eſcorted by a like number of guards, and then, ſeparating from their attendants each with his interpreter, they held a private conference. Perhaps two greater men never met, nor was ever any deliberation of more importance. Theſe two heroes had never ſeen one another; but fame had given each a high eſteem of the other. *Hannibal* is ſaid to have been ſtruck with admiration at the firſt ſight of *Scipio*. His hair flowed down his back to a great length; he had an equal mixture of majeſty and ſweetneſs in his countenance; he was in his full ſtrength and bloom, and deemed one of the moſt comely men of his age. There was nothing affected or too negligent about him. His habit was plain, but neat, and ſuch as became a ſoldier, who deſpiſed the ſtudied elegancies of dreſs. Their ſurpriſe at meeting kept them for ſome moments in a profound ſilence, which *Hannibal* firſt broke with a long deſcant on the viciſſitudes of fortune; and then, having artfully flattered the *Roman*, he propoſed the ceſſion of *Spain*, *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, and of all the iſlands between *Italy* and *Africa*, as the terms of a peace. *Scipio* anſwered, with all the haughtineſs of a conqueror, that he offered nothing but what the *Romans* already poſſeſſed; that if he had made ſuch a propoſal before he left *Italy*, it might perhaps have been thought a tolerable one; but now that his republic would inſiſt upon conditions of a different nature, which he propoſed, adding, If you like theſe conditions, the *Roman* ſenate and people will condeſcend to enter into a treaty with your republic; if not, let us fly to arms, and decide the controverſy by the ſword. At theſe words the two generals parted, and each returned to his camp to prepare for a general action. Early the next morning, *Scipio* marched out his troops into the plain, and ſent a detachment to ſeize an eminence between the two camps. Theſe meeting with a detachment ſent by *Hannibal* for the ſame purpoſe, repulſed them, and made themſelves maſters of that poſt. This brought on a general action, contrary, as ſome ſay, to the inclination of *Hannibal*. Never was a more memorable battle fought, whether we conſider the generals, the armies, the two ſtates that contended, or the importance of the victory. Both generals diſplayed an uncommon ſkill in drawing up their men and chuſing their ground, and no leſs courage and reſolution in chargeing the enemy. They both repreſented to their men, that this battle muſt decide, whether *Rome* or *Carthage* ſhould give law to the world. Never was victory more obſtinately diſputed. The *Carthaginians*, eſpecially in the ſecond line, performed wonders, repulſing three times the *Roman* legionaries with great ſlaughter. As for *Hannibal*'s firſt line, which conſiſted of mercenaries, it was put to the rout at the firſt onſet, which occaſioned at length the defeat of the ſecond line; for the *Romans*, puſhing on the routed mercenaries with their bucklers, forced them back on the *Carthaginians*, and by that means put the ſecond into confuſion, and at length obliged them to give ground and betake themſelves to flight; but the greateſt difficulty was to break into the enemy's phalanx, where *Hannibal* commanded in perſon. The phalanx was the choice of *Hannibal*'s army, the *Carthaginian* general having formed it of thoſe veterans, who had often made the *Romans* tremble in the plains of *Italy*. However, *Scipio* advanced boldly at the head of his haſtati to attack this formidable body; but the ground, he was to croſs to come at the phalanx, being covered with dead bodies, bucklers, and darts, and the earth ſoaked with blood, and ſo ſlippery that his men could ſcarce keep their feet, *Scipio* commanded the principes and triarii to join the haſtati; and having drawn up all his men in one great front, marched over heaps of dead bodies againſt *Hannibal*, who, at the head of his phalanx, kept his men cloſe and waited for the enemy. The *Romans* fell upon this laſt body with a fury not to be expreſſed; but the *Carthaginians*, encouraged by the preſence and example of their leader, kept their ground, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the whole *Roman* infantry. *Scipio*, reſolving either to complete the victory or die in the attempt, exerted, at the head of the legionaries, all his ſkill and perſonal bravery; but could not by any means break into that impenetrable body. The attack was often renewed, but to no purpoſe. The ground was covered with heaps of dead bodies; but not one of the *Carthaginians* offered to fly, or even quit his rank. The proconſul, finding all his efforts unſucceſsful, was at a loſs what to do; but while he was under the greateſt

An interview between Scipio *and* Hannibal.

The battle of Zama.

a greateſt concern to ſee his brave legionaries fall in great numbers, without being able to gain the leaſt advantage over the enemy, *Lælius* and *Maſiniſſa*, returning from the purſuit of the *Carthaginian* and *Numidian* cavalry, appeared very ſeaſonably on the field of battle, and attacked the phalanx in the rear. And now *Hannibal* could hold out no longer; his phalanx was put in diſorder, and ſo terrible a ſlaughter was made of thoſe brave men, that few of them eſcaped. *Hannibal*, after having ſignalized himſelf by a thouſand acts of valour, was at length obliged to ſave himſelf by flight. *Maſiniſſa*, tho' wounded, purſued him cloſe, being extremely deſirous to crown his other exploits with the taking of the general himſelf; but the *Carthaginian*, being favoured by the darkneſs of the night, got ſafe into *Thon*, a ſmall city in that neigh-
b bourhood, attended only by twenty horſemen. From thence he fled, with one man only in whom he could confide, and taking the road to *Adrumentum*, reached that city in two days and two nights. In this action above twenty thouſand men were ſlain on the ſide of the *Carthaginians*, and as many priſoners taken, among whom were many *Macedonians* and *Soſipater* their commander. The *Romans* did not loſe above two thouſand men; a memorable victory, which raiſed *Scipio* above *Hannibal*, and paved the way for the *Romans* to the conqueſt of the world [w].

Hannibal *totally defeated.*

Hannibal was ſoon called from *Adrumentum* to *Carthage*, where he declared in the ſenate, that they had no reſource but in a peace. Theſe words, in the mouth of the warlike *Hannibal*, were deciſive; and *Carthage* now thought of nothing, but uſing all
c means to ſoften the *Roman* general, whoſe humane temper was well known. Thirty of the chief nobility were diſpatched away in haſte to *Tunis*, where *Scipio* then was. Theſe deputies ſpared neither ſubmiſſions, proteſtations, nor promiſes. *Scipio* received them at firſt with the haughty air of a conqueror, and ſeemed not to give ear to their propoſals; but, at the bottom, he was as fond of concluding a peace as they; for he had certain intelligence from his friends in *Rome*, that the conſul *Nero* was equip-
ping a fleet with all expedition, in order to come into *Africa* and rob him of the glory of finiſhing the war there. The next day therefore he ſent for the deputies, whom he had rejected the day before, and imparted to them the conditions, on which he was willing to grant them a peace. Theſe were as follow: 1. The *Carthaginians* ſhall
d live according to their own laws, and enjoy all the cities and provinces which they had in *Africa* before the war; but the *Romans* ſhall hold *Spain*, with all the iſlands in the *Mediterranean*. 2. The *Carthaginians* ſhall deliver up to the *Romans* all their deſerters, fugitive ſlaves, priſoners of war, and all the *Italians* whom *Hannibal* forced to follow him. 3. They ſhall deliver up into *Scipio*'s hands all their ſhips of war, except ten triremes, with all their tamed elephants, and tame no more. 4. The republic of *Carthage* ſhall enter into no war, either in *Africa* or elſewhere, without the conſent of the *Roman* people. 5. They ſhall reſtore to *Maſiniſſa* all they have
e uſurped from him and his anceſtors, and even enter into an alliance with him. 6. They ſhall ſupply the *Roman* legions with corn, and pay their auxiliaries, till the return of the embaſſadors they ſhall ſend to *Rome*. 7. They ſhall pay the *Romans*, in the ſpace of fifty years, ten thouſand talents at equal payments. 8. They ſhall deliver up to *Scipio* a hundred ſuch hoſtages as he ſhall chuſe, the youngeſt of which ſhall not be under fourteen, and the oldeſt not above thirty years of age. 9. Neither the peace nor the truce ſhall take place, till the *Carthaginians* have reſtored to the *Romans* the ſhips and effects taken from them during the late truce. 10. The *Roman* armies ſhall leave *Africa* within fifty days after the concluſion of the treaty. Theſe were hard conditions, but readily complied with, *Hannibal* himſelf declaring zealouſly for a peace. Purſuant to his advice, deputies were ſent to *Scipio*'s camp, to make ſatiſ-
faction for the ſhips and effects taken from the *Romans* during the laſt truce; and the whole ſum amounted to twenty-five thouſand pounds weight of ſilver [x]. Then the
f ſuſpenſion of arms took place, and embaſſadors were diſpatched to *Rome*, to obtain of the ſenate and people a ratification of the treaty, When the deputies were introduced into the ſenate, *Aſdrubal*, ſurnamed *The Ram*, who was at the head of them, and had always oppoſed the *Barcan* faction, made a modeſt ſpeech, in which he laid all the blame of the late war on the family of *Hamilcar*, and endeavoured to move the *Romans* to compaſſion, by repreſenting the deplorable condition to which the city and republic of *Carthage* were reduced. The conſcript fathers were divided in opi-
nion;

Article of peace between Rome *and* Carthage.

[w] Polyb. l. xv. c. 9. Liv. l. xxx. c. 30. Appian. in Punic. Zonar. l. ix. c. 19. [x] Polyb. l. xv. c. 18. Appian. in Punic. Liv. l. xxx. c. 37. Zonar. l. ix. c. 14.

nion; ſome were for concluding a peace on the terms propoſed by *Scipio*, who, ſaid a
they, is certainly the beſt judge, in the preſent caſe, of what is moſt for the intereſt of *Rome*, But, as *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Ælius Pætus* had been lately choſen conſuls, and the command of the fleet had fallen to the former, all his friends and relations were for continuing the war, that he might have the glory of completing the great work begun by *Scipio*. Among the reſt, *C. Lentulus* maintained, that nothing could be more to the intereſt of *Rome*, than utterly to deſtroy *Carthage*, and put it out of the power of the perfidious *Africans* to hurt *Rome* for the future. In the cloſe of his ſpeech, turning to the chief of the embaſſy, *What gods*, ſaid he, *will you call to witneſs the ſincerity of your oaths?* To which *Aſdrubal* immediately replied, *The ſame who have ſo ſeverely puniſhed us for the breach of them.* This anſwer was b
applauded by the aſſembly; and the ſenate plainly ſeeing, that *Lentulus* had no other view in declaiming with ſo much zeal againſt a peace, but to give the conſul, his relation, an opportunity of finiſhing the war, to the prejudice of *Scipio*, paſſed a decree, granting the *Carthaginians* their requeſt. The conſul *Lentulus* appealed from it to the people; who being aſſembled gave their conſent to a peace with *Carthage*, declaring, that they would ſuffer none but *Scipio* to conclude it, or bring back the troops to *Rome*. The *Carthaginian* embaſſadors were therefore diſmiſſed with a favourable anſwer, and ten deputies, attended by the feciales of the republic, ſent with them, to aſſiſt *Scipio* in ſettling the articles of the treaty. Upon their arrival at the proconſul's camp, the *Carthaginians* began to execute the articles they had agreed to. c
In the firſt place, they delivered up all deſerters and priſoners of war, and then their elephants, of which *Scipio* ſent ſome to *Rome*, and gave the reſt to *Maſiniſſa*; but nothing was more mortifying to the *Carthaginians*, than the delivering up all their ſhips, galleys, and frigates, except ten triremes, to the number of five hundred ſail. Theſe *Scipio* burnt at ſea, within ſight of *Carthage*. The laſt thing that remained was, to diſcharge the firſt payment of the tribute, which the *Romans* had required for fifty years; and this article was alſo executed, a tax being laid on all the citizens of *Carthage* for the raiſing of this ſum. And now *Scipio* prepared for his departure; but before he left *Africa*, with the conſent of the ten commiſſioners, he ſettled *Maſiniſſa* in the peaceable poſſeſſion of his hereditary dominions, and of all the places he had taken from d
Syphax. This done, he ſailed to *Lilybæum*, and thence to *Italy*. The news of his landing was no ſooner ſpread in the neighbouring places, but the people flocked from all parts to ſee the deliverer of *Rome* and the conqueror of the formidable *Hannibal*. From the port where he landed to *Rome*, the roads were crouded with infinite numbers of people, not only the citizens, but even the peaſants, running to behold and applaud the man, to whom they owed their liberty and preſervation. As he drew near *Rome*, the whole city went out to meet him; and ſuch of the citizens and ſenators, as had at firſt oppoſed his expedition, were the moſt earneſt to congratulate him on the ſucceſs of it. He wanted only to have received the congratulations of the great *Fabius*; but he was dead. However, the conqueror had the ſatisfaction to e
find, that the predictions of this old general had proved falſe, and ſerved only to augment his glory. Both ſenate and people concurred in decreeing him a triumph, which was the moſt magnificent one that had ever been ſeen in *Rome*. *Polybius* tells us, that king *Syphax* was carried in triumph, and that he died a few days after in priſon; but he is therein contradicted by all the ancients, who ſay, that the captive king died before the triumph at *Tibur*, whither he had been removed from *Alba*, the place of his confinement. Among the captives was, according to ſome writers, the famous poet *Terence*, at that time very young; at leaſt it is certain, that he was a native of *Africa*, and was afterwards infranchiſed by *Terentius Lucanus*, whoſe name he took. The ſenator *Terentius Culleo*, who had been taken by the *Carthaginians* and f
delivered by *Scipio* from a cruel captivity, to ſhew his gratitude, wore, in the triumphal proceſſion, the *pileus*, as a ſymbol of his having obtained his freedom. The booty *Scipio* brought from *Africa* was immenſe; among other things he delivered to the quæſtors one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds weight of ſilver. The republic, to ſhew her gratitude to a man, who had done her more important ſervices than all her other commanders together, would have raiſed him above the level of other citizens, by beſtowing on him, as ſome authors write, the perpetual dictatorſhip, and erecting ſtatues to him, in the comitium near the roſtra, before the ſenate-houſe, and even on the capitol; but *Scipio* wiſely declined theſe extraordinary honours, contenting

The ſenate and people of Rome *conſent to a peace with* Carthage.

The articles of the treaty are executed, and an end put to the ſecond Punic *war.*
Year of the flood 2803.
Before Chriſt 196.
Of Rome 552.

Scipio *triumphs, and gets the ſurname of* Africanus.

a ing himſelf with the glorious name of *Africanus*, which hiſtory has preſerved to him, as a laſting monument of his conqueſts in *Africa*[y].

[y] Vide Liv. l. xxx. c. 43. Polyb. l. xvi. c. 12. Appian. in Punic. Zonar. l. ix. c. 14.

CHAP. VII.

The hiſtory of Rome, *from the end of the ſecond* Punic *war, to the deſtruction of* Carthage.

b ROME, by the peace ſhe concluded with *Carthage*, was delivered from thoſe continual alarms ſhe had long been under from ſo powerful a rival. However, ſhe was not yet in ſuch a ſtate of peace and ſecurity as to ſhut the temple of *Janus*. While the treaty with the *Carthaginians* was executing, the *Boii* entering the territories of the allies of *Rome*, laid them waſte; which obliged the conſul *Ælius Pætus* to take the field. He detached *Ovvius* with two legions and about two thouſand auxiliaries, to go before him and ravage the enemy's country; but that general was ſurpriſed by the *Boii*, ſurrounded on all ſides, and cut off with ſeven thouſand of his men. The conſul advanced to revenge his defeat; but the *Gauls* appearing no more in the field, he pillaged their country, and then falling down on *Liguria*, he obliged the *Ingauni*, who inhabited a ſmall canton of *Liguria Maritima*, to enter

c into an alliance with *Rome*[z]. Theſe were the only exploits of the conſul *Ælius* during this campaign. Upon his return to *Rome*, a decree was paſſed, impowering him to name a general to go with a fleet into *Macedon*; for the ſenate had juſt received advice, by embaſſadors from the *Rhodians* and from *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, that *Philip* of *Macedon* was ſoliciting the ſtates of *Aſia* to join him againſt *Rome*. The perſon; whom the conſul named for this expedition, was *Lævinus*, who no ſooner appeared on the coaſts of *Macedon*, than he was joined by *Aurelius*, who had long reſided in *Greece*, to defend it with a ſmall ſquadron and a few *Roman* troops. Theſe two, having conſulted together about the ſtate of *Macedon* and *Greece*, agreed to write to the ſenate, that they thought it neceſſary to declare war, without delay,

d againſt king *Philip*, who was preparing to make a deſcent upon *Italy*. Theſe letters arrived ſoon after the election of the new conſuls, *P. Sulpicius Galba* and *C. Aurelius Cotta*, who having aſſembled the people, prevailed upon them to vote for a war with the king of *Macedon*, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of *Bæbius*, a tribune of the people, who endeavoured to perſuade the centuries, that the nobility, from party-views, hindered them from enjoying any repoſe. The conſul *Sulpicius*, to whoſe lot *Macedon* fell, paſſed over into that kingdom with two legions; and, being aſſiſted by *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, and the *Ætolians*, gained great advantages over *Philip*, as we have related at length in our hiſtory of *Greece* and *Macedon*.

The Boii *gain a conſiderable advantage over the* Romans.

The Romans *reſolve upon a war with the king of* Macedon.

While the conſul *Sulpicius* was employed in *Macedon*, the *Gauls*, headed by

e *Hamilcar*, whom *Hanno* had left in *Italy*, made a ſudden irruption into the lands of the allies of *Rome*; and having ſeized *Placentia*, put all the citizens to the ſword. From thence they advanced to *Cremona*; but the inhabitants of that city, ſhutting their gates againſt them, gave notice of their danger to *Furius Purpureo* the *Roman* prætor, who commanded five thouſand men of the allies in the neighbourhood of *Ariminum*. *Furius*, before he marched to their relief, wrote to the ſenate deſiring ſuccours, the *Gauls* being above forty thouſand ſtrong. Hereupon the fathers decreed

[z] Liv. l. xxxi. c. 2.

decreed, that either the conſul *Aurelius*, who was ſtill in *Rome*, ſhould put himſelf at the head of his legions, which were incamped in *Hetruria*, and haſten to the relief of *Cremona*; or, in caſe he declined it, that thoſe legions ſhould march to *Ariminum* without him, and be commanded in that expedition by *Furius*, who ſhould ſend his five thouſand men into *Hetruria*. As *Aurelius* choſe rather to continue at *Rome*, *Furius*, at the head of his legions, marched againſt the enemy, defeated them in a pitched battle near *Cremona*, and killed above thirty thouſand of them on the ſpot. The victorious prætor returned to *Rome*, where, after a warm debate in the ſenate, he was decreed a triumph. This is the firſt inſtance we find in the *Roman* hiſtory of a triumph granted to a general, who had fought under the auſpices of another; and on this account it was, that the oldeſt ſenators oppoſed it, though to no effect, the majority being for honouring the brave prætor with that mark of diſtinction [a].

The Gauls initially defeated by the prætor Furius.

In the following conſulate of *Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Villius Tappulus*, the *Ætolians* took part with the *Romans* againſt the king of *Macedon*; but *Villius*, to whoſe lot *Macedon* fell, ſtaid at *Rome*, till the ſeaſon was too far advanced to undertake any thing of moment this campaign. The other conſul *Lentulus*, who remained in *Italy*, inſtead of marching againſt the *Gauls*, who were not yet quelled, ſtaid at *Rome*, though there was no buſineſs of ſufficient moment to detain him there. The conſular year being expired, the republic beſtowed the faſces on *Quinctius Flaminius* and *Sext. Ælius Catus*, though neither of them had been in the prætorſhip, and the former, who was but thirty years of age, had never been ſo much as ædile. The war of *Macedon* fell to the lot of *Flaminius*, and that of *Italy* to *Ælius*. *Cato* was at the ſame time appointed prætor of *Sardinia*, where he made himſelf remarkable for his frugality, auſterity of life, and ſtrict juſtice in puniſhing offenders. His only amuſement was, to hear the inſtructions of the poet *Ennius*, under whom he learned the *Greek* ſciences, and perfected his fine genius. He baniſhed uſurers from his province, and reduced the intereſt upon loans almoſt to nothing [b].

The progreſs of Flaminius in Macedon.

As for *Flaminius*, he immediately ſet out for his province, where he forced the intrenchments of king *Philip*, opened himſelf a way into the heart of *Macedon*, took ſeveral towns in *Theſſaly*, and, by his inſinuating manner, gained over the *Achæans* to the intereſt of *Rome*, as we have related at length in our hiſtory of the *Achæans*. His collegue *Ælius*, who had performed nothing worth mentioning in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, when the time of the elections drew near, was called home to aſſemble the centuries. The perſons raiſed to the conſulate this year were *C. Cornelius Cethegus* and *Q. Minucius Rufus*. They were both ſent into *Ciſalpine Gaul* againſt *Hamilcar*, who ſtill headed the revolt there. *Flaminius* was continued, in quality of proconſul, general of all the *Roman* forces in *Greece*, till the ſenate and people ſhould think fit to recal him. They alſo granted him a ſupply of five thouſand foot, three hundred horſe, and three thouſand ſeamen and rowers, and appointed his brother *Quinctius* to command the fleet under him. With this reinforcement *Flaminius*, having firſt gained over the city of *Thebes* and all *Bœotia* to the *Roman* intereſt, marched into *Theſſaly* in purſuit of *Philip*, and came up with him in the plains of *Cynocephalæ*. Here the two armies came to a general engagement, in which the *Macedonians* were intirely defeated, eight thouſand of them being killed upon the ſpot, and five thouſand taken priſoners. At the ſame time *Androſthenes*, one of *Philip*'s generals, whom that prince had left in *Corinth* with ſix thouſand men, was defeated by *Nicoſtratus* prætor of the *Achæans*. Hereupon the *Macedonian*, having no other reſource but in a peace, ſubmitted to ſuch terms as *Flaminius* was pleaſed to impoſe upon him [c]. Thus ended the firſt *Macedonian* war, of which we have given a very particular account in our hiſtory of *Greece*.

Philip *ſubmits to the terms of peace propoſed by* Flaminius.

In *Italy*, the war, which was carried on with the *Gauls* by the two conſuls, gave the people more concern than that of *Macedon*. But their fears were ſoon quieted; for *Cethegus*, who marched againſt the *Inſubres* and *Cenomani*, gained a complete victory over them on the banks of the *Mincius*. Thirty thouſand of thoſe *Gauls* were killed upon the ſpot, and five thouſand ſeven hundred made priſoners, with their general *Hamilcar*. *Minucius*, the other conſul, having no opportunity of coming to a pitched battle with the *Ligures* and *Boii*, over-ran their country, and laid it waſte. For theſe ſucceſſes the ſenate and people ordered public thankſgivings, in all the temples of *Rome*, for four days [d]. The republic thought fit at this time to increaſe the number of prætors to ſix, by creating two new ones for the government of *Spain*, which

The Ciſalpine Gauls *defeated.*

[a] Liv. l. xxxi. c. 48. Fast. Capit. [b] Plut. in Caton. [c] Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 14. Plut. in Flamin Polyb. l. xiii. Justin. l. xxx. [d] Liv. l. xxxii. c. 13--29. Polyb. Justin. ibid.

a which ſhe divided into two provinces, by the names of *Hither Spain* and *Further Spain*. But the *Spaniards*, highly diſpleaſed to ſee their country reduced to the ſtate of *Roman* provinces, took arms, and falling upon *Sempronius*, prætor of *Hither Spain*, cut him off with moſt of his troops. In *Further Spain* ſeveral towns revolted; and there was almoſt a general diſpoſition to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke. *The* Spaniard revolt.

THE new conſuls, *L. Furius Purpureo* and *M. Claudius Marcellus*, were ordered to continue the war with the *Ciſalpine Gauls*, who were not yet totally ſubdued; but *Flaminius*, by a new decree, was appointed to act as general in *Greece*, till ſuch time as the treaty with *Macedon* ſhould be concluded. Ten commiſſioners were ſent from *Rome* to aſſiſt him in this undertaking. Theſe, by the advice of *Flaminius*, decreed, that
b all the *Greek* cities, both in *Europe* and *Aſia*, ſhould be reſtored to perfect liberty. This decree was ſoon after proclaimed by a herald in a vaſt aſſembly of *Greeks*, met together from all parts to celebrate the *Iſthmian* games. Their amazement and joy on this occaſion was inexpreſſible. Many ſpeeches were made in praiſe of the *Roman* greatneſs and generoſity. The *Ætolians*, who had been refuſed ſome towns which they claimed, were the only people diſſatisfied with the peace. They complained of it, and at length had recourſe to *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, who, at their inſtigation, paſſed over into *Europe*, under pretence of recovering *Thrace*, which his great-grandfather *Seleucus Nicator* had conquered from *Lyſimachus*.

IN *Italy*, the two conſuls carried on the war with great ſucceſs againſt the *Gauls*,
c and intirely deſtroyed two conſiderable armies of thoſe rebels, plundered their country, and returned to *Rome* loaded with booty. After this, the republic was wholly employed in publiſhing ſome new edicts. The pontifices and augurs were now required, for the firſt time, to pay a tax towards the expences of the war; but they were at the ſame time eaſed of one burdenſome part of their function, a new ſort of ſacerdotal college being erected, under the name of *Epulones*, whoſe office was confined wholly to the care of religious feaſts. At firſt theſe epulones were three only, and all choſen out of plebeian families. The three firſt were *C. Licinius Lucullus*, *T. Romuleius*, then tribune of the people, who had got the law paſſed, and *Porcius Læcas*, who, two years before, while he was tribune of the people, had, in ſpite of all oppoſition, car-
d ried a law, forbidding, under very ſevere penalties, any magiſtrate to cauſe a *Roman* citizen to be whipt with rods. This law, which *ſecured the ſhoulders of the people*, to uſe the expreſſion of one of the ancients [e], was called the *Porcian* law, not from the famous *Porcius*, known afterwards by the name of *Cato the cenſor*, as ſome have falſly imagined, but from *Porcius Læcas*, firſt tribune of the people, and afterwards one of the epulones [f]. However, this privilege did not extend to the armies, where the generals had an abſolute power of life and death. *The* Epulones *inſtituted.* *The* Porcian *law.*

THE conſul *Marcellus*, when the time for the new elections drew near, aſſembled the centuries, who raiſed to the conſular dignity *L. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Porcius Cato*. The conduct of the war in *Spain* fell by lot to the latter; but, while he was
e making the neceſſary preparations for his departure, the *Roman* ladies took a ſtep, which obliged him to ſtay longer at *Rome* than he expected. About eighteen years before, when *Hannibal* was ravaging *Italy* and the treaſury was exhauſted, a tribune of the people, named *Oppius*, had got a law paſſed, forbidding even the richeſt of the *Roman* ladies to uſe above half an ounce of gold in their apparel, to wear habits of various colours, or to make uſe of chariots, either at *Rome* or in the neighbouring villages, unleſs they were to aſſiſt at a public ſacrifice a mile off. The women of diſtinction, thinking it intolerable to be under this reſtraint, now that the republic abounded with riches, made a great ſtir to get the law repealed. *Valerius* and *Fundanius*, two of the tribunes, preſented their requeſt to the comitia; and never was an
f aſſembly more divided. The capitol, where it was held, was full of people crying out for and againſt the law. Even the women, neglecting the orders of their huſbands, the rules of decency, and the public authority, ran thither, beſet the paſſages which led from the capitol to the voting place, ſolicited the men as they paſſed for their ſuffrages, and urged the juſtice of their pretenſions. As the affair was more than one day under deliberation, the women flocked to *Rome* from all the neighbouring colonies and towns, and offered petitions to the conſuls and prætors. But *Cato* was inexorable; he made a long harangue to the aſſembly in behalf of the law, full of ſatyrical reflections on the women, for their appearing in public to ſolicit votes.

But

[e] SEXT. Pomp. faſt. [f] CIC. de orator. l. iij. LIV. ibid. c. 36.

But the tribune *Valerius* made a very eloquent ſpeech in behalf of the women, in which a
he excuſed their appearing in public to ſolicit their own cauſe, and urged the reaſon-
ableneſs of repealing the *Oppian* law. His harangue made ſuch an impreſſion on the
The Oppian *law repealed.* minds of the people, that they all voted for the abrogation of the law, *Cato* being
the only man who diſſented [g].

And now the conſul ſet out for *Spain* with two legions, five thouſand auxiliaries,
and five hundred horſe. He imbarqued at *Luna* in *Hetruria*, and landed at *Rhoda*,
now *Roſes*, in *Catalonia*. From thence he marched by land to *Emporiæ*, where he
was joined by the prætor *Helvius*, who had juſt gained a conſiderable victory over the
Spaniards. As *Cato*'s troops conſiſted for the moſt part of raw ſoldiers, he took great
pains to diſcipline them, conſidering, that they had to deal with the *Spaniards*, who, b
in their wars with the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, had learned the military art, and
were naturally brave and courageous. The general himſelf was a pattern to his men
of vigilance, ſobriety, and aſſiduity in labour, His dreſs was always plain, he readily
expoſed himſelf to the inclemencies of the ſeaſon, and his proviſions were the ſame
which the common ſoldiers had. When a camp was to be pitched, he was always
the firſt to take up the ſpade, and the laſt to lay it down. By this management, the
conſul ſoon put his troops on the foot he deſired, and then marched in queſt of the
enemy, but firſt ſent away his fleet, that his ſoldiers might place all their hopes in
their bravery. With this ſame view, when he came near the enemy, he took a com-
paſs, and poſted his army behind them in the plain; ſo that the *Spaniards* were be- c
Cato defeats the Spaniards. tween him and his camp. In the general action which enſued, the *Spaniards* were,
by *Cato*'s admirable conduct, intirely defeated and driven out of the field, After
this victory, deputies flocked to his camp from all the neighbouring cities, intreating
him to pardon them; but he did not accept their ſubmiſſions, till they had given
him hoſtages. As the dread of his name procured him great reſpect in all the pro-
vinces beyond the *Iberus*, he wrote the ſame day private letters to the commanders
of ſeveral fortified towns, ordering them to demoliſh without delay their fortifica-
tions, aſſuring them, that he would pardon none, but ſuch as readily complied with
his orders. Every one of the commanders, believing the order to be ſent only to
himſelf, immediately beat down their walls and towers; ſo that all the places in whole d
provinces beyond the *Iberus* were left defenceleſs, and ſeized by the *Romans* with-
out oppoſition [h]. After this, the conſul marched into *Further Spain*, to aſſiſt *Manlius*
the prætor, who commanded in thoſe parts; but not being able to bring the enemy
to a battle, he returned to his old camp upon the banks of the *Iberus*. In his way he
took ſeveral towns and a prodigious booty, beſtowing on each of his ſoldiers, beſides
the ſpoils, a pound weight of ſilver. When ſome of the officers ſeemed ſurpriſed at
this liberality, he told them, *It is better that many of the* Romans *ſhould return home
with ſilver, than a few only with gold.* Of all the booty he appropriated nothing to
his own uſe, but continued to live in as frugal a manner as the meaneſt ſoldier [i]. The e
campaign being ended, he ſailed back to *Rome* with his troops, and was honoured
the next year with a triumph; after which he led a private life, employing his leiſure
in ſtudy. He wrote a book of the origin of the cities of *Italy*, and another of agri-
culture, in which he took great pleaſure. He often pleaded before the ſenate and
people, and was always ready to ſerve his country, even as a private ſoldier [k].

But to return to *Flaminius*: Tho' a peace was concluded with *Philip*, yet the ſe-
nate, being well appriſed, that, ſooner or later, they muſt break with *Antiochus*, judged
it neceſſary, that *Flaminius* ſhould continue in *Greece*; and as there was reaſon to ſuſ-
pect, that *Nabis*, tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, would join the king of *Syria*, orders were ſent
to the proconſul to attack and cruſh that tyrant. Purſuant to theſe orders, *Flaminius* f
marched with all his forces to beſiege *Lacedæmon*; and at the ſame time his brother
Quinctius appeared on the coaſt with forty ſhips of war. Upon their appearance, ſeveral
cities on the coaſt of *Laconia* ſubmitted to the *Roman* admiral, and among the reſt *Gy-
thium*, a ſtrong town, and, as it were, the port of *Lacedæmon*. Hereupon *Nabis* ſent de-
Nabis, *tyrant of* Lacedæmon, *ſubmits to the terms of peace propoſed by* Flaminius. puties to deſire a conference with the proconſul; which being granted, a peace was ſoon
after concluded upon ſuch terms as *Flaminius* thought fit to impoſe. And now the
proconſul, having intirely reſcued *Greece* from ſlavery, and put it out of the power
either of *Philip* or *Nabis* to diſturb the peace he had eſtabliſhed in all parts, returned
to *Rome*, where he was honoured with a triumph, which laſted three days [l].

The

[g] Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 2——7. [h] Liv. ibid. c. 15. Appian. in Iberic. Plut. in Caton. [i] Plut. ibid. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Liv. ibid. c. 24—36. Polyb. l. iv. c. 81. Plut. in Flamin.

a THE following year, when *Scipio Africanus* and *Tiberius Sempronius Longus* were conſuls, nothing happened worth mentioning, except a victory which the latter gained over the *Ciſalpine Gauls*. The enemy loſt eleven thouſand men, and the *Romans* five thouſand. *Scipio* hoped to be ſent againſt *Antiochus*; but as that prince had not yet openly declared againſt *Rome*, that illuſtrious *Roman* had no opportunity to ſignalize himſelf in his ſecond conſulate. In the beginning of the next year, when *Cornelius Merula* and *Minucius Thermus* were conſuls, three embaſſadors came to *Rome* from *Antiochus*, to propoſe an alliance with the republic; but the *Romans* requiring him to renounce all his pretenſions to *Thrace*, *Æolis*, and *Ionia*, to which he had an undoubted right, the embaſſadors returned to *Antioch*, much diſſatisfied with the reception they b had met with at *Rome*[m]. This year *P. Cornelius Scipio*, ſurnamed *Naſica*, gained a conſiderable victory over the *Luſitanians*, who inhabited the country we now call the kingdom of *Portugal*. After this, he left *Spain*, and reſigned his army to *Fulvius* his ſucceſſor, who defeated in a pitched battle the united forces of the *Vaccæi*, *Vectones*, and *Celtiberians*, and took *Hilermus*, one of their kings, priſoner. In *Hither Spain*, *Flaminius* came late into his province; but nevertheleſs made himſelf maſter of *Ilucia*, a ſtrong town, and cleared the country of ſome banditti who infeſted it. In *Ciſalpine Gaul*, the conſul *Merula* defeated the *Boii* near *Mutina*, killed fourteen thouſand of them on the ſpot, made near two thouſand priſoners, among whom were three of their generals, and took two hundred and twelve colours, with ſixty three c *Gallic* carts loaded with baggage. However, this victory was much diſputed, and coſt the conquerors dear; for they loſt five thouſand men, legionaries and auxiliaries, among whom were twenty-three centurions, two tribunes of the ſecond legion, which was moſt expoſed, and many officers of the allies. Notwithſtanding this victory, *Merula* was refuſed a triumph, being charged by *Marcellus*, one of his lieutenants, with ſome miſconduct during the action. *Q. Minucius Thermus*, the other conſul, marched againſt the *Ligures*, who, to the number of fifty thouſand men, were incamped near *Piſa*; but, as the conſular army conſiſted for the moſt part of raw and undiſciplined troops, *Thermus* acted only upon the defenſive.

The ſucceſs of the Romans *in* Spain *and* Ciſalpine Gaul.

WHEN the time for electing new conſuls drew near, two patricians, of high birth d and great merit, offered their ſervice to the republic, viz. *Scipio Naſica* and *L. Quinctius*. Two other illuſtrious citizens contended for the plebeian conſulſhip, *Lælius* and *Domitius Ænobarbus*. *Naſica* and *Lælius* were ſupported by *Africanus*, who was couſin-german to the former, and united to the latter by the ties of an intimate and ſtrict friendſhip. *Quinctius* was recommended by his brother *Flaminius*, who had lately been ſo ſucceſsful in *Greece* and *Macedon*. When the day appointed for the elections came, it appeared, that *Flaminius* had more intereſt than the great *Scipio*, who had the double mortification of not ſucceeding either for his couſin or his friend; ſo that *Quinctius* was preferred to *Naſica*, and *Ænobarbus* to *Lælius*, tho' the plebeian conſul was not recommended by any extraordinary merit of his own or his e friends. Time had ſomewhat leſſened the eſteem and veneration of the people for the conqueror of *Hannibal*; beſides, he had diſobliged the commons, by the invidious diſtinction he had procured the ſenators the year before, of ſitting in the orcheſtra at the ſcenic ſhews, apart from other ſpectators. The new conſuls were ſcarce entered upon their office, when news was brought to *Rome* of the defeat of the *Ligurians* by *Thermus*, now proconſul. He had been drawn by the enemy into a kind of *Caudine Forks*, but reſcued out of danger by a ſtratagem of the *Numidian* horſe in his army. Theſe advancing towards the poſts the *Ligurians* had ſeized, galloped up and down the plain, without offering to attack them; ſo that they were rather an entertaining ſight, than matter of terror. Nothing could be more contemptible in appearance f than the *Numidian* ſquadron; the men had no arms but one dart each; their horſes were ſmall and lean, and as they had no bridles, they thruſt out their necks, and hung down their heads when they galloped. The *Numidians* added to the ridiculouſneſs of their appearance out of deſign, affecting to fall off their horſes, to raiſe the laugh and ſhouts of the enemy. This ſcene was ſo agreeable to the *Ligurians*, that many of them, not apprehending any danger from ſo contemptible an enemy, quitted their arms and ranks, and, ſitting down on the graſs, entertained themſelves with ſo diverting a ſight. On the other hand, the *Numidians*, advancing nearer and nearer, as if they could not govern their horſes, all on a ſudden clapping their ſpurs to them, flew through

[m] LIV. ibid. c. 58. APPIAN. in Syriac.

through the *Ligurian* battalions with incredible ſwiftneſs, and, entering the plain, ſet a fire to the enemy's magazines. This cauſed ſuch a diverſion, that one paſs was left unguarded, which gave the *Romans* an opportunity of ſeizing it, and getting out of the ſnare. After this, *Rome* ſent the proconſul a reinforcement of four thouſand foot and two hundred horſe; and then he forced them to come to a battle, and gained a complete victory over them. Nine thouſand of the enemy were killed on the ſpot, their army was diſperſed, and their camp beſieged, which they valiantly defended till night; but quitted it by favour of the darkneſs, and left it to be plundered by the *Romans* [n].

The Ligurians *defeated.*

While theſe things were tranſacting in *Italy*, the *Ætolians* raiſed new diſturbances in *Greece*. They reſolved, in a general diet of the nation, to renounce their alliance with *Rome*, and form a new confederacy againſt her. With this view they ſent deputies to *Philip*, *Nabis*, and *Antiochus*. *Nabis* immediately took arms and beſieged *Gythium*. Upon this beginning of a general commotion in *Greece*, the ſenate ſent three embaſſadors to the king of *Syria*; and on this occaſion it was, that *Scipio Africanus*, who accompanied them without a commiſſion, had the famous conference with *Hannibal*, who, being perſecuted at home by the *Romans* and the enemies of the *Barcan* faction, had taken refuge in the court of *Antiochus*, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Syria*. As *Rome* would not abate any thing of her firſt pretenſions, the conference between the king and the *Roman* embaſſadors was warm, but not long. From this time *Antiochus* reſolved to declare war againſt *Rome*, and began to make the neceſſary preparations for paſſing over into *Greece*, contrary to the advice of *Hannibal*, who preſſed him to invade *Italy*. Purſuant to the reſolution he had taken of making *Greece* the ſeat of the war, he tranſported himſelf thither with only ten thouſand foot, five hundred horſe, and ſix elephants, theſe being all the forces he had ready. Hereupon war was immediately declared at *Rome* againſt *Antiochus*. The new conſuls, *P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica* and *M. Acilius Glabrio*, drew lots for their provinces; and *Greece* falling to the latter, he immediately ſet out for his province with twenty thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and fifteen elephants. On his arrival in *Greece*, he was joined by the allies of the republic there, and with their aſſiſtance he ſoon ſubdued all *Theſſaly*. In the mean time, *Antiochus* ſeized the famous ſtreights of *Thermopylæ*; but the conſul, by the advice and aſſiſtance of *Cato*, who ſerved in no higher a ſtation than that of a legionary tribune, forced the *Syrian*'s ſtrong intrenchments, and obliged him to abandon *Greece* and retire to *Epheſus*. Much about the ſame time, *Livius*, the *Roman* admiral, gained a complete victory over the *Syrians* at ſea. The joy of the *Roman* people for theſe ſucceſſes in the *Levant*, was greatly heightned by the account they received from *Ciſalpine Gaul* of the intire reduction of the *Boii* by *Scipio Naſica*. This whole nation being ſubjected, their lands were ſhared among *Roman* colonies ſent thither for that purpoſe. The ſame year, the proconſul *Thermus* finiſhed the war with the *Ligurians*, by the reduction of their whole country; ſo that *Italy* now enjoyed a profound tranquillity. Endeavours were uſed by one of the tribunes to have *Naſica* and *Thermus* triumph jointly; but the ſenate granted that honour to the former only. His proceſſion was ſet off with all ſorts of ſpoils, with chariots made after the *Gallic* faſhion, ſtandards, vaſes of braſs, fourteen hundred and ſeventy collars of gold, twelve hundred and twenty horſes taken from the enemy, two thouſand three hundred and forty pounds weight of gold, and laſtly, a great number of captives, among whom were many of the chief nobility of the country. The conqueror beſtowed on each of his ſoldiers a hundred and twenty-five aſſes of braſs, that is, about eight ſhillings; to every centurion twice as much, and to every horſeman three times that ſum. At the ſame time, the ſenate granted an ovation to the propraetor *Fulvius Nobilior*, for having ſubdued the *Vectones* and *Oretani* in *Spain*. His proceſſion was adorned with ſpoils of great value, *viz.* a hundred and thirty thouſand pieces of ſilver money, ten thouſand pounds weight of ſilver in bars, and a hundred and twenty-five pounds weight of gold in ingots [o].

Antiochus *lands in* Greece.

Is defeated at the paſs of Thermopylæ

The Boii *intirely ſubjected.*

The conſuls choſen for the new year were *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Lælius*, the former brother, the other friend, to the great *Scipio*. As *Lælius* had the reputation of being the abler commander, he artfully propoſed to his collegue, that, inſtead of drawing lots, they ſhould leave the matter to the deciſion of the ſenate. *Scipio Africanus* adviſed his brother to accept the propoſal; and when the affair was laid before the ſenate, he offered to ſerve under his brother in quality of his lieutenant.

There

[n] Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 21

[o] Liv. xxxvii. c. 46. & l. xxxvi. c. 40. Tab. triumph.

There needed no other argument; the conſcript fathers immediately aſſigned *Aſia* to
a the two *Scipios*, as their common province. Thus the great *Africanus* ſhewed more regard to the honour of his family, than partial affection to his friend. It would have caſt a blemiſh on his brother, if he had not been judged fit to command the army againſt *Antiochus*; beſides, *Lælius* had been a little wanting in point of friendſhip, by expoſing his friends's brother to an affront. The two brothers immediately imbarqued at *Brunduſium* with thirteen thouſand men, and landed at *Apollonia*. From thence they marched through *Epirus* and *Theſſaly*, and at length arrived before *Amphiſſa*, a city of the *Ætolians*, which *Acilius* was beſieging. Hither came deputies from the *Athenians* to intercede for the *Ætolians*; and the conſul was prevailed upon to grant them a truce, that they might ſend embaſſadors to *Rome* to treat of a peace with the
b ſenate. By this truce the ſiege of *Amphiſſa* was raiſed; and then *Acilius* reſigned the command of his two legions to the conſul, and returned home. The *Scipios* purſued their march through *Macedon* and *Thrace*, and croſſed the *Helleſpont* without oppoſition. *Scipio Africanus* fell ſick near *Elæa*; but his brother *Lucius*, being ambitious of gaining a victory in his abſence, purſued *Antiochus*, and, coming up with him near *Magneſia*, gave him a total overthrow. The *Syrian* loſt on this occaſion fifty thouſand men, including priſoners of war, and the *Romans* not above three hundred foot and twenty-five horſe. Tho' the ſucceſs of this action was chiefly owing to the bravery and conduct of *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* and his brother *Attalus*, yet *Lucius Scipio* gained by it the ſurname of *Aſiaticus*, as his brother had done, by his victories in
c *Africa*, that of *Africanus*. *Antiochus*, after his defeat, readily ſubmitted to ſuch conditions of peace as the conſul thought fit to impoſe upon him, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of *Syria*, to which we refer our readers. The *Ætolians*, hearing of the defeat of *Antiochus*, ſued for peace in good earneſt; which was granted them at the interceſſion of the *Athenians*, but upon very ſevere conditions; which the reader will find in our hiſtory of *Ætolia*. *Acilius*, who had overcome *Antiochus* at the paſs of *Thermopylæ*, was honoured on his return with a triumph, in which were carried many valuable ſpoils of *Greece* and *Aſia*, a great many ſilver vaſes carved after the *Greek* faſhion, all the plate of the king of *Syria*, and his moveables, which were of an ineſtimable value, two hundred and thirty ſtandards, three thouſand pounds weight
d of ſilver in bars, a hundred and thirteen thouſand *Attic* tetradrachmæ, amounting to fourteen thouſand five hundred and ninety-five pounds ſixteen ſhilling and eight pence, and two hundred and forty-eight thouſand ciſtophori, pieces of ſilver coin current in *Aſia*, and amounting in the whole to four thouſand two hundred and ſeventy-one pounds two ſhillings and two pence. *Acilius* alſo brought home with him forty-five crowns of gold, which were preſents made him by cities in alliance with *Rome*. Thirty-ſix *Ætolian* chiefs, taken priſoners in war, walked before the triumphant victor's chariot [p].

Antiochus *totally defeated in the battle of* Magneſia. *Year of the flood* 2814. *Before Chriſt* 185. *Of* Rome 563.

The conſular year being expired, the faſces were transferred from *Scipio* and *Lælius* to *M. Fulvius Nobilior* and *Cn. Manlius Vulſo*. The former was ſent into *Ætolia*, to
e ſettle affairs there, and the latter into *Aſia*, where he took upon him the command of the army, which had defeated *Antiochus* at *Magneſia*. As no nation had lent *Antiochus* more powerful ſuccours than the *Gallo-Greeks* or *Galatians*, the conſul reſolved to march againſt them and attempt the reduction of their country. They were originally *Gauls*, who, to the number of twenty thouſand, had, in the time of *Brennus*, croſſed the *Alps*, and, paſſing through *Thrace*, entered *Aſia*, and ſettled in an inland country beyond *Caria* and *Phrygia*. The conſul, being aſſiſted in his long march by *Seleucus*, the king of *Syria*'s ſon, and by *Attalus* the brother of *Eumenes*, arrived at length on the confines of *Galatia*. Upon his approach, the *Galatians* retired with all their effects and proviſions to the tops of high mountains, with a deſign to tire out
f the patience of the *Romans*, by leaving them to languiſh away their time in deſolate plains. The conſul marched firſt againſt thoſe *Galatians*, who were called *Toliſtobii*, and were poſted on mount *Olympus*, forced their intrenchments, ſlew great numbers of them, and took forty thouſand priſoners, including women and children. After the defeat of the *Toliſtobii*, the conſul led his army againſt the *Tectoſagi* and *Trocmi* poſted on mount *Magaba*, attacked their intrenchments with the ſame ſucceſs as he had done the other, and forced the whole nation to ſue for peace. He would not treat with them on the ſpot; but ordered their deputies to follow him to *Epheſus*, whither he

The Romans *carry the war into* Galatia.

The Galatians *intirely reduced.*

[p] Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 48.

he retired with his army, the weather beginning to be very cold in *Galatia*. The *Galatians* obeyed the commands given them, and concluded a peace with the conſul on his own terms [q]. a

The war with the *Gauls* in *Aſia* was ſcarce finiſhed, when a new one broke out with the *Gauls* and *Ligurians* in *Italy*. *M. Valerius Meſſala*, one of the new choſen conſuls, was ordered to *Piſa*, to watch the motions of the latter, and *C. Livius Salinator*, the other conſul, to march againſt the former. *Fulvius* and *Manlius* were continued in their reſpective provinces, in quality of proconſuls. *Fulvius* had, during his conſulſhip, eſtabliſhed all the cities on the continent of *Greece* in their ancient freedom; but had added the iſland of *Cephalenia* to the demeſns of the republic. Hither he tranſported his troops, and now, being proconſul, made it the place of his reſi- b
dence, giving from thence law to all *Greece*. All diſputes between the *Greek* cities and ſtates were brought to his tribunal; ſo that in reality they had only an appearance of liberty. The conſuls of this year performed nothing worthy of notice againſt the *Gauls* and *Ligurians*; and therefore the new conſuls, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *C. Flaminius*, were both ordered againſt the *Ligurians*, whom they reduced in one campaign, and made all quiet between *Hetruria* and the *Alps*. During their conſulate, the proconſul *Manlius* arrived at *Rome*. After the reduction of *Galatia*, he had croſſed the *Helleſpont* in his way home. As he was paſſing through *Thrace*, a body of ten thouſand *Thracians* attacked him in a narrow paſs between woods, where the *Romans* could not form themſelves in order of battle. However, he eſcaped the danger, with c
the loſs only of ſome ſpoils, and, continuing his march through *Theſſaly* and *Epirus*, arrived at *Apollonia*, where he was to imbarque; but, the ſeaſon being now far advanced, he paſſed the winter there, and arrived in *Italy* early in the ſpring. He halted in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and demanded, as uſual, a triumph of the ſenate, aſſembled in the temple of *Bellona*; but his requeſt met with great oppoſition. It was objected, that he had undertaken his expedition againſt the *Galatians*, without the orders of the republic, and carried it on more like a robber, than a *Roman* conſul. It was alſo urged, that he had been wanting in conduct, ſince he had ſuffered the *Thracians* to rob him of part of the ſpoils. But *Manlius* ſhewing that the *Gauls* had aſſiſted *Antiochus*, and excuſing, as well as he could, his diſaſter in *Thrace*, after a d
long debate, a triumph was decreed him by a majority of votes [r].

The Ligurians *ſubdued.*

And now, *Rome* being diſengaged from all foreign wars, the moſt zealous republicans took pleaſure in proſecuting the chief men in the ſtate. They thought it perhaps a refined policy to humble thoſe in times of peace, whom they had exalted in times of war. *Cato*, who had always been a ſecret enemy to *Scipio Africanus*, no ſooner ſaw the republic in a condition to do without him, but he reſolved to deſtroy him. With this view he engaged two tribunes of the people, both *Petiliuſes*, to cite him before the tribes, to anſwer to a charge of miſdemeanour. One of the tribunes made it matter of accuſation againſt him, that he had ſpent a whole winter in effeminacy and pleaſures at *Syracuſe*, before he went into *Africa*. The other charged him with the e
pillage of *Locri*, and many violences, which had been committed in that city by *Pleminius*, whom he had appointed governor of the place; but the grand accuſation was, that he had received from *Antiochus* great ſums to procure him an advantagious peace. The number of the accuſers was ſo great, that the whole day was ſpent in their ſpeeches; ſo that the trial was poſtponed to twenty-ſeven days after. In the mean time, the tribunes moved in the ſenate, that *Scipio* ſhould be obliged to give an account of the ſpoils he had brought from *Aſia*, and produce the book, in which he had ſet down the ſums he had received from *Antiochus*; and the ſenate complied with the motion. When the time came for determining the affair, it happened to be the f
ſame day of the year, on which he had obtained the famous victory over *Hannibal* at *Zama*. *Scipio* brought his book of accounts with him, and having only ſhewed it to the people, he tore it in pieces before them, ſaying, *On this day* Hannibal *was conquered and* Carthage *ſubdued: why then do we trifle it away in hearing idle declamations? The gods expect us at the capitol: follow me*, Romans; *let us go thither, and jointly offer up our vows and thankſgivings*. He had ſcarce uttered theſe words, when the tribes began to move, and the whole aſſembly followed him; even the apparitores and other officers, whoſe buſineſs it was to attend the tribunes, deſerted them. This was a glorious triumph for the accuſed. However, he was cited to appear a third time; and

Scipio Africanus *is accuſed before the tribes.*

But comes off with great glory.

q Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 26, & ſeq. Polyb. legat. xxxv. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 1. r Liv. ibid. c. 45.

a and then he gave way to the ſtorm, and retired to his country houſe near *Liternum*, in the neighbourhood of *Naples*. The tribunes proceeded in order to condemn him as by default, tho' *Lucius Scipio* appeared, and alledged, that his brother was ſick. This fury againſt ſo venerable a man raiſed the compaſſion even of his enemies. A tribune of the people, named *Tib. Gracchus*, tho' an avowed enemy to the *Cornelian* family, declared, to the great ſurpriſe of all, that, he thought, *Scipio Aſiaticus* ought to be believed concerning the ſickneſs of his brother; and then went on thus: *If* Scipio *were at* Rome, *I would oppoſe his appearing to take his tryal. What! ſhall the conqueror of* Carthage *appear at the foot of our tribunal, to be reviled there by an inſolent populace? Did he conquer* Hannibal *and* Antiochus, *to fall a ſacrifice to the two* Petib liuſes? *Shall we pretend to triumph over a man, who has been honoured with ſo many triumphs of the nobleſt kind? Let him at leaſt find a ſafe retreat for his old age, in the port to which he is retired for refuge.* This unexpected declaration from an old enemy of the *Scipios*, had ſuch an effect on the reſt of the tribunes, that they diſmiſſed the tribes, telling them, that they would conſider more maturely of the matter. Whether *Scipio*'s ſickneſs was feigned or real, we cannot determine; but it is certain that he died ſoon after, in the forty-eighth year of his age. He is ſaid to have been ſo diſſatisfied with the cowardice of the ſenate, the iniquity of the people, and the ingratitude of both, that, at his death, he deſired his wife *Æmilia*, the daughter of *Æmilius Paulus*, who died ſo gloriouſly at the battle of *Cannæ*, not to carry his bones to c *Rome*. She erected a mauſoleum for him at *Liternum*, and there placed his ſtatue, with that of the poet *Ennius*, who was probably his faithful friend and companion of his retreat. Such was the end of the greateſt commander, and the moſt accompliſhed citizen the republic had ever produced [s].

Scipio Africanus *dies at* Liternum.

But even the death of the great *Scipio* did not extinguiſh the hatred of the implacable *Cato* to the *Cornelian* family. He thought the vaſt authority of the *Scipios* might prove dangerous to the republic, and therefore was reſolved to humble them. In republican ſtates precaution is often carried to ingratitude and injuſtice. To have done great ſervices is ſometimes enough of itſelf to make a man ſuſpected. The eyes of *Africanus* were ſcarce cloſed, when *Cato* turned his fury, or, as ſome call it, d the bitterneſs of his zeal, againſt *Aſiaticus*. He drew up a petition to the people, which was preſented by the two *Petiliuſes*, *That the tribes would ſolicit the ſenate to order an enquiry concerning what money had been received from* Antiochus, *and from the cities in his dominions.* This petition was accepted, and a decree paſſed purſuant to it, with an additional clauſe, *That an inquiry ſhould be likewiſe made after the money received from the allies of* Antiochus. *Furius Purpureo*, one of the ten commiſſioners, who had been ſent into *Aſia* to ſettle the conditions of peace with *Antiochus*, got this clauſe added, in order to include *Manlius* in the proceſs, who was ſuppoſed to have drawn great ſums from the *Galatians*. The perſon whom the faction pitched upon e was *Terentius Culeo*, at that time prætor, but a ſecret enemy to the *Cornelian* family, tho' he had been formerly delivered out of ſlavery in *Africa* by *Scipio Africanus*, as we have related above. Before this unjuſt and partial judge *Scipio Aſiaticus* was cited to appear, and with him *Aulus* and *Lucius Hoſtilius*, two of his lieutenants, and *C. Furius* his quæſtor. The prætor, having heard the charge and received the depoſitions, declared *Scipio*, *Aulus Hoſtilius*, and *Furius* convicted; the firſt of having received from *Antiochus*, to procure him a favourable peace, ſix thouſand pounds weight of gold and four hundred and eighty pounds weight of ſilver; the ſecond of having received twenty pounds weight of gold in ingots and four hundred and three pounds weight of ſilver in bars; and the third of having received a hundred and thirty pounds weight of gold and two hundred of ſilver. The prætor condemned them to f pay large fines. The two latter immediately gave ſecurity; but *Scipio*, ſtill inſiſting on his having accounted with the republic for all the money he had brought from *Aſia*, and refuſing to give bail, the officers were ordered to carry him to priſon; but then *Scipio Naſica* appealed from the prætor's ſentence to the people. While he was pleading his couſin's cauſe, the prætor *Culeo* ordered the houſe of the accuſed to be ſearched, and his goods to be confiſcated. But he did not find effects enough to pay the fine laid upon him; and it was much to his juſtification, that, among all his moveables, not one thing was to be found, which could be judged to have been brought from *Aſia*. *Naſica*, being informed of this, took thence an occaſion to juſtify his relation.

Scipio Aſiaticus *is arraigned before the people,*

And Manlius

Scipio *is fined*

And his effects confiſcated.

[s] Vide Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 50. Appian. in Syriac. Aul. Gel. l. iv. c. 18. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 5. Plut. in Cat. & Gracch.

relation. At the ſame time, *Gracchus*, diſſenting from the other tribunes, ſpoke with a great eloquence in his favour. The multitude applauded what *Gracchus* ſaid; truth ſeized their minds all at once, and changed their affections. However, the prætor would not repeal his decree; ſo that *Scipio*'s effects remained confiſcated, by which means he was reduced at once to a ſtate of beggary. His relations and clients endeavoured to perſuade him to accept of their preſents; and, had he done ſo, he would have been richer than he was when his effects were confiſcated: but it was in vain; he had courage enough not to fear poverty, and therefore would accept of nothing more than bare neceſſaries. *Rome* afterwards acknowledged his innocence and merit, ſent him embaſſador to terminate ſome differences between *Eumenes* and *Seleucus*, and, upon his return, took pleaſure to inrich him; inſomuch, that he was in a condition b to celebrate games for his victory over *Antiochus* for ten days together at his own expence. All the ſhame of his diſgrace fell on the ungrateful *Culeo* and the tribunes. As for *Cato*, he only kindled the fire, and diſappeared when it burnt with moſt fury; and, the people being diſpoſed to think he meant well, he loſt no reputation; nay, he was ſoon after promoted to the greateſt honours. The *Scipios*, to expreſs their gratitude to *Gracchus*, beſtowed on him *Cornelia*, the younger daughter of the great *Africanus*, the elder being already married to *Scipio Naſica* [t].

Before the conſular year expired, the proconſul *L. Fulvius Nobilior*, being returned from *Greece*, obtained a triumph, but not without great oppoſition, for having reduced *Ætolia*. His triumphal proceſſion was ſet off with a great number of crowns c of gold, a vaſt quantity of gold in ingots, and ſilver in bars, immenſe ſums of *Attic* and *Macedonian* money, multitudes of marble and braſs ſtatues, *&c.* *Fulvius* made rich preſents to his officers, gave twenty-five denarii, that is, ſixteen ſhillings and one penny, to every common ſoldier, fifty to every centurion, and ſeventy-five to every horſeman. As for his games, they were celebrated with the greateſt magnificence and judgment. On this occaſion the combats of the *athletæ* were ſeen for the firſt time in the arena at *Rome*, and the people were likewiſe entertained with the hunting of lions and panthers. The conſulſhip of *Sp. Poſthumius Albinus* and *Q. Marcius Philippus* was ſpent in making preparations for carrying on the war againſt the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians*, who began to move anew. In the beginning of the following conſulſhip d of *Appius Claudius Pulcher* and *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*, three commiſſioners were ſent into *Greece*, to terminate ſome diſputes between the king of *Macedon* and the *Greek* republics. The commiſſioners choſe the vale of *Tempe* for the place where the contending parties ſhould meet; and *Philip* had the mortification to be cited before the tribunal of three *Roman* citizens. The ſeats in the court of judgment were ſo diſpoſed, that the commiſſioners ſat uppermoſt, the accuſers next, and the king the loweſt, as a criminal; for the *Greeks* pretended, that he had ſeized and detained many cities belonging to them. *Philip* anſwered the charge brought againſt him with an air of threatening; whereupon the commiſſioners, thinking it neceſſary to humble him, pronounced the following decree: *Our will and pleaſure is, that the* e Macedonian *gariſons evacuate forthwith all the places in diſpute, and that the kingdom of* Macedon *be reduced to its ancient limits.* *Philip* made no reply, but readily ſubmitted to the ſentence pronounced againſt him. Thus the citizens of *Rome* began to determine the fate of monarchs, and treat them as their vaſſals [u]. In *Spain*, the two new prætors, *Quinctius* and *Calpurnius*, fought two battles with the *Luſitanians*. In the firſt they were defeated, and loſt five thouſand men; but in the ſecond they gained a complete victory, killed and took thirty thouſand of the enemy, and quieted the country for ſome time. In *Italy*, both conſuls marched againſt the revolted *Ligurians*. *Sempronius* carried the war into the country of the *Apuans*, in the eaſt of *Liguria*, and *Claudius* into the territory of the *Ingauni*, more to the weſt. The former ravaged the f enemy's fields, pillaged their villages, burnt down the woods, and opened a way into the heart of the country. The latter fought ſeveral ſucceſsful battles with the *Ingauni*, took ſix of their cities, made a great many priſoners, and put to death forty-three of the ringleaders of the revolt. The campaign being ended, both conſuls returned to *Rome* to hold the comitia for the great elections, in which *P. Claudius Pulcher* and *L. Porcius Licinius* were choſen chief magiſtrates for the new year. When the cenſors came to be elected, *Cato* and *L. Valerius Flaccus* were, by a great majority, preferred to *Scipio Aſiaticus*, and other men, who had done the republic eminent ſervices. The cenſors

The combats of the athletæ *introduced at* Rome.

The Roman *arms proſper in* Spain *and* Liguria.

The cenſorſhip of Cato.

[t] Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 54—60. Plut. in Scip. & Gracch. Val. Antias apud Liv. l. xxxix. c. 22.
[u] Liv. l. xxxix. 21.

a cenſors immediately drew up a new liſt of the ſenators, and degraded ſeven of that illuſtrious body, among whom was *Quinctius*, the brother of *Flaminius*, for having killed with his own hand, when he commanded in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, a *Boian* nobleman, who fled to him for protection. This treacherous murder he had committed, only to gratify the curioſity of a young *Carthaginian*, for whom he had conceived an execrable paſſion, the infamous pathic expreſſing a deſire to ſee a man die a violent death. *Manlius*, or, as others call him, *Manilius*, was degraded, and his name ſtruck out of the liſt of the ſenators, only for having ſaluted his wife in the preſence of his daughters. *Scipio Aſiaticus*, ſince his diſgrace, had been made a *Roman* knight; but the rigid cenſor, out of an inveterate hatred to the *Cornelian* family, took away, upon
b what pretence is not known, the horſe which the public kept for him; ſo that the conqueror of *Antiochus* was now reduced to the condition of the moſt private perſons. After this, his ſeverity fell on multitudes of people; he laid a heavy tax on fine moveables, jewels, and all ſuperfluities both of men and women; and, by ſuch popular acts, made himſelf ſo acceptable to the people, that they erected a ſtatue to him in the temple of *Health*. After the expiration of his cenſorſhip, he ſpent the reſt of his days in a private life. He found exerciſe enough for his philoſophy in his own family, his wife, who was of a high birth, being very expenſive and ill-tempered. He took upon himſelf the education of his only ſon, whom he would not ſuffer to be taught the learning of the *Greeks*, ſaying, That the only ſtudy of a *Roman* ſhould be how
c to conquer, and how to govern conquered nations. He was a great ſoldier, an able ſtateſman, an eloquent orator, a learned hiſtorian, and well ſkilled in rural affairs: but theſe accompliſhments were counterbalanced by great defects; he was extravagantly ſevere, jealous of the merit of others, and ambitious to a high degree. As a private perſon, he lived frugally; but it was only to lay up money. He uſed to ſay to his ſon, That no man deſerved any eſteem till he had doubled his fortune. In public he was ever extolling continence; but in private was familiar with a beautiful ſlave. To revenge himſelf on his ſon and daughter-in-law for treating her contemptuouſly, he married a ſecond time in his old age; and when his ſon aſked him by what act of diſreſpect he had incurred his diſpleaſure, he replied, *I have no manner of complaint*
d *to make againſt you; your conduct is ſo prudent, that I am reſolved to have other children like you.* As his merit and virtues were known, and his vices concealed, he acquired the eſteem of the multitude; ſo that, tho' four-and-forty times accuſed before the people, he was always acquitted [w].

His character.

THE following conſulſhip of *Q. Fabius Labeo* and *M. Claudius Marcellus* was remarkable for the death of two famous men, *Philopœmen*, of whom we have ſpoke in the hiſtory of the *Achæans*, and *Hannibal*, who, perſecuted by the *Romans*, had taken refuge in the court of *Pruſias* king of *Bithynia*; but that prince being obliged by the *Romans*, contrary to the laws of hoſpitality, to withdraw his protection from him, the illuſtrious *Carthaginian*, to avoid falling into the hands of his implacable enemies,
e either drank a poiſonous draught, or took a ſubtle poiſon, which he is ſaid to have always carried about with him in his ring [x]. Thus died, to the eternal reproach of the *Roman* name, in the ſeventieth, or, as others will have it, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, a hero, who, to his laſt breath, was the terror of *Rome*. He is ſaid to have upbraided the *Romans*, before he took the poiſonous potion, with degenerating from the virtue of their anceſtors, who had honourably prevented the murder of their mortal enemy *Pyrrhus*; whereas they forced a king to violate the moſt ſacred laws of hoſpitality, to get rid of an old man in a treacherous and cowardly manner.

The death of Philopœmen *and* Hannibal.

THE following year, when *L. Æmilius Paulus* and *Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus* were conſuls, proved barren of great events. But the conſulate of *P. Cornelius Cethegus* and
f *M. Bæbius Tamphilus* was remarkable for conſiderable victories, gained by the *Roman* armies in *Spain* and *Liguria*, and for the ſuppreſſing of a revolt in *Sardinia*. The ſame year a ſtop was put to immoderate expences in feaſts and entertainments. At the motion of one *Orcius*, a tribune of the people, it was enacted, that no man ſhould ſpend more than one hundred aſſes of braſs, that is, ſix ſhillings and five pence, at an entertainment; and the number of gueſts was likewiſe limited. In the ſucceeding conſulſhip of *A. Poſthumius Albinus* and *C. Calpurnius Piſo*, the proconſul *Paulus Æmilius* defeated the *Ligurians*, and reduced the whole country of the *Ingauni*. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, the prætor of *Hither Spain*, was attended with equal ſucceſs againſt the *Celti-*

The Orcian *law.*

The Ingauni *reduced.*

berians,

[w] PLUT. in Cat. LIV. l. xxxix. c. 44. in Flamin.

[x] LIV. l. xxxix. c. 51. CORN. NEP. in Hannibal. PLUT.

The Celtiberians *defeated.*

berians, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, killed twenty-five thouſand of them on the ſpot, made four thouſand eight hundred priſoners of war, and took above five hundred horſes and ninety-eight ſtandards. The *Romans* loſt two hundred legionaries, ſeven hundred of the *Latin* troops, and two thouſand four hundred of the *Spaniſh* auxiliaries [y]. This ſame year *Gentius*, one of the kings of *Illyricum*, who had countenanced ſome piracies in the *Adriatic*, made his ſubmiſſions to the ſenate, and was pardoned. Before the conſular year was expired, the famous *plebiſcitum* was publiſhed, called the *Villian* law. from *Villius Tappulus*, tribune of the people, who got it paſſed in the comitia. It enacted, that no man ſhould be quæſtor before he was one-and-thirty years of age, curule ædile before thirty-ſeven, prætor before forty, conſul before forty-three; and this law continued in force till the fall of the republic [z].

The Villian *law.*

Two brothers choſen conſuls.

When the time came for the elections, two brothers, the firſt inſtance of this kind, were promoted to the conſular dignity, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, who had lately triumphed for his victories in *Spain*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus*. The latter was called *Manlius*, becauſe he had been adopted into the *Manlian* family. Both conſuls marched againſt the *Ligurians*. *Manlius* performed no memorable exploits; but *Fulvius*, who was a great ſoldier, defeated the *Ligurians* in a pitched battle, killed three thouſand two hundred of them, and forced the reſt to leave their mountains and ſettle in the flat country. In *Spain*, the prætors *Sempronius* and *Albinus* made themſelves maſters of *Munda* and *Certima*, two important places belonging to the *Celtiberians*, over whom they gained ſeveral conſiderable victories. *Sempronius* is ſaid to have killed near forty thouſand of the *Vaccæi* and *Luſitani*; and *Albinus* to have deſtroyed about the ſame number of *Celtiberians*. The former, on his return, brought into the public treaſury forty thouſand pounds weight of ſilver, and the latter twenty thouſand. They were both honoured with a triumph [a]. In *Italy*, *M. Junius Brutus* and *A. Manlius Vulſo* being choſen conſuls, the latter, without any orders from the ſenate or people, marched againſt the *Illyrians* and *Iſtrians*, commanded by *Gentius* their king. The conſul was ſhamefully ſurpriſed in his camp, and driven out of it; but he ſoon after recovered it again, and killed eight thouſand of the enemy, while they were drunk with the wine they had found in it. The king, drunk as he was, was put on horſeback, and conveyed away by his guards. Notwithſtanding this victory, the war was not finiſhed, before the ſucceeding conſulſhip of *C. Claudius Pulcher* and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*. *Claudius*, by taking three towns, *Nefattium*, *Mutila*, and *Faveria*, brought the whole *Iſtrian* nation under ſubjection to *Rome*. The conſul *Sempronius* maintained in *Sardinia* and *Corſica* the glory he had acquired in *Celtiberia*. He either took or killed twenty thouſand of the rebels, and was on that account honoured on his return with a triumph, which was ſet off with a prodigious number of *Sardinian* captives, who were all ſold by auction; and hence came the proverb, *Sardinians to ſell*, tho' others carry the origin of it higher, as we have obſerved elſewhere.

The Iſtrians *ſubdued.*

The conſul *Claudius*, having ſubdued *Iſtria*, led his forces into *Liguria*, where he gained a complete victory over the rebels, having killed or taken fifteen thouſand of them. He then returned to *Rome* to preſide at the comitia, when *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hiſpalis* and *Q. Petilius Spurinus* were choſen conſuls; but the former dying ſoon after of an apoplectic fit, *C. Valerius Lævinus* was elected in his ſtead. *Petilius*, jealous of the glory which *Claudius* gained in *Liguria*, where he acted as proconſul, haſtened thither, and took upon him the command of the army; but having attempted to force the *Ligurian* intrenchments, he was run through with a javelin, and killed, while he was leading on his men, after a repulſe, to renew the attack. However, the *Romans*, tho' deprived of their general, gained a conſiderable victory, and killed above five thouſand of the enemy, after they had made themſelves maſters of their camp [b]. The two following years were barren of military exploits. In the firſt *P. Mucius Scævola* and *M. Æmilius Lepidus* were conſuls; and in the ſecond *Sp. Poſthumius Albinus* and *Q. Mucius Scævola*. During the conſulſhip of the latter, the ſtreets of *Rome* were paved, which had never been done ſince the building of the city. *L. Poſthumius Albinus* and *M. Popilius Lænas* being choſen conſuls for the new year, the latter marched againſt the *Stelliates*, a people in *Liguria*, bordering on the river *Tanarus*, and in a ſharp conflict, which laſted three hours, killed ten thouſand of them, and took ſeven thouſand priſoners and eighty two ſtandards. The *Romans* loſt three

The Stelliates *ſubdued.*

[y] Liv. l. xl. c. 33. [z] Cic. Philip II. [a] Liv. l. xli. c. 7. [b] Idem ibid. c. 16.

a three thouſand men, and the number of their wounded was exceeding great. After this defeat, the *Stelliates*, finding the forces of their nation reduced to ten thouſand men, ſubmitted to the conſul, without ſettling any terms. Hereupon *Popilius* took away their arms, diſmantled their cities, reduced them all to ſlavery, and ſold them and their goods to the beſt bidder; but this ſevere proceeding was reſented by the ſenate, and a decree paſſed, commanding *Popilius* to reſtore the money he had received for the ſale of the *Stelliates*, to ſet them at liberty, return to them their effects, and even to purchaſe new arms for them. The ſenate concluded their decree with words, which poſterity ought never to forget, *Victory is glorious, when it is confined to the ſubduing of an untractable enemy; but it becomes ſhameful, when it is*

The equity of the Roman *ſenate.*

b *made uſe of to oppreſs the unfortunate* [c].

Two plebeians choſen conſuls.

THE following year, the *Romans* choſe for the firſt time two plebeians to the conſulate, *P. Acilius Ligus*, and *C. Popilius Lænas*. From this time to the dictatorſhip of *Julius Cæſar*, nothing was more common than to ſee two plebeians conſuls together. During the preſent conſulate, *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* came to *Rome*, out of pure zeal to acquaint the ſenate, that *Perſes*, who had ſucceeded his father *Philip* in the kingdom of *Macedon*, was ſoliciting alliances in *Greece* and *Aſia*, and making great preparations for war. Tho' the ſenate kept the intelligence they had received from *Eumenes* an inviolable ſecret, yet *Perſes*, not doubting, but he had acquainted the conſcript fathers with his deſigns, reſolved to be revenged on him; and accord-

c ingly employed ruffians to murder him as he was going to *Delphos*, to pay his homage to the god worſhipped there. The king, tho' dangerouſly wounded, was afterwards cured; but the ſenate was ſo exaſperated at this wicked attempt upon the life of their friend and ally, that they commanded *Solon* and *Hippias*, two deputies ſent by *Perſes* to clear him of the crimes laid to his charge, to leave *Rome* immediately. They were ſcarce gone, when war was formally declared with the king of *Macedon*, for having uſurped from the allies of *Rome* ſeveral cities, and refuſed to reſtore them to their lawful owners. The prætor *Sicinius* was ordered to ſail from *Brunduſium*, with ten thouſand men for *Apollonia*, and begin hoſtilities. In the mean time, the conſular year being near expired, *P. Licinius Craſſus* and *C. Caſſius Longinus* were raiſed to

The Romans *declare war with* Perſes *king of* Macedon.

d the ſupreme magiſtracy. *Macedon* falling by lot to the former, two legions were appointed him of ſix thouſand foot and three hundred horſe each, to which were added ſixteen thouſand auxiliary foot and ſix hundred horſe. Leave was likewiſe given him to chuſe as many as he pleaſed of the veterans, who were not yet fifty years old. When the neceſſary preparations were made for imbarquing, new embaſſadors came from *Perſes*, repreſenting, that it was needleſs to ſend an army into *Macedon*, ſince the king their maſter was ready to give the republic all the ſatisfaction ſhe could require; but the ſenate ordered them back with the following anſwer, That a conſul would be ſoon ſent into *Macedon*, and that *Perſes* might treat with him, if he was ſincerely diſpoſed to give the *Romans* ſatisfaction [d].

e SOON after, the conſul *Licinius* imbarqued with his troops at *Brunduſium*, landed at *Apollonia*, and marched to the *Roman* camp at *Nymphæum*; which poſt the prætor *Sicinius* had ſeized ſome months before. Hereupon *Perſes* aſſembled his army at *Citium*, conſiſting of forty thouſand *Macedonians*, and ſome thouſands of *Gauls*, *Thracians*, *Cretans*, *Bœotians*, and *Ætolians*. With theſe forces, which formed the moſt conſiderable army that had been ſeen in *Macedon* ſince the time of *Alexander the Great*, *Perſes* marched againſt the conſul *Licinius*, who, having left *Nymphæum*, was advanced into *Theſſaly* and had incamped on the banks of the *Peneus*. As the king was much ſuperior to the conſul in cavalry, he drew near his camp, and inſulted him ſo far, that he was obliged to ſend out his light armed troops to oppoſe thoſe of the

f enemy; and then a ſmart action enſued, in which the *Macedonians* had all the advantage. The *Romans*, full of ſhame and confuſion, left their camp in the dead of the night, croſſed the river *Peneus*, and intrenched themſelves on the other ſide of it. The next morning the king paſſed the river after them; but they removed to a ſtronger and more inacceſſible place, where they received a reinforcement of a thouſand foot, a thouſand horſe, and twenty-two elephants, under the command of *Miſagenes*, the natural ſon of *Maſiniſſa*. The king, not being able to force the *Roman* intrenchments, and hearing that troops were marching from all parts to join the conſul, ſent, by the advice of his wiſeſt counſellors, a new embaſſy to him, offering to maintain inviolably the

Perſes *gains ſome advantage over the* Romans.

[c] LIV. l. viii. c. 8. [d] Idem ibid. c. 10—36.

the treaty which had been made with his father, and to reſtore to the allies of *Rome* a
all the places which *Philip* had yielded to them; but *Licinius* returned the following
anſwer to the deputies, *There is no peace for* Perſes, *till he ſurrenders up himſelf and his
dominions to the* Romans *at diſcretion.* Hereupon *Perſes*, laying aſide all thoughts of
peace, prepared to renew hoſtilities. He attempted to bring the enemy to a general
engagement; but the conſul declining it, he ſet out in perſon, with two thouſand foot
and a thouſand horſe, to fall upon ſome parties of the *Romans*, who were buſy in
The Romans *gain ſome advantages over* Perſes. reaping. *Licinius*, having timely notice of his deſign, haſtened with the greater part of
his army to the aſſiſtance of his foragers, met the king, and cut in pieces the beſt part
of his life-guard, who were thought invincible. This defeat ſo diſheartened the king,
that he retired into *Macedon* to ſpend the winter there. As for the conſul *Licinius*, b
after ſome inconſiderable expeditions in *Theſſaly*, he took up his winter-quarters in
Bœotia. His collegue *Caſſius*, tho' confined by his lot to *Italy*, had attempted to
make his way into *Macedon* through *Illyricum*; but was recalled by the ſenate, and
ſeverely reprimanded for engaging in ſuch an enterprize without orders [c].

The following year, *A. Hoſtilius Mancinus* and *A. Attilius Soranus* being choſen
conſuls, *Macedon* fell by lot to the former, who immediately ſet out for his province,
and, arriving in *Theſſaly*, took upon him the command of the army; but was attended
with no ſucceſs in two attempts which he made to enter *Macedon.* He firſt tried to
force the paſs of *Elymea*; but his troops were put to flight by *Perſes.* After this, he
The conſul Hoſtilius *attempts in vain to enter* Macedon. endeavoured to make his way into *Macedon* through *Theſſaly*; but the king oppoſed c
him there likewiſe, and offered him battle; which the conſul, either out of cowar-
dice or an exceſs of precaution, declined; ſo that this campaign was chiefly ſpent in
vain projects. *Hoſtilius* was recalled, under pretence of aſſiſting at the elections,
when *Q. Marcius Philippus* and *Cn. Servilius Cæpio* were choſen conſuls. Theſe, when
the levies came to be made, found the *Roman* youth, through ſome unaccountable
humour, very obſtinate in refuſing to inliſt themſelves. Hereupon two laws were
enacted by the people for regulating the inrolments. The firſt required all thoſe, who
were under forty-ſix, to appear, in order to be incorporated in the legions; the ſecond
ordered all thoſe who were come from *Macedon*, within three years laſt paſt, to return
to their duty. The publication of theſe laws had ſo good an effect, that, in the d
ſpace of eleven days, a ſufficient number of ſoldiers were raiſed to recruit the armies
in *Spain* and *Macedon*, and to form four legions, which were to be ready to march
any-where upon the firſt orders. The levies being made, the conſul *Marcius*, to
whoſe lot *Macedon* fell, haſtened into *Theſſaly*, reſolving, in ſpite of all difficulties, to
force a paſſage into *Macedon.* *Perſes*, which is very ſurpriſing, never once appeared
to oppoſe his march, tho' the roads were ſo bad, the paſſes ſo narrow, and the moun-
tains ſo ſteep and craggy, that, by *Marcius*'s own confeſſion, the *Macedonian* might
have deſtroyed the whole conſular army with a handful of men. The conſul, having
entered *Macedon*, marched firſt to *Dium*, and afterwards to *Heraclea*, made himſelf
maſter of both theſe places, and then returned towards the frontiers of *Theſſaly*, his e
army being greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions. As he had no account of the
king's army, he turned his thoughts wholly to the making of roads from *Theſſaly* to
Macedon, in order to facilitate the conveyance of proviſions from one country to the
other. He erected magazines all along the road, fortified them, and built houſes
for the convenient lodging of thoſe who guarded the convoys. By this means he
opened for his ſucceſſors an eaſy entrance into a kingdom, which had hitherto been
The conſul Marcius Philippus *opens a way into* Macedon. deemed inacceſſible. In the mean time, *Perſes* continued inactive in his camp on the
banks of the *Enipeus*, where he ſpent the greater part of the ſummer, without ſo much
as offering to diſturb the conſul in the proſecution of a work, which ſecured to the
Romans the conqueſt of *Macedon.* And now, both armies being retired into their f
winter-quarters, *Perſes*, thinking it ſafeſt for him to ſue for a peace, engaged *Pru-
ſias* king of *Bithynia* and the *Rhodians* to be his mediators. The former employed
intreaties, and the latter menaces; but neither the one nor the other prevailed. As
for the *Rhodians*, the ſenate threatened to chaſtiſe them for their inſolence, as ſoon as
the conqueſt of *Macedon* ſhould be finiſhed [f].

At *Rome*, the people were very uneaſy at the ſlow progreſs of their generals in the
conqueſt of *Macedon*, and therefore applied themſelves wholly to find out a man,
who ſhould be capable of recovering the glory of the republic, and putting a ſpeedy
end

[c] Liv. ibid. c. 42—51. Plut. in Æmil. [f] Liv. l. xliv. c. 18—46. Plut. in Æmil. Polyb. in legat. 87.

a end to this war. The perſon they caſt their eyes upon was *Paulus Æmilius*, a patrician of conſummate virtue, bravery, and prudence, who had been conſul thirteen years before. He was the ſon of the conſul *Æmilius*, who periſhed in the battle of *Cannæ*, and the father of the famous *Scipio Æmilianus*, who was afterwards known by the name of the *Second Africanus*. This latter was named *Scipio*, from his adoption into the *Cornelian* family by the ſon of the great *Scipio*. The perſon raiſed to the conſulate with *Æmilius* was *Licinius Craſſus*, a man of great probity, who thought himſelf obliged to yield the conduct of the war in *Macedon* to his collegue, without drawing lots. Early in the ſpring, *Æmilius* ſet out for *Macedon*, and the prætor *Anicius* for *Illyricum*; *Gentius*, the king of that country, having openly declared for *Perſes*. The prætor reduced all *Illyricum* in thirty days. Having firſt defeated the *Illyrian* fleet, he marched his land forces to *Scodra*, the metropolis of the kingdom, whither *Gentius* had retired with an army of fourteen thouſand men. Though the place was ſtrong and defended by ſuch a numerous gariſon, yet the king was ſo terrified at the approach of the *Roman* army, that he ſubmitted to the prætor at diſcretion, who committed him to the care of a legionary tribune. Some days after, the king, the two queens, his mother and his wife, with three princes of the royal family, were ſent captives to *Rome*, to grace in due time the prætor's triumph [g]. As for the conſul *Æmilius*, as ſoon as he arrived in *Theſſaly*, where his army was incamped on the banks of the *Enipeus*, he detached five thouſand men, under the conduct of his eldeſt ſon *Fabius Æmilianus* and of his ſon-in-law *Scipio Naſica*, to ſurpriſe *Pythium* on the top of mount *Olympus*. The king, who was incamped on the oppoſite ſide of the *Enipeus*, having notice of this motion, ſent out a more numerous detachment to intercept that of the conſul; but the *Macedonians* were defeated and cut in pieces. This diſaſter, and the news the king received at the ſame time of the misfortunes of *Gentius*, ſo diſheartened him, that he abandoned his camp, and retired in great haſte into *Macedon*, under the walls of *Pydna*. Thither *Æmilius* followed him; but reſtrained the impetuoſity of his men, who were eager to fight the very moment they arrived. He firſt formed a camp, and having finiſhed his lines, made his troops retire within them to repoſe themſelves that night. As the enemy's forces were drawn up in battalia, *Scipio Naſica* took the liberty to tell the conſul, That his declining an engagement would bring the reproach of cowardice upon him and his whole army; but the general made only this ſhort reply, *At your age I talked as you do; and you at mine will act as I do.* The next day, a mere accident brought on a general engagement. A horſe, having got looſe from a *Roman* who was leading him, ran pretty far into a river between the two camps. Two *Thracians* of the enemy's guard, poſted on the other ſide, went into the water to ſeize the horſe, and three *Romans* at the ſame time haſtened to recover him. One of the *Thracians* being killed, his countrymen on guard, to the number of eight hundred, advanced to revenge his death. This put the *Romans* in motion, and by degrees brought on a general engagement. The king's army conſiſted of forty-five thouſand men, the fineſt troops that had been ſeen in *Macedon* ſince the time of *Alexander the Great*. However, the *Romans*, by the excellent conduct of their general, obtained a complete victory, though they were conſiderably inferior in number. The *Macedonians* loſt near twenty-five thouſand men in the battle, five thouſand were taken priſoners in the plain, and ſix thouſand more in *Pydna*. The *Romans* are ſaid not to have loſt above a hundred men. As for *Perſes*, he fled firſt to *Pella*, from thence with his family and his treaſures to *Amphipolis*, and laſtly, being abandoned by all his troops, to the iſland of *Samothrace*, which was dedicated to the mother of the gods, and on that account reſpected by all nations. The fugitive prince took up his habitation in a temple dedicated to *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, and there waited for ſome favourable turn of fortune. In the mean time, the conſul, having ſent orders to *Octavius* the *Roman* admiral to inveſt the iſland of *Samothrace* with his fleet, marched into the heart of *Macedon*, and made himſelf maſter of *Pella*, *Theſſalonica*, and many other important places. When he arrived at *Siræ*, a town in the moſt eaſtern part of the kingdom, he was met there by embaſſadors from *Perſes*, who preſented him a letter from their maſter; but *Æmilius* no ſooner read the direction of the letter, where *Perſes* ſtyled himſelf king, than he turned his back upon the embaſſadors, and diſmiſſed them without an anſwer. Hereupon the unhappy prince changed his ſtyle, and wrote as a private perſon, Perſes *to the conſul* Paulus Æmilius. This

The Romans *conquer* Illyricum.

Perſes *intirely defeated in the battle of* Pydna.

[g] Liv. ibid. c. 30---32. Appian. in Illyric.

This letter was well received, and the conſul, in compliance with the king's requeſt, a
ſent three officers to confer with him. Theſe demanded by way of preliminary, that *Perſes* ſhould abdicate the title of king, and leave his fate to be determined by the ſenate and people of *Rome*. This *Perſes* would not by any means comply with, inſiſting, that a lawful ſovereign could not lay down his ſovereignty, but with his life. In the mean time, *Octavius*, having landed his men in *Samothrace*, and inveſted the iſland with his fleet, preſſed *Perſes*, in an amicable manner, to throw himſelf on the clemency of the *Romans*. But the king being inflexible on that head, *Octavius* tried all means poſſible to perſuade the inhabitants to drive him out of their iſland. The king, apprehending they might be prevailed upon to drive him away or deliver him up, privately contracted with a *Cretan* merchant, whoſe ſhip lay at anchor under *Demetrium*, a promontory of *Samothrace*, to convey him and his effects into *Thrace*, to *Cotys*, his old friend and ally. He ſent part of his treaſures before him, and in the dead of the night ſet out himſelf, accompanied only by his eldeſt ſon *Philip* and three men, in whom he could confide. His other children, his pages, who were the ſons of the chief lords of the kingdom, and all his retinue, he left behind him to the mercy of the *Romans*. But when he came to the ſhore, to his great ſurpriſe, he found no ſhip there. The perfidious *Cretan* had ſet ſail in the dead of the night, and carried off the treaſure he had on board. Hereupon the king, having rambled about the ſhore for ſome time in great perplexity what to do, returned at laſt into the temple, and concealed himſelf in a corner of it. In the mean time, *Octavius*, having cauſed c
proclamation to be made by ſound of trumpet, *That all* Macedonians *in* Perſes's *retinue, who ſhould ſurrender themſelves voluntary to the* Romans, *ſhould have life and liberty*, not one remained with *Perſes*, except his eldeſt ſon. The unhappy prince,
Perſes *ſurrenders himſelf to the* Romans. ſeeing himſelf thus abandoned by his domeſtics, and even his children, ſurrendered himſelf at length to *Octavius*, and conſented to be carried, with his eldeſt ſon and the remains of his treaſure, to *Amphipolis*, whither the conſul came to meet him and receive his ſubmiſſions. *Æmilius* received him with great honour and reſpect, entertained him the firſt day at his own table, and then committed him and his children to the care of an officer, till the time he had fixed for tranſporting them to *Italy*[h]. Thus ended the ſecond *Macedonian* war, and with it the *Macedonian* monarchy, after d
it had continued in ſplendor about an hundred and ninety-three years, reckoning only from *Philip*, the father of *Alexander the Great*.

And now, the conſular year being near expired, the comitia were held for the new elections, when *Q. Ælius Pætus* and *M. Junius Pennus* were raiſed to the conſulate *Liguria* fell by lot to the latter, and *Ciſalpine Gaul* to the former. *Æmilius* was continued in the command of the army in *Macedon* as proconſul, and *Anicius* and *Octavius* in their reſpective provinces in quality of proprætors. During this conſulate, princes and embaſſadors came to *Rome* from all parts of the *Levant*, ſome to be rewarded, others to return thanks, ſome with compliments and preſents, and others to make apologies for their conduct. *Pruſias*, king of *Bithynia*, came to *Rome* in perſon, and e
carried his flattery to a monſtrous exceſs of meanneſs. The *Rhodians*, who had ſtood neuter and ſhewed a great inclination to aſſiſt *Perſes*, were deprived of all dominion over *Lycia* and *Caria*, formerly granted them. But the chief buſineſs of the ſenate was, to ſettle the government of the two conquered countries, *Illyricum* and *Macedon*. Inſtead of reducing them to *Roman* provinces, it was determined to change them into republics. Accordingly, ten commiſſioners were appointed to aſſiſt *Paulus Æmilius* in ſettling *Macedon*, and five to aſſiſt *Anicius* in *Illyricum*. When the affairs of *Macedon* and *Illyricum* were ſettled, and the proconſul was preparing to conduct his army back to *Rome*, he received poſitive orders from the ſenate to go into *Epirus*, and to plunder and demoliſh the cities of that country, for having aſſiſted *Perſes*, after they had by f
repeated oaths promiſed to be faithful to the *Romans*. *Æmilius* executed his inſtructions with great prudence and ſeverity, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Epirus*, and then ſet out for *Italy*. *Anicius* and *Octavius* arrived at *Rome* much about the ſame time, and they were all three honoured with triumphs. That of *Æmilius* was the fineſt *Rome* had ever ſeen. The city was ſo much inriched by the valuable ſpoils brought from *Macedon*, that ſhe had no occaſion to lay any tax on the people from this time to that of *Auguſtus*. *Perſes* ſent from the common gaol, where he was kept, to intreat the victor to ſpare him the confuſion of appearing in his triumphal proceſſion. *Æmilius*

The kingdoms of Illyricum *and* Macedon *changed into republics.*

gave

[h] Liv. l. xliv. c. 32—46, & l. xlv. c. 6—8. Plut. in Æmil. Polyb. legat. 71.

a gave the meſſenger the following anſwer; *Tell* Perſes, *that it long has been, and ſtill is, in his power to free himſelf from our chains.* This was telling him, that death alone could deliver him from the diſgrace he feared. But the cowardly king, preferring the moſt ſhameful of all indignities to what was then deemed an honourable death, was led in triumph with his ſons, *Philip* and *Alexander*, his little daughter, and the chief nobility of *Macedon*. The triumph of *Æmilius* was followed the next day by that of the proprætor *Octavius*, admiral of the *Roman* fleet. The triumphal proceſſion of *Anicius*, the conqueror of *Illyricum*, was poſtponed for three months. King *Gentius* with his wife, children, his brother *Caraventius*, and ſeveral lords of his court, were led before the triumphant victor's chariot. *Gentius* was ſent with his family to

b *Iguvium*, a city of *Umbria*; but *Perſes* was ſhut up in a cloſe priſon in *Alba* a city of the *Marſi*, where he died miſerably, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Macedon* [i]. Perſes *dies.* *Philip* his eldeſt ſon is ſaid to have died before him; but his ſecond ſon, being put out to a turner, gained his livelihood, firſt by that profeſſion, and afterwards by doing the buſineſs of a ſcribe. And thus ended the race of the kings of *Macedon* [k].

THE following year, when *C. Sulpicius Gallus* and *M. Claudius Marcellus* were conſuls, proved barren of memorable events. In the ſucceeding conſulſhip of *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *Cn. Octavius Nepos*, *Terence*, the famous dramatic poet, was in his higheſt reputation. The faſces were afterwards transferred to *A. Manlius Torquatus* and *Q. Caſſius Longinus*; during whoſe adminiſtration a cenſus was made, by

c which there appeared to be in *Rome* 337552 citizens fit to bear arms. *Paulus Æmilius*, who was at this time one of the cenſors, ſoon after the expiration of his cenſorſhip, fell ſick of a lingering diſeaſe, which in the end carried him off. Notwithſtanding the prodigious ſums with which he had filled the treaſury of the republic, he continued poor himſelf, and after his triumph led a private life. In the height of his glory, his two ſons by a ſecond marriage died, the elder five days before his triumph, and the younger three days after it. Juſt before his retreat he harangued the people, and taking notice of this ſevere ſtroke of fortune on himſelf, expreſſed an acquieſence to it, provided it might ſatisfy the gods, and avert any evils from the republic, which in ſo much proſperity ſhe might have reaſon to expect [l]. Paulus Æmilius *dies.*

d *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* and *M. Juventius Thalna* being raiſed to the conſulate, the latter was obliged to ſail with an army into *Corſica* to quell a rebellion there; while the other marched againſt the *Ligurians*, who had taken arms anew. But theſe wars were in reality no more than an amuſement. During this conſulate, *Antiochus Epiphanes* died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Antiochus Eupator*, who was but nine years old. *Demetrius*, the ſon of *Seleucus* the late king's elder brother, had an indiſputable right to the crown of *Syria*. But the *Romans*, thinking it more for the intereſt of their republic to have a child upon the throne, excluded *Demetrius*, who had been twelve years a hoſtage at *Rome*, and, without the conſent or privity of the *Syrians*, declared young *Antiochus* the ward of the republic, and appointed *Cn. Octavius*

e and two other *Roman* ſenators to govern, as his guardians, the kingdom of *Syria*, in the name and under the direction of the republic. Nor were the *Romans* ſatisfied with doing this injuſtice to *Demetrius*; they gave inſtructions to *Octavius* and his collegues to burn all the ſhips with decks belonging to their ward, diſable his elephants, and, in a word, to weaken, as much as poſſible, the forces of his kingdom. In the following conſulſhip of *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus*, *Octavius* ſet out for *Syria*, and arriving at *Laodicea*, a maritime city between *Tripolis* and *Antioch*, began to put the ſevere orders of his republic in execution, under pretence, that, in virtue of the treaty with *Antiochus the Great*, the *Syrians* were to build no more ſhips of war, nor tame more elephants. The *Syrians* were highly exaſperated at this preſumption,

f eſpecially *Lyſias*, the young king's guardian, who being encouraged by the rage of the people againſt *Octavius*, hired an *African* to aſſaſſinate him. When the news of his murder reached *Rome*, *Demetrius*, who was ſtill there, applied once more to the ſenate for leave to go and take poſſeſſion of the kingdom, which of right belonged to him. But being a ſecond time refuſed, by the advice of his friend *Polybius* the hiſtorian, he made his eſcape from *Italy*, got ſafe into *Syria*, and was there received and proclaimed king. The year following, when *M. Valerius Meſſala* and *C. Fannius Strabo* were conſuls, the new king of *Syria*, to ingratiate himſelf with the *Romans*, ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, with a rich preſent of a crown of gold, and at the ſame time

The Romans *declare young* Antiochus *king of* Syria, *their ward.*

Cn. Octavius *one of his guardians aſſaſſinated.*

[i] Vide Vol. III. p. 499. [k] LIV. l. xlv. c. 40, & ſeq. PLUT. in Paulo. Æmil. [l] PLUT. ibid. LIV. ibid.

time delivered up the *African*, who had murdered *Octavius*. The ſenate accepted the a preſent, but ſent back the aſſaſſin, telling the deputies, that ſuch a victim was not an adequate ſatisfaction to the republic for the affront ſhe had received [m].

The Romans *enter into an alliance with the* Jews.

The conſuls for the new year, *L. Anicius Gallus* and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, went rather to incamp, than make war, one in *Liguria*, the other in *Ciſalpine Gaul*. During their adminiſtration, the *Romans* entered into a treaty of confederacy with the *Jews*; and, at the requeſt of *Judas Maccabæus*, who implored their protection againſt *Demetrius*, wrote the following imperious letter to the *Syrian*: *Why have you inſulted and oppreſſed the* Jewiſh *nation? Know that the* Jews *are our allies. If you give them the trouble to ſend another embaſſy to complain of you, we will treat you as an enemy, and purſue you by ſea and land* [n]. Of the two conſuls for this year *Cethegus* only gained him- b
ſelf ſome reputation by drying up the *Pomptine* maſhes, which infected the air of the whole neighbourhood, and reducing them to a fruitful plain, which, however, was afterwards drowned again by freſh overflowings of the rivers. The following conſuls, *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella* and *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, ſignalized themſelves yet leſs in their adminiſtration. In the conſulate of their ſucceſſors, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *C. Popilius Lænas*, *Demetrius* drove *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia* from the throne, for refuſing to marry his ſiſter, and placed upon it *Orofernes*, a ſuppoſititious ſon of the late *Cappadocian* king. *Ariarathes* fled to *Rome* for refuge, and pleaded his cauſe before the ſenate. But the *Romans*, purſuant to their common maxims of policy, ordered the kingdom to be divided between the two competitors [o]. The next year, when c
Sextius Julius Cæſar and *L. Aurelius Oreſtes* were conſuls, the *Dalmatians*, who bordered upon *Illyricum*, made incurſions, and committed great robberies there, though it was a country tributary to the republic. Nay, they would ſcarce vouchſafe an audience to *Fannius* the *Roman* embaſſador, who came to complain of theſe proceedings and demand ſatisfaction. The ſenate therefore, upon the report which *Fannius* made of the haughty treatment he had met with, reſolved to begin a war with *Dalmatia*. Another embaſſy, ſent this year into *Africa*, at the head of which was *Cato* the cenſor, paved the way for the third *Punic* war. *Maſiniſſa* had invaded *Tyſca*, a rich province belonging to the *Carthaginians*, and the diſpute being referred to the arbitration of the ſenate, ten commiſſioners were ordered to go into *Africa*, and de- d
termine it upon the ſpot. But when *Cato* and his collegues arrived there, the *Carthaginians* refuſed to accept them for judges, ſaying, that *Scipio* had ſettled their limits by a treaty of peace, and that, to alter his appointments, would be to reflect on the memory of the greateſt of men. This declaration provoked the pride of *Cato* to the higheſt degree. However, he diſſembled his reſentment, and, leaving *Tyſca* a prey to *Maſiniſſa*'s troops, went to *Carthage*, and there examined every thing with a malicious eye. When he returned to *Rome*, he reported, that *Carthage* was grown immenſely rich, that her magazines were crouded with ſtores, her ports full of ſhips, and that the war ſhe was making with *Maſiniſſa*, was only an introduction to a more important one with *Rome*. He concluded with a warm exhortation to the ſenate to loſe e
no time, but immediately to ſend troops with orders utterly to deſtroy a city, which would ever be an obſtacle to the progreſs of the *Roman* arms. From this time he was always inciting them to deſtroy *Carthage*. Whenever he gave his opinion in the ſenate, be the ſubject what it would, he never failed to conclude with theſe words; *I am alſo of opinion, that* Carthage *ſhould be deſtroyed*. But *Scipio Naſica*, who after the death of *Paulus Æmilius*, had the chief ſway in the ſenate, conſtantly oppoſed the too rigid cenſor in this particular. The two ſucceeding conſuls, *C. Marcius Figulus* and *L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus*, prevailed upon the ſenate to declare war with the *Dalmatians*, the conduct of which was committed to the former, who, croſſing the *Adriatic*, landed in *Illyricum*, and marched thence againſt the enemy. The *Dalmatians*, who f
were a ſavage, but brave, people, ſurpriſed and defeated the conſul. But *Scipio Naſica*, who was raiſed to the conſulate the next year with *C. Claudius Marcellus*, being appointed to continue the war, laid ſiege to *Delminium*, the metropolis of *Dalmatia*, made himſelf maſter of it, and in one campaign brought the whole country under ſubjection. His collegue *Marcellus* gained likewiſe ſome advantages over the *Liguri*ans [p]. The republic having choſen *Q. Opimius Nepos* and *L. Poſthumius Albinus* conſuls, ſhe ordered the latter into *Spain*, and the former into *Tranſalpine Gaul*. The avarice and extortions of the *Roman* prætors in *Spain* had cauſed almoſt a general revolt

The firſt occaſion of the third Punic *war.*

Dalmatia *conquered by the* Romans.

[m] Polyb. legat. 114—120. Appian. in Syriac. Justin. l. xxxiv. [n] 1 Maccab. viii. [o] Polyb. in legat. 126. Diodor. Sicul. eclog. l. xxxi. [p] Appian. in Illyric. 761. Liv. in epit.

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b only the *Ligurians*, but alſo the *Deceatæ*, who came to their aſſiſtance, and reduced their whole country, which comprehended the preſent territories of *Antibes* and *Graſſe*. Such was the firſt conqueſt the *Romans* made beyond the *Alps*[q].

It had been long cuſtomary for the conſuls not to enter upon their office till the ides, or fifteenth, of *March*; but this year, the neceſſity of ſending a conſul into *Spain* made the *Romans* aſſemble the comitia for the elections before the uſual time, *Q. Fulvius Nobilior* and *T. Annius Luſcus* were promoted to the conſulate, and entered upon their office the firſt day of *January*, their predeceſſors abdicating to make way for them. From this time to the end of the republic, the firſt of *January* was always the day for the conſuls to take poſſeſſion of the faſces. The elections being over, *Ful-*

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readily granted them upon very reaſonable terms. The conſul was deſirous of ſettling a a general peace in *Spain* before his conſulſhip expired, that he might on that account be honoured with a triumph on his return to *Rome*. But the ſenate ſeeing through his deſign, and being likewiſe adviſed by ſome deputies, from two provinces in friendſhip with the *Romans*, not to grant the peace deſired, they not only refuſed to ratify the articles agreed upon between the conſul and the rebels, but reſolved to purſue the war with more vigor than ever [s].

Carthage *provokes the* Romans.

In the mean time, a war began to break out in *Africa*. The *Carthaginians*, being continually haraſſed by the invaſions of *Maſiniſſa*, and tired out with the injuſtice and partiality of the *Roman* republic, entered into an alliance with *Archobarzanes*, the grandſon of *Syphax* and king of one part of *Numidia*, engaging him to march with b a great army to the frontiers of *Maſiniſſa*'s dominions. *Rome* looked upon this ſtep as a breach of the treaties between her and the ſtates of *Africa*, none of which were to take arms without her privity and conſent. *Cato* on this occaſion diſplayed his hatred to the *Carthaginians*, and was for immediately declaring war with that republic. But *Scipio Naſica*, who bore a greater ſway in the ſenate than *Cato*, prevailed upon the conſcript fathers to have the war deferred, till an embaſſy ſhould be ſent to *Carthage*, to examine without paſſion into the true ſtate of affairs there. *Naſica* himſelf was appointed embaſſador for the negotiation he had propoſed. When he came into *Africa*, he conducted himſelf with great prudence and moderation, and, taking upon him the office of mediator between *Carthage* and *Maſiniſſa*, he prevailed on the latter c to reſtore the lands which had occaſioned the quarrel. Thus all commotions would have been quieted, had not a ſeditious *Carthaginian*, named *Giſgo*, a man in office and favour with the people, ſpoke in the public aſſemblies, with great warmth, againſt the peace, which had been juſt negotiated. He, by his ſeditious harangues, ſo inflamed the populace, that they would have offered violence to *Naſica*, if he had not ſaved himſelf by flight. Upon his retreat, thoſe in the ſenate of *Carthage*, to the number of forty, who had approved the peace, were condemned to perpetual baniſhment. The *Roman* ſenate was highly incenſed at the treatment their embaſſador had met with, and *Cato* much rejoiced to find *Naſica* at his return agree with him thus far, *that* Carthage *deſerved to be deſtroyed*. However, the vengeance of the republic d was ſuſpended for ſome time, on account of the war with the revolted *Spaniards* [t].

When the new conſuls, *L. Licinius Lucullus* and *A. Poſthumius Albinus*, were ordered to recruit the legions in *Spain*, none of the citizens would give in their names, proteſting, that they would not ſerve under the conſul to whoſe lot *Spain* ſhould fall, even in quality of lieutenants or legionary tribunes. The accounts they had received of the hardſhips which the troops under *Fulvius* had ſuffered, by ſpending a whole winter in the field, diſcouraged them to ſuch a degree, that not one of the *Roman* youth appeared to inrol themſelves. To increaſe the misfortune, the tribunes of the people protected thoſe who refuſed to inliſt themſelves, and even went ſo far, as to order the two conſuls to be carried to priſon, for forcing ſome young men into the ſervice. e While the ſenate and conſuls were perplexed what methods to take, a young *Roman*, not above thirty years of age, extricated them out of their difficulties. This was *Scipio Æmilianus*, the ſon of *Paulus Æmilius*, and by adoption the grandſon of *Scipio Africanus*. One day, when the people were aſſembled for the inrolments, he deſired leave to ſpeak to them; which being granted, he mounted the roſtra, and made an harangue full of the true *Roman* ſpirit. The ardor he expreſſed for the ſervice of his country, and his offering to go himſelf into *Spain*, in what capacity ſoever the conſuls ſhould think fit, had ſuch an effect on the people, that they were now as eager, as they had before been backward, to give in their names. Then the conſuls drew lots for their provinces, when *Spain* fell to *Lucullus*, and *Ciſalpine Gaul* to *Poſthumius*. It f is uncertain, whether *Scipio Æmilianus* ſerved under *Lucullus* as one of his lieutenants, or only as a legionary tribune; but whatever was his poſt, he gained all the glory that was acquired during the war. Both *Lucullus*, who commanded in *Hither Spain*, and the prætor *Sulpicius Galba*, who commanded in *Luſitania*, made themſelves infamous by the baſeſt treachery, cruelty, and avarice. The former, finding that his predeceſſor had granted the *Celtiberians* a peace, went of his own head to make war on the *Turduli* and *Cantabri*. Theſe had not given the *Romans* the leaſt provocation; but *Lucullus*, who was covetous to exceſs, wanted to reap ſome profits by his conſulſhip.

The cruelty of the Romans *in* Spain.

[s] Polyb. legat. 141. Appian. in Iberic. 281. 287. [t] Appian. in Punic. Plut. in Catone. Liv. in epit.

a ſulſhip. With this view he entered their territories, and committed every-where moſt dreadful ravages, putting the inhabitants of whole cities to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age, even after they had ſubmitted upon terms. *Æmilianus* on this occaſion acquired a high reputation of probity, even among the oppreſſed *Spaniards*; and as for his bravery, he not only ſlew in ſingle combat a *Spaniard* of a gigantic ſize, who had challenged the boldeſt of the *Romans*; but was honoured with a mural and civic crown. *Lucullus* ſoon after ſent him, probably out of jealouſy, into *Numidia*, under pretence of demanding ſome elephants of *Maſiniſſa* [u]. The prætor *Galba*, who was as covetous as *Lucullus*, and more cruel, penetrated into *Luſitania*, deſtroyed every thing with fire and ſword, and glutted himſelf with the
b ſpoils of thoſe unhappy people. We are told, that he cruelly maſſacred above thirty thouſand *Luſitanians*, after he had ſolemnly promiſed them both their life and liberty, and by that means prevailed upon them to deliver up their arms. Neither the conſul *Lucullus* nor the prætor *Galba* were ſo much as accuſed before the ſenate or people, for theſe unjuſt and inhuman proceedings. The *Romans* were ſo prejudiced againſt the *Spaniards*, that they ſeem to have authorized the cruelties and injuſtice of their generals [w].

In the mean time, *Guluſſa*, the ſon of *Maſiniſſa*, arriving at *Rome*, confirmed the accounts which the ſenate had received from ſeveral quarters, that preparations were making at *Carthage* for an open declaration of war with the republic. *Cato* immediately laid hold of this occaſion to repeat the words he had ſo often uttered; *There is*
c *no ſafety for* Rome, *till* Carthage *is deſtroyed*. But the advice of *Scipio Naſica* ſtill prevailed; and at his motion deputies were ſent into *Africa*, to inform themſelves upon the ſpot of the preparations the *Carthaginians* were making by ſea and land. The deputies on their return reported, that *Carthage* had undoubtedly a deſign to make war in ſome other place than the continent of *Africa*; that her fleet was numerous and well equipped; and that ſhe had on foot a formidable army. But, notwithſtanding theſe appearances, and all the eloquence of *Cato*, *Naſica* had influence enough over the ſenate to ſuſpend the decree againſt the *Carthaginians* [x].

A war breaks out between Carthage *and* Maſiniſſa.

In the following conſulate of *T. Quinctius Flaminius* and *M. Acilius Balbus*, a bloody war broke out between *Carthage* and *Maſiniſſa*. The *Numidian* king, though now
d almoſt ninety years of age, to revenge an affront offered by the *Carthaginians* to his two ſons, *Guluſſa* and *Micipſa*, put himſelf at the head of a powerful army, and laid ſiege to *Oroſcopa*, a city ſubject to the *Carthaginian* republic. Hereupon *Carthage* ſent out a conſiderable number of troops, under the command of *Aſdrubal*, to relieve the place. In ſeveral ſkirmiſhes the *Numidians* had always the diſadvantage; whereupon *Maſſniſſa*, who had learnt the art of war under the great *Scipio*, pretending fear, retired before the enemy, and by degrees drew them into a place, where he had all the advantage he could wiſh for. Here he halted with a deſign to give the enemy battle. While he was preparing for a general engagement, news was brought him, that *Scipio Æmilianus* was come from *Spain* into *Africa*, to deſire, in the name of
e the conſul *Lucullus*, ſome elephants to be employed againſt the revolted *Spaniards*. Though *Æmilianus* was only the grandſon of *Africanus* by adoption, yet, upon the bare name of *Scipio*, the old king's affection and gratitude for a family, to which he owed his grandeur, revived. He would have gone in perſon to meet the *Roman*, if he had not been engaged in preparing for the battle, which was to be fought the next day, the two armies, each of them above fifty thouſand ſtrong, being incamped over againſt each other. However, he ſent his two ſons, with all his cavalry, to receive and eſcort him. When he arrived in the camp, *Maſiniſſa* ran to embrace him with great tenderneſs, and could not refrain from tears, in mentioning his old benefactor *Scipio Africanus*. He attended him all over the camp, acquainted him with the pre-
f parations he was making againſt the next day's engagement, and made the flower of his troops paſs in review before him. *Æmilianus* was highly pleaſed with this ſight; but the chief object of his ſurpriſe and admiration was the king himſelf. His great age had neither abated the vigor of his mind nor the ſtrength of his body, ſo as to render him unable to ſuſtain military labours. He mounted and diſmounted his horſe with the activity of a young man. He rid, after the *Numidian* manner, without a ſaddle, and continued all day, and ſometimes all night, on horſeback. He had no better proviſions than the meaneſt of his ſoldiers. In ſhort, *Maſiniſſa*, as *Æmilianus* ſaid on his return to *Rome*, was not old in any reſpect, but his long experience in buſineſs and

[u] Appian. in Iberic. Vell. Patercul. [w] Appian. ibid. [x] Appian. in Punic.

and arms. As *Rome* had not yet openly broken with *Carthage*, the next morning a *Æmilianus* retired from *Maſiniſſa*'s camp, not thinking it lawful for him to have any ſhare in the action, and poſted himſelf on the top of an eminence, whence he ſaw very diſtinctly one of the greateſt battles that had ever been fought in *Africa*. It laſted from the riſing of the ſun till night; both parties performed great exploits, and the victory was long in ſuſpenſe; but at length declared for *Maſiniſſa*. Then *Æmilianus* came down from his eminence, returned to the camp of the conqueror, and congratulated him on his victory. *Maſiniſſa*, on this joyful occaſion, gave the *Roman* the ſincereſt proofs of an inviolable attachment to his republic and eſteem for his family, granted him the elephants he demanded, and kept him with him as long as he could[y]. As this victory was not deciſive, *Æmilianus* undertook to negotiate a peace between b the two parties. But, his mediation proving ineffectual, hoſtilities were renewed with more animoſity than ever. After many ſlight battles, *Maſiniſſa* ſo blocked up the *Carthaginian* camp, that no convoys could be brought to it, or detachments ſent out without great difficulty. The *Carthaginian* army, which was very numerous, having now no communication with the country, was ſoon reduced to the laſt extremity. At firſt they lived upon the fleſh of their horſes, and then boiled the harneſſes of their carriages, burning their bucklers and the ſhafts of their ſpears for want of wood. The famine produced a plague, which carried off more men than they had loſt in all the engagements. In this extremity *Aſdrubal* yielded to all the conditions of peace, which the *Numidian* thought fit to impoſe upon him. Among other things, *Maſiniſſa* obliged c all the *Carthaginians* to paſs under the yoke, unarmed and half naked. Theſe unhappy wretches, thus branded with ignominy, and ſo weak that they could ſcarce ſtand, comforted themſelves at leaſt with hopes of ſeeing their native country again. But revenge inſpired *Guluſſa* with a very cruel reſolution. The *Carthaginians* had formerly laid an ambuſh to ſurpriſe him and his brother *Micipſa*, on their return from *Carthage* to *Numidia*, and, falling upon them, had on that occaſion killed ſome of their attendants. This *Guluſſa* remembered; and, to revenge one perfidious act with another, let looſe the *Numidian* horſe on the diſarmed multitude. Whether *Maſiniſſa* was privy to his ſon's treachery, was never known. But however that be, the *Numidian* horſe coming up with thoſe unhappy men, who, being exhauſted with hunger and diſtempers, had d neither courage enough to reſiſt, nor ſtrength to fly, butchered them like ſo many victims; ſo that of fifty-eight thouſand men only *Aſdrubal*, and ſome other officers of diſtinction, eſcaped the general maſſacre. The *Romans* had ſent embaſſadors into *Africa*, under pretence of putting an end to the differences between *Carthage* and *Numidia*, in an amicable manner. But they had private inſtructions to take upon them the office of mediators, only in caſe *Maſiniſſa* was defeated. If that prince ſhould happen to get the better, their directions were to encourage him to puſh the *Carthaginians* to the utmoſt extremity, which they did accordingly; and then, taking advantage of the prodigious loſs the *Carthaginians* had ſuſtained, deferred no longer to declare war againſt them, though they ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, offering all kinds of e ſubmiſſion, and even leaving it to the ſenate to propoſe their own terms[z].

The Carthaginians *defeated by* Maſiniſſa.

The Carthaginians *treacherouſly maſſacred by* Guluſſa.

As ſoon as the new conſuls, *L. Marcius Cenſorinus* and *M. Manilius Nepos*, entered upon their office, they cauſed the war with *Carthage* to be proclaimed in the comitia of the people, and then drew lots for their provinces, the command of the fleet falling to *Marcius*, and that of the land-forces to *Manilius*. When all things were ready for their expedition into *Africa*, embaſſadors arrived at *Rome* from the people of *Utica*, offering to ſurrender up their city to the republic, and deſiring to be admitted into an alliance with *Rome*. The *Carthaginians*, terrified at the defection of ſo powerful a city, and the great preparations which were making at *Rome*, reſolved to avert the impending ſtorm, by yielding themſelves and their dominions to the *Romans* by f way of *dedition*, which was to give them an abſolute authority over every thing in the country, their cities, lands, rivers, temples, &c. and likewiſe over all the inhabitants, of what rank ſoever, ſex, or condition. The embaſſadors, who came to *Rome* to make this abſolute ſurrender, were well received by the ſenate, and told, that ſince they had done all that could be required of them, they ſhould enjoy their lands, effects, laws, and liberty as before, upon condition, that they ſent three hundred hoſtages to the conſuls, who were now in *Sicily*, and put in execution what they ſhould think fit to command them. The embaſſadors, overjoyed at this unexpected ſucceſs,

The third Punic *war.*

The Carthaginians *yield themſelves and their dominions to the* Romans.

y Idem ibid. z Idem ibid.

a ſucceſs, took their leave of the ſenate, and flew to *Carthage* with the good news. Moſt of the *Carthaginian* ſenators cried up the moderation of the *Romans*; but ſome began to ſuſpect, that *Rome* concealed ſome artifice under this appearance of clemency. However, a decree paſſed, commanding three hundred hoſtages to be ſent to *Lilybæum*, where the *Roman* fleet lay at anchor. The conſuls, having ſent them on board a ſquadron to *Italy*, immediately ſet ſail for *Utica*, and there landed their troops to the number of ſeventy-four thouſand men, horſe and foot. As ſoon as the troops were landed, *Manilius* went to take poſſeſſion of the ſame ground, on which the great *Scipio* had incamped, when he inveſted *Carthage*. It is eaſy to judge of the conſternation the *Carthaginians* were in, when they beheld ſo terrible an army in their
b neighbourhood, and were at the ſame time informed, that war had been declared againſt them, notwithſtanding the ſubmiſſions they had made. They ſent deputies to the conſuls, to expoſtulate with them and to learn their intentions. The *Roman* generals received them with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. They ordered all their ſoldiers to ſtand to their arms; and the deputies paſſed through two long lines of men, drawn up on each ſide of them, colours flying, and were conducted, by ſound of military inſtruments, from the gate of the camp to the conſul's quarters. There the two collegues received them, ſitting upon two high thrones, and ſurrounded by their chief officers, who were divided from the croud by a bar, within which the embaſſadors themſelves were not ſuffered to enter. As ſoon as the noiſe of the trumpets ceaſed,
c the head of the embaſſy made a long ſpeech, in which he complained of *Rome* for ſending an army into *Africa*, after the *Carthaginians* had delivered up their eſtates, lands, and poſſeſſions to the *Roman* ſenate at diſcretion. In the cloſe of his ſpeech, he deſired the conſuls, in a moſt ſubmiſſive manner, to acquaint him with the real intentions of the ſenate. *Marcius* anſwered, that he would gradually communicate to them the orders he had received, beginning with that which required moſt diſpatch; and then added, ſince you are under the protection of *Rome*, and ſincerely deſire peace, what occaſion have you for that vaſt number of arms with which your magazines are filled? Bring them hither, and thereby give us a freſh proof, that your love of peace is not feigned. The embaſſadors, ſtunned with this demand,
d knew not at firſt what to anſwer. But at length, recollecting themſelves, remonſtrated to the conſul, that *Carthage* had other enemies to contend with beſides the *Romans*; and therefore could not ſafely be without arms; that ſhe was in danger of being attacked by *Aſdrubal*, who, being condemned to die for having offended *Rome* by his late war with *Maſiniſſa*, had made his eſcape, and drawn together an army of twenty thouſand men. To this the conſul briſkly replied, Be eaſy, *Carthaginians*; *Rome* will provide for your ſafety. Obey, and be in no concern about any thing elſe. What could they do but ſubmit? *Carthage* wanted the neceſſary ſtore of proviſions to ſuſtain a ſiege; and had neither auxiliaries nor mercenaries; all the flower of her youth had been deſtroyed in the late battle with *Maſiniſſa*; her fleet was not
e fitted out, and that of the *Romans* was ſtronger and barred up the harbour. The *Carthaginians* therefore, without any fraud, delivered up their arms and engines of war to the *Roman* quæſtors ſent to *Carthage* for that purpoſe. The *Romans* were ſurpriſed, when they ſaw the long train of carts, loaded with arms, which were brought to the camp by the *Carthaginians* themſelves. Some hiſtorians ſay, they were ſufficient to have armed all *Africa*. At leaſt it is certain, that there were put into the conſul's hands two thouſand *catapultæ*, two hundred thouſand complete ſuits of armour, and an infinite number of ſwords, darts, javelins, arrows, and of beams armed with iron, which were thrown from the ramparts by the *baliſtæ*. This convoy
f of arms was attended by the moſt venerable old men and the prieſts in their ſacred attire, who were well qualified by their character and age to mollify the *Romans*. The conſuls received them ſitting on their tribunal; and *Marcius*, who had more eloquence than his collegue, putting on a ſerious and majeſtic air, addreſſed himſelf to them thus: We are well pleaſed with theſe firſt inſtances of your obedience, and therefore cannot help congratulating you upon them. I have now but one thing more to require of you in the name of the *Roman* people. I will therefore, without further preamble, plainly declare to you an order, on which the ſafety of your republic, the preſervation of your goods, your lives, and liberty depend. Rome *requires, that you abandon your city, which we are commanded to level with the ground. You may build yourſelves another where you pleaſe, provided it be ten miles from the ſea, and without walls or fortifications. A little courage and reſolution will get the better*

They deliver up their arms to the Romans.

The Roman *conſuls command the* Carthaginians *to demoliſh their city.*

better of the affection, which attaches us to our old habitations, and is founded more in habit than in reaſon. At theſe words the *Carthaginian* deputies were thunderſtruck. Some of them ſwooned away; others expreſſed their ſorrow in cries and lamentations; and all were in the utmoſt conſternation. Even the *Roman* ſoldiers were affected with ſo moving a ſight; but the conſuls, without ſhewing the leaſt concern, *Theſe ſuddden fits*, ſaid they, *wear off by degrees; time and neceſſity teach the moſt unfortunate to bear their calamities with patience. The* Carthaginians, *when they recover their ſenſes, will chuſe to obey.* While the others, in the height of their grief, rage, and deſpair, were uttering imprecations againſt the *Romans*, one *Hanno*, a venerable old man, and more compoſed than the reſt, endeavoured in a long ſpeech to move the conſuls to compaſſion, and concluded by earneſtly intreated them at leaſt to allow the *Carthaginians* time to make freſh applications to the ſenate of *Rome*. But the conſuls were inflexible; they would neither recede from the ſentence they had paſſed, nor ſuſpend the execution of it. The deputies returned to *Carthage*, and made their report; and then the whole city was nothing but horror and confuſion. The people, as actuated by ſo many furies, broke into the ſenate-houſe, and vented their rage on thoſe who had adviſed the giving of hoſtages, and the delivering up the arms, which they now wanted for their defence. They did not ſpare even the deputies themſelves; but dragged them through the ſtreets with ignominy, as inauſpicious meſſengers. However, among this great number of raving people, a few, leſs tranſported than the reſt, acted with ſome appearance of reaſon. They took care to ſhut the gates of the city, and gathered together on the ramparts great heaps of ſtones to ſerve them inſtead of other arms in caſe of a ſurpriſe. At length, when the firſt commotion was a little abated, the ſenators aſſembled, and reſolved to ſuſtain a ſiege. They were ſtripped of their arms and deſtitute of proviſions; but deſpair raiſed their courage, and made them find out expedients. They began with taking the malefactors out of priſon, giving the ſlaves their liberty, and incorporating them in the militia. Then a pardon was granted to *Aſdrubal*, who had been ſentenced to die only to pleaſe the *Romans*; and he was invited to employ the twenty thouſand men he had raiſed, in the defence of his country. Another *Aſdrubal* was appointed to command in *Carthage*; and all ſeemed reſolute, either to ſave their city or periſh in its ruins. They wanted arms; but what cannot deſpair compaſs? By order of the ſenate, the temples, porticos, and all public buildings, were turned into work-houſes, where men and women were continually employed in making arms. As they encouraged one another in their work, and loſt no time in procuring to themſelves the neceſſaries of life, which were brought to them at ſtated hours, they every day made a hundred and forty-four bucklers, three hundred ſwords, a thouſand darts, and five hundred lances and javelins. As to baliſtæ and catapultæ, they wanted proper materials for them; but their induſtry ſupplied that defect. Where iron and braſs were wanting, they made uſe of gold and ſilver, melting down the ſtatues, vaſes, and even the utenſils of private families; for on this occaſion the moſt covetous became liberal. As tow and flax were wanting to make cords for working the machines, the women, even thoſe of the firſt rank, freely cut off their hair, and joyfully dedicated to that uſe the fineſt ornament of their heads. Without the walls *Aſdrubal* employed the troops under his command in getting together proviſion,, and conveying them ſafe into *Carthage*; ſo that there was as great plenty there as in the *Roman* camp [a].

The Carthaginians *reſolve to ſuſtain a ſiege.*

In the mean time, the conſuls delayed drawing near to *Carthage*, not doubting, but the inhabitants, whom they imagined deſtitute of neceſſaries to ſuſtain a ſiege, would upon cool reflection ſubmit; and this delay coſt the *Romans* many battles and much blood. At length, finding themſelves deceived in their expectation, they came before the place and inveſted it. As they were ſtill perſuaded, that the *Carthaginians* had no arms, they flattered themſelves that they ſhould eaſily take the place by aſſault. Accordingly, they approached the walls, in order to plant their ſcaling ladders; and then, to their great ſurpriſe, they diſcovered a prodigious multitude of men on the ramparts, ſhining in the armour they had newly made. The legionaries were ſo terrified at this unexpected ſight, that they drew back and would have retired, if the conſuls had not led them on to the attack; which, however, proved unſucceſsful, the *Romans*, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, being obliged to give over the enterpriſe, and lay aſide all thoughts of taking *Carthage* by aſſault. In the mean time, *Aſdrubal*,

[a] Liv. in epit. Polyt. legat. 142. Appian. in Plin.

a *Asdrubal*, having drawn together from all places subject to *Carthage*, a prodigious number of troops, came and incamped within reach of the *Romans*, and soon reduced them to great straights for want of provisions, their parties not daring to venture out of the camp to forage, for fear of the *Carthaginian* cavalry, which was superior to that of the *Romans*. As *Marcius* was posted near a marsh, for the two consuls incamped separately, the exhalations of the stagnating waters and the heat of the season infected the air, and caused a general sickness among his men. *Marcius* therefore ordered his fleet to draw as near the shore as possible to receive his troops, and transport them to a healthier place, but still within reach of *Carthage*. *Asdrubal*, who commanded in the city, having notice of this motion, ordered all the old barks
b in the harbour to be filled with faggots, tow, sulphur, bitumen, and other combustible materials; and then, taking advantage of the wind, which blew towards the enemy, let them drive upon their ships, which were for the most part consumed. After this disaster, *Marcius* was called home to preside at the elections, and *Manilius* ordered to continue the war in *Africa*. The *Carthaginians*, looking upon the removal of one of the consuls as a happy presage of their speedy deliverance, made a brisk sally in the night, and would have surprised the consul's camy, had not *Æmilianus*, with some squadrons, marched out of the gate opposite to the place where the attack was made, and, riding full speed round the camp, attacked the enemy, who expected nothing less in the rear, and obliged them to return in disorder into the city. *Asdrubal* had posted
c himself under the walls of a city, named *Nepheris*, but twenty-four miles distant from *Carthage*, and situated on a high mountain, which seemed inaccessible on all sides. From thence the *Carthaginian* general made incursions into the neighbouring country, intercepted the *Roman* convoys, fell upon their detachments sent out to forage, and even ordered parties to insult the consular army in their camp. Hereupon the consul resolved to drive *Asdrubal* from this advantagious post, and, contrary to the opinion of *Æmilianus*, who was well apprised of the difficulty of the enterprise, set out on his march for *Nepheris*. As he drew near the hills, *Asdrubal* all on a sudden appeared at the head of his army in order of battle, and fell upon the *Romans* with incredible fury. The consular army sustained the attack with great resolution, and *Asdrubal* re-
d tired in good order to his former post, hoping the *Romans* would attack him there. But the consul, being now convinced, that his design could not be pursued without endangering the whole army, resolved to retire; and accordingly began to march back. This *Asdrubal* no sooner perceived, than he came down from the mountains, like a torrent, and falling upon the enemy's rear, cut a great many of them in pieces. All authors agree, that the whole army would have been lost, if it had not been for the bravery and prudent conduct of *Scipio Æmilianus*, who, being at this time only a legionary tribune, renewed the famous exploit of *Horatius Cocles*. At the head of three hundred horse he sustained the attack of all the forces commanded by *Asdrubal*, and covered the legions, while they passed a river in their retreat before the enemy. Then
e he and his companions threw themselves into the stream, and swam cross it. The *Romans* lost in this rash enterprise a great number of men, and among the rest three legionary tribunes, who had been the most sanguine in promoting it, contrary to the opinion of *Æmilianus*. When the *Romans* had crossed the river, they perceived that four manipuli were wanting, and were soon after informed, that these brave men, being surrounded on all sides by the enemy, had posted themselves on an eminence, resolved at least to sell their lives dear. This news raised the compassion of *Æmilianus*, who, taking with him a chosen body of horse and provisions for two days, returned cross the river, and flew to the deliverance of his countrymen. He seized a hill over-against that on which the four manipuli were posted, and after some hours re-
f pose marched against the *Carthaginians*, who kept them invested, fell upon them at the head of his squadron with the boldness of a man who was determined to die or conquer, and in spite of all opposition, opened a way for his fellow-citizens to escape. On his return to the camp, the soldiers, who had given him for lost, carried him to his quarters in a kind of triumph; and the *manipuli* he had saved gave him a crown of *gramen* or grass, gathered on the spot where he had signalized his valor, which was deemed more honourable than the richest presents. By these and many other glorious exploits, *Æmilianus* in this unfortunate campaign gained such reputation, that *Cato*, who is said never to have commended any body before, could not refuse the young tribune the praises he deserved, which, however, he mixed, after his usual manner, with severe reflections on the other officers of the army in *Africa*. This rigid philosopher

The Romans *repulsed in the first attack.*

Part of the Roman *fleet destroyed.*

Scipio *Æmilius saves the* Roman *army.*

died ſoon after, at the age of eighty-four or eighty-five: he is ſaid to have foretold, a before he expired, that *Carthage* would never be reduced, till *Scipio Æmilianus* was employed in that expedition [b].

The Roman *arms unſucceſsful in* Spain.

In *Spain*, the *Roman* arms were yet more unſucceſsful than in *Africa*. The prætor *Vetilius*, who commanded ten thouſand men in the *further province*, loſt four thouſand of them in a battle againſt the *Luſitanians*, under the conduct of one *Viriathus*, who was firſt a famous hunter, afterwards a captain of banditti, and at laſt a commander in chief of the *Luſitanian* rebels. The prætor himſelf was taken priſoner; but the ſoldier who took him, ſeeing him old and fancying no body would purchaſe him, killed him without knowing who he was. Upon the news of this diſaſter, the republic immediately ſent *C. Plautius* into *Spain*, with a reinforcement of ten thouſand foot b and thirteen hundred horſe. Theſe, Being joined by great numbers of *Spaniards*, who continued faithful to the republic, made a formidable army. But *Viriathus*, after having cut in pieces by a ſtratagem a detachment of four thouſand *Romans*, ventured to engage them in a pitched battle, which he conducted with ſuch dexterity, that the prætorian army was intirely defeated, and forced to ſhut themſelves up all the ſummer in the neighbouring cities; ſo that the brave *Luſitanian*, being now maſter of the field, laid the whole country under contribution [c].

Macedon *revolts.*

These were not the only loſſes the republic ſuſtained this year. In *Macedon* one *Andriſcus*, who pretended to be the ſon of *Perſes* by one of his miſtreſſes, and had taken the name of *Philip*, being aſſiſted by the *Thracians*, obliged the *Macedonians* to c own him for their king, and conquered part of *Theſſaly*. *Scipio Naſica*, whom the ſenate ſent into *Greece* to learn the true ſtate of affairs, by the aſſiſtance of the *Achæans*, drove the falſe *Philip* out of *Theſſaly*. But the prætor *Juventius Thalna*, who ſucceeded *Naſica*, having attempted to force his way through the narrow paſſes into *Macedon*, loſt in that raſh undertaking both his life and the legion he commanded. By this means *Philip* reduced all *Theſſaly*, and ſettled himſelf on the throne of *Macedon*.

At *Rome*, *Sp. Poſthumius Albinus Magnus* and *L. Calpurnius Piſo Cæſonius* being choſen conſuls for the new year, the conduct of the war in *Africa* fell by lot to the latter. But, as he did not haſten to his province, *Manilius*, who continued to command the army in quality of proconſul, endeavoured to repair the faults he had committed d during his conſulate. He frequently ſent out *Æmilianus* with ſtrong parties to pillage the neighbouring country, and intercept the enemy's convoys, and the tribune was always attended with uncommon ſucceſs. He took ſeveral caſtles, and among the reſt *Tezaga*, a place of great ſtrength. In one of theſe expeditions he found means to have a private conference with one *Phameas*, general under *Aſdrubal* of the *Carthaginian* cavalry, and brought him over together with two thouſand two hundred of his horſe to the *Roman* Intereſt. *Phameas* was an able commander, who, by his bravery and ſkill in war, had exceedingly diſtreſſed the *Roman* army; ſo that the gaining of his friendſhip was reckoned an important acquiſition. The proconſul ſent him ſoon after with *Æmilianus* to *Rome*, to receive the honours and rewards he de- e ſerved from the republic. At the ſame time, *Manilius* wrote a letter to the ſenate, wherein he acknowledged himſelf indebted to *Æmilianus* for whatever ſucceſſes he had met with during the campaign [d].

Æmilianus *gains over the general of the* Carthaginian *cavalry*

In the mean time, the conſul *Calpurnius Piſo* and the prætor *Mancinus* arrived in *Africa*, the former to command the land-forces, and the other the fleet. Theſe two generals formed a very different plan for the campaign from that of *Marcius* and *Manilius*. For, inſtead of purſuing the ſiege of the capital, they applied themſelves wholly to the reducing of ſome other cities on the *African* coaſt, which they attacked both by ſea and land. They firſt inveſted *Clupea*, but were obliged to abandon the enterpriſe with ſhame and confuſion, the inhabitants having in ſeveral ſallies killed f great numbers of their men. From *Clupea* the conſul went to vent his rage on a city newly built and thence called *Neapolis*, which profeſſed a ſtrict neutrality, and even had a ſafeguard from the *Romans*. However, the conſul plundered the place, and ſtript the inhabitants of all their effects. After this he laid ſiege to *Hippagreta*, which employed the *Roman* fleet and army the whole ſummer. When the winter drew near, the conſul raiſed the ſiege, and returned with his fleet and army to *Utica*, without having performed one valiant action during the whole campaign. In the mean time,

[b] Liv. ibid. Plut. in Cat. Appian. in Punic. [c] Appian. in Iberic. [d] Appian. in Punic Oros. l. iv. c. 11. Zonar. l. ix.

a time, the *Carthaginians* ſent deputies to the new king of *Macedon*, encouraging him to continue the war againſt *Rome*. But the prætor *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, who now commanded the *Roman* forces in *Macedon*, having defeated this mock king in two pitched battles, obliged him to ſhelter himſelf in the court of one of the petty kings of *Thrace*, who afterwards delivered him up to the *Romans*. He was ſcarce reduced, when another impoſtor ſtarted up, who called himſelf *Alexander*, and pretended likewiſe to be the ſon of *Perſes*. But, as his followers were rather a confuſed rabble than an army, they were eaſily diſperſed, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of *Macedon*. Macedon *reconquered*.

And now, the time of the elections drawing near, the people, conſidering that the
b republic wanted great generals, reſolved to have regard to nothing but merit; and as *Scipio Æmilianus* was, in their opinion, the only man who could retrieve the reputation of the *Roman* arms in *Africa*, they diſpenſed with the *Villian* law in his favour, which required every candidate for the conſulſhip to be forty-three years old, and raiſed him to the conſular dignity at the age of thirty-ſeven. Neither would they ſuffer him to draw lots with his collegue, *C. Livius Druſus*, for the conduct of the *Carthaginian* war; but appointed him by a ſpecial decree to ſucceed *Piſo*. The new conſul immediately ſet ſail for *Sicily*, taking on board with him *Polybius* the hiſtorian, for whom he had a great eſteem, and *Lælius*, whom he appointed his lieutenant-general. This *Lælius* was the ſon of the other, whom *Scipio Africanus* had ſo tenderly loved, and
c *Æmilianus*, in imitation of that hero, entered into as ſtrict a friendſhip with *Lælius* the ſon, as the firſt *Scipio* had done with the father. It is ſaid, that *Æmilianus* and his friend *Lælius* were the authors of the comedies, which are commonly aſcribed to the poet *Terence*. With *Polybius* and *Lælius Æmilianus* ſet ſail from *Sicily*, and entered the port of *Utica*, with his fleet, under the command of the prætor *Serranus*, when three thouſand five hundred of the *Roman* army were in imminent danger of being cut in pieces before *Carthage*. Theſe, during *Piſo*'s abſence, who had penetrated far into the inland country with his army, had ſeized *Megalia*, one of the ſuburbs of the city. But, as they had not furniſhed themſelves with proviſions to ſubſiſt there, and could not retire, being cloſely inveſted on all ſides by the enemy's troops, the prætor *Man-*
d *cinus*, who commanded this detachment, ſeeing the danger, into which he had brought himſelf, diſpatched in the duſk of the evening a light boat to *Utica*, to acquaint the *Romans* there with his danger. The meſſenger delivered the prætor's letter to the new conſul, who had landed his troops a few hours before. *Æmilianus* immediately flew to the relief of the inveſted *Romans*, obliged the *Carthaginians* to retire within their walls, and putting the three thouſand five hundred men on board his ſhips, conveyed them ſafe to *Utica*. He then diſpatched a meſſenger to *Piſo* to inform him of his arrival, and to order him to draw near to *Carthage* with his army. The proconſul obeyed, and *Æmilianus*, having taken upon him the command of the troops, applied himſelf wholly to the taking of *Carthage* alone, as the only means to reduce at once the *African* republic.
e His firſt attack was upon *Megalia*, which he carried by aſſault, the *Carthaginian* gariſon retiring into the citadel of *Byrſa*. *Aſdrubal*, who had commanded the forces of the republic in the field, and was now governor of *Carthage*, was ſo enraged at the loſs of *Megalia*, that he cauſed all the *Roman* captives, taken in the two years the war had laſted, to be brought upon the ramparts, and to be thrown headlong, in the ſight of the *Roman* army, from the top of the wall, after having, with an exceſs of cruelty, commanded their hands and feet to be cut off, and their eyes and tongues to be torn out. As he was of a temper remarkably inhuman, he is ſaid to have taken pleaſure in ſeeing ſome of thoſe unhappy men flayed alive. While *Aſdrubal* was thus venting his rage on the *Roman* captives, the conſul was buſy in drawing lines of circumvallation and
f contravallation, croſs the neck of land, which joined the iſthmus, whereon *Carthage* ſtood, to the continent. By this means all the avenues on the land-ſide to *Carthage* being ſhut up, the city could receive no proviſions that way. His next care was to raiſe a mole in the ſea in order to block up the old port, the new port being already ſhut up by the *Roman* fleet; and this great work he effected with immenſe labour. The mole reached from the weſtern neck of land, of which the *Romans* were maſters, to the entrance of the port, and was ninety foot broad at the bottom and eighty at the top. The beſieged, when the *Romans* firſt began this ſurpriſing work, laughed at the attempt; but were no leſs alarmed than ſurpriſed, when, contrary to their expectation, they beheld a vaſt mole appearing above water, the continent carried a great way into the ſea, and by that means the port rendered inacceſſible to ſhips and quite uſeleſs. And now Carthage *blocked up by ſea and land.*

g emulation

emulation and deſpair prompted the *Carthaginians* to attempt and execute what a
ſeemed altogether impoſſible, and would appear utterly incredible, if it were not
atteſted by the hiſtorian, who has given us the moſt particular account of the ſiege of
Carthage [e]. With miraculous and incredible induſtry they in a ſhort time dug a new
The beſieged dig a new baſon, and build a fleet. baſon, and cut a paſſage into the ſea, by which they could receive the proviſions that
were ſent them by their troops in the field. With the ſame diligence and expedition
they built and fitted out a fleet of fifty triremes, which, to the great ſurpriſe of the
Romans, appeared ſuddenly, advancing into the ſea through this new canal, and
even ventured to give the enemy battle. The action laſted the whole day, and was
glorious both for the beſieged and the beſiegers, little advantage being gained on
either ſide. The day after the engagement, the conſul attempted to make himſelf b
maſter of a terrace, which covered the city on the ſide next the ſea; and on this
occaſion the beſieged ſignalized their reſolution in the moſt remarkable manner.
Great numbers of them naked and unarmed went into the water in the dead of the
night, with unlighted torches in their hands, and having, partly by ſwimming partly
by wading, got within reach of the *Roman* engines, they ſtruck fire, lighted their
A bold and ſucceſsful attempt of the Carthaginians. torches, and threw them with fury againſt the machines. The ſudden appearance
of theſe naked men, who looked like ſo many monſters ſtarted up out of the ſea,
terrified the *Romans*, who guarded the machines, to ſuch a degree, that they began
to retire in the utmoſt confuſion. The conſul, who commanded this detachment in
perſon, and had continued all night at the foot of the terrace, endeavoured to ſtop c
his men, and even ordered thoſe who fled to be killed. But the *Carthaginians*, per-
ceiving the confuſion the *Romans* were in, threw themſelves upon them like ſo many
wild beaſts, and having put them to flight only with their torches, they ſet fire to
the machines, and intirely conſumed them. This, however, did not diſcourage the
conſul; he renewed the attack a few days after, carried the terrace by aſſault, and
lodged four thouſand men upon it. As this was an important poſt, becauſe it pent
Carthage in on the ſea-ſide, *Æmilianus* took great care to fortify and ſecure it againſt
the ſallies of the enemy; and then winter approaching, he ſuſpended all further
attacks upon the place, till the return of good weather [f].

Æmilianus did not continue idle in his trenches during the cold ſeaſon. The *Car-* d
thaginians had a very numerous army, under the command of one *Diogenes*, ſtrongly
incamped near *Nepheris*, whence convoys of proviſions were ſent by ſea to the beſieged,
and brought into the new baſon. To take *Nepheris* therefore was to deprive *Carthage*
Æmilianus *forces the intrenchments of the* Carthaginians. of her chief magazine. This *Æmilianus* undertook, and ſucceeded in the attempt;
for he firſt forced the enemy's intrenchment, put ſeventy thouſand of them to the
ſword, and made ten thouſand priſoners, all the inhabitants of the country, who could
not retire to *Carthage*, having taken refuge in this camp. After this the conſul laid
ſiege to *Nepheris*, which was protracted longer than he expected. However, *Æmi-*
lianus made himſelf maſter of this important place, after he had been twenty-two days
before it. In this enterpriſe the *Romans* were greatly aſſiſted by a body of *Numidian* e
horſe, under the command of *Guluſſa*, who had ſucceeded his father *Maſiniſſa* in the
kingdom of *Numidia*. *Maſiniſſa* himſelf had lent the *Romans* no aſſiſtance in this
war, being juſtly piqued at their having undertaken it, without imparting their deſign
to him. *Aſdrubal*, being diſheartened by the defeat of the army, and touched with
the miſery of the beſieged, now reduced to the utmoſt extremity for want of provi-
ſions, offered in the name of the *Carthaginians* to ſubmit to what conditions the
Romans pleaſed, provided they would only ſpare the city. But the conſul abſolutely
refuſing to recede from his inſtructions with regard to the demolition of *Carthage*,
Aſdrubal, aſſuming the air and geſture of a bully, *No*, ſaid he, *no*, *the ſun ſhall*
never ſee Carthage *deſtroyed*, *and* Aſdrubal alive [g]. f

In the mean time, the conſular year being expired, the republic choſe *C. Cornelius*
Lentulus and *L. Mummius* conſuls. But *Æmilianus* was continued general of the army
in *Africa*, till ſuch time as he ſhould finiſh the great work he had undertaken. Early in
the ſpring, he renewed the ſiege of *Carthage*; and, in order to open himſelf a way into
the city, he ordered *Lælius* to attempt the reduction of *Cotho*, a ſmall iſland, which
divided the two ports. The proconſul himſelf made a falſe attack on the citadel, in
order to draw the enemy thither. This ſtratagem had the deſired effect; for the citadel,
known by the name of *Byrſa*, being a place of the utmoſt importance, moſt of the
Cartha-

[e] Appian. in Punic. N. 75. [f] Liv. in epit. Appian. in Punic. N. 78. Polyb. in excerpt. apud Valeſium. [g] Liv. Appian. & Polyb. ibid.

a *Carthaginians* haſtened thither, and made their utmoſt efforts to repulſe the aggreſſors. But, in the mean time, *Lælius*, having, with incredible expedition, built a wooden bridge over the channel, which divided *Cotho* from the iſthmus, entered the iſland, ſcaled the walls of the fortreſs which the *Carthaginians* had built there, and made himſelf maſter of that important poſt. The proconſul, who was engaged before *Byrſa*, no ſooner underſtood by the great ſhout the *Romans* gave, that they had got poſſeſſion of *Cotho*, than he abandoned the falſe attack, and unexpectedly fell on the neighbouring gate of the city, which he broke down, notwithſtanding the ſhowers of darts that were inceſſantly diſcharged upon his men from the ramparts. As night coming on prevented the proconſul from proceeding farther, he made a lodgment

b within the gate, and waited there for the return of day, with a deſign to advance through the city to the citadel, and attach it on that ſide, which was but indifferently fortified. Purſuant to this deſign, at day-break he ordered four thouſand freſh troops to be ſent him from his camp; but did not think it lawful to proceed in the attempt, till he had performed a religious ceremony, then practiſed by the *Romans* before the taking and ſacking of great cities. This was to evocate the tutelary gods of the place, that is, to intreat them to abandon a place which was unworthy of their preſence and protection. When this ceremony was over, the proconſul ſolemnly devoted the inhabitants of *Carthage* to death and to the gods of hell, in theſe words: *O formidable* Pluto, *and ye infernal* Manes, *let looſe againſt the* Carthaginian *people fear, terror*

c *and vengeance. Let the nations and cities, which have taken up arms againſt us, be overcome and deſtroyed. I devote and deliver up to you,* Furies, *all the enemies of my republic, in my own name, and in the name of the ſenate and people of* Rome. *But as for our legions and auxiliary troops, guard them from death and the accidents of war.*

THE proconſul had no ſooner performed this ceremony, than he began to advance at the head of his men through the ſtreets of the city, in order to attack the citadel. *Polybius* the hiſtorian, who marched by his ſide, adviſed him to throw caltrops and planks full of nails with the points upwards in the ſtreets through which he paſſed, to prevent his being ſurpriſed in the rear. But the brave general replied, *You are over cautious,* Polybius; *there is nothing to be feared from a city, which is full of confuſion,*

d *and already taken.* This ſaid, he advanced to the market-place, from whence three exceeding ſteep ſtreets led to the citadel. The houſes on both ſides were very high, and filled with *Carthaginians*, who overwhelmed the *Romans*, as they advanced, with darts and ſtones; ſo that they could not proceed, till they had cleared them. To this end the proconſul in perſon at the head of a detachment attacked the firſt houſe, and made himſelf maſter of it ſword in hand. His example was followed by the officers and ſoldiers, who went on from houſe to houſe, putting all to the ſword they met with. As faſt as the houſes were cleared on both ſides of the ſtreets, the *Romans* advanced in order of battle towards the citadel, but met with a vigorous reſiſtance from the *Carthaginians*, who on this occaſion behaved with uncommon reſolution.

e From the market-place to the citadel two bodies of men fought their way every ſtep, one above on the roofs of the houſes, the other below in the ſtreets. The ſlaughter was inexpreſſibly great and dreadful. The air rung with ſhrieks and lamentations. Some were cut in pieces, others threw themſelves down from the tops of the houſes; ſo that the ſtreets were filled with dead and mangled bodies. But the deſtruction was yet greater, when, by order of the proconſul, fire was ſet to that quarter of the town, which lay next to the citadel. Incredible multitudes, who had eſcaped the ſwords of the enemy, periſhed in the flames and by the fall of the houſes. After the fire, which laſted ſix days, had demoliſhed houſes enough for the proconſul's purpoſe, he ordered the rubbiſh to be removed, and a large area to be made, where

f all his troops might have room to act. Then he appeared with his whole army before *Byrſa*, which ſo terrified the *Carthaginians*, who had fled thither for refuge, that firſt of all twenty-five thouſand women, and ſoon after thirty thouſand men, came out of the gates, in ſuch a condition as moved pity. They threw themſelves proſtrate before the *Roman* general, aſking no favour, but life. This the proconſul readily granted, not only to them, but to all who were in *Byrſa*, except the *Roman* deſerters. whoſe number amounted to nine hundred. The wife of *Aſdrubal* earneſtly intreated her huſband to ſuffer her to join the ſuppliants, and carry with her to the proconſul her two ſons, who were yet very young. But the barbarous governor denied her requeſt, and rejected the remonſtrances of his wife with menaces. The *Roman* deſerters, ſeeing themſelves excluded from mercy, reſolved to die ſword in hand, like brave

The iſland of Cotho *taken by the* Romans, *and one of the gates of the city.*

The proconſul ſets fire to one of the quarters of the city.

men, rather than to deliver themſelves up to the vengeance of *Rome*. *Aſdrubal*, find- a
ing them all to a man determined to defend themſelves to the laſt breath, committed
to their care his wife and children, and then gave a moſt remarkable inſtance of cow-
Aſdrubal *delivers himſelf up to the* Roman *general.* ardice and *Carthaginian* inconſtancy. This very governor, who had braved death,
when it was at a diſtance, and proteſted, that the ſun ſhould never ſee him ſurvive
Carthage; this fierce *Aſdrubal* was ſo mean-ſpirited, as to come alone, and privately
throw himſelf at the conqueror's feet. The general was well pleaſed to ſee his proud
rival humbled, but granted him his life, and kept him to grace his triumph. The
Carthaginians in the citadel no ſooner underſtood, that their commander had abandoned
the place, than they threw open the gates, and put the proconſul in poſſeſſion of *Byrſa*.
The *Romans* had now no enemy to contend with but the nine hundred deſerters, who, b
being reduced to deſpair, retired into the temple of *Æſculapius*, which was as a ſecond
citadel within the firſt. There the proconſul attacked them; and thoſe unhappy
wretches, finding there was no way to eſcape, ſet fire to the temple. As the flames
ſpread, they retreated from one part to another, till they got to the roof of the build-
ing. There *Aſdrubal*'s wife appeared in her beſt apparel, as if the day of her death
had been a day of triumph to her; and, after having uttered the moſt bitter impre-
cations againſt her huſband, whom ſhe ſaw ſtanding below with *Æmilianus*, *Baſe*
coward, ſaid ſhe, *the mean things thou haſt done, to ſave thy life, ſhall not avail thee*;
thou ſhalt die this inſtant, at leaſt, in thy two children. Having thus ſpoke, ſhe drew
out a dagger, ſtabbed them both, and, while they were yet ſtruggling for life, threw, c
them from the top of the temple, and leaped down after them into the flames [g].

So many ſcenes of horror drew tears from the eyes of the *Roman* general, and caſt
him into a penſive ſilence, which he broke at length with two verſes out of *Homer*,
wherein the deſtruction of *Troy* was foretold: *The day will come, when proud* Troy
ſhall fall a prey to the flames, and the ſword ſhall mow down Priam *and his people.* As
the proconſul ſighed in repeating theſe lines, *Polybius*, who was always near him,
took the liberty to aſk him, What he meant by *Troy* and the people of *Priam? Æmi-*
lianus, without naming *Rome*, gave him ſufficiently to underſtand, that he feared his
own country would meet with the ſame fate as *Troy* and *Carthage*. The greateſt ſtates,
ſaid he, have their periods, after which fortune overturns what ſhe took pleaſure in d
raiſing [h]. The proconſul delivered up the city to be plundered, but in the manner pre-
Carthage *plundered.* ſcribed by the *Roman* military law. The ſoldiers were allowed to appropriate to them-
ſelves all the furniture, utenſils, and braſs-money they ſhould find in private houſes.
But all the gold and ſilver, the ſtatues, pictures, *&c.* were reſerved to be put into
the hands of the quæſtors. On this occaſion the cities of *Sicily*, which had been often
plundered by the *Carthaginian* armies, recovered a great number of ſtatues, pictures,
and other valuable monuments; among the reſt, the famous brazen bull, which *Pha-*
laris had ordered to be caſt, and made uſe of as the inſtrument of his cruelty, was
reſtored to the inhabitants of *Agrigentum* (S). The proconſul put part of the ſpoils on
board a galley, which he diſpatched to *Rome* to acquaint the ſenate, that *Carthage* was e
taken, and the war in *Africa* finiſhed. At the ſame time, he deſired new inſtructions
from the conſcript fathers as to the demolition of the walls, temples, and houſes of
Carthage, his good-nature and compaſſion inclining him to ſpare what yet remained
of that ſtately metropolis. The joy of the people at *Rome* was inexpreſſibly great on
the news of the reduction of *Carthage*. They anticipated the decree of the ſenate,
and, meeting by tribes of their own accord, crouded to the temples to thank the gods
for the ſucceſs of their arms. Upon the report which the meſſenger ſent by *Æmilia-*
nus made to the ſenate, the conſcript fathers, after having ſpent ſome time in deli-
berations

[g] Appian. ibid. & in Syriac. Plut. in apoph. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 1. Oros. l. iv. c. ult. Liv. in epit. [h] Polyb. apud Appian. Eutrop. l. iv.

(S) Among the curioſities which *Æmilianus* gave to his friends and to ſeveral lords of *Numidia*, *Salluſt* mentions ſome libraries (*o*), which the general, who knew the value of ſo rich a treaſure, preſerved from the flames. He beſtowed all the books on the ſons of *Micipſa*, except twenty-eight volumes, which treated of agriculture, and were ſaid to have been wrote by one *Mago* a *Carthaginian*. This work the *Roman* ſenate thought ſo uſeful, that they ordered ſome able perſons to tranſlate it out of the language of the country into *Latin*: ſo very ſenſible were the *Romans* of the advantages of huſbandry, the moſt illuſtrious men among them applying themſelves ſeriouſly to that employment, and looking upon it as the chief reſource of the ſtate.

(30) *Salluſt. de bell. Jugurth.*

a berations and debates, diſpatched the following inſtructions to their general: 1. The city of *Carthage* with *Byrſa* and *Megalia* ſhall be intirely demoliſhed, and no traces of them left. 2. All the cities, that have lent *Carthage* any aſſiſtance ſhall be diſmantled. 3. The territories of thoſe cities, which have declared for the *Romans*, ſhall be inlarged with lands taken from the enemy. 4. All the lands between *Carthage* and *Hippo* ſhall be divided among the inhabitants of *Utica*. 5. All the *Africans* of the *Carthaginian* ſtate, both men and women, ſhall pay an annual tribute to the *Roman* people at ſo much *per* head. 6. The whole country, which was ſubject to the *Carthaginian* ſtate, ſhall be turned into a *Roman* province, and be governed by a prætor in the ſame manner as *Sicily*. Laſtly, *Rome* ſhall ſend commiſſioners into *Africa*, there to ſettle
b jointly with the proconſul the ſtate of the new province. This decree was carried by the ten commiſſioners, and ſtrictly executed. But before the proconſul deſtroyed *Carthage*, he performed all thoſe religious ceremonies which were required on ſuch occaſions: He firſt ſacrificed victims to the gods, and then cauſed a plough to be drawn round the walls of the city. After this the towers, ramparts, walls, and all the works which the *Carthaginians* had raiſed, in the courſe of many ages and at a vaſt expence, were levelled with the ground. Laſtly, fire was ſet to the edifices of this proud metropolis, which conſumed them all, not a ſingle houſe eſcaping the flames. Though the fire began in all quarters at the ſame time, and burnt with incredible fury, it continued for ſeventeen days together before all the buildings were conſumed; and hence
c we may judge of the vaſt extent of that metropolis. When the city was intirely demoliſhed, and the affairs of the new province ſettled, the proconſul imbarqued his troops, and returned to *Rome*, where he was honoured with a magnificent triumph, and the glorious ſurname of the *Second Africanus*. After his triumph he depoſited in the capitol an urn full of the aſhes of the capital of *Africa*, which he thought an agreeable offering to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. *Aſdrubal* and *Bythias* the general of the *Carthaginian* horſe, after having been led in chains before the triumphant victor's chariot, were, at the requeſt of *Æmilianus*, allowed to enjoy both life and liberty. *Appian* is the only author, who tells us, that *Aſdrubal* killed himſelf, to avoid the ſhame of being carried in triumph. The reſt of the priſoners were ſold to the beſt bidder, or
d periſhed in the various priſons, to which they were confined [i]. Thus ended one of the moſt renowned cities in the world, both for command and riches, after it had ſubſiſted near ſeven hundred years, given law to many diſtant provinces, and for the ſpace of a hundred years rivalled *Rome* herſelf, and reduced her once to the utmoſt extremity.

Carthage *utterly deſtroyed. Year after the flood* 2858. *Before Chriſt* 141. *Of* Rome 607.

Carthage was not the only great and wealthy city which the *Romans* deſtroyed in this remarkable year. *Corinth* had the ſame fate, after it had flouriſhed at leaſt nine hundred years, But, as we have given, in our hiſtory of the *Achæans*, a very particular account of this memorable event, we ſhall not treſpaſs upon our readers patience by repeating the ſame tranſactions, but follow the victorious arms of the re-
e public in the conqueſts they made, after the reduction of *Greece* and *Africa*, which were both now become *Roman* provinces.

Corinth *deſtroyed.*

i Appian. in Punic. Eutrop. l. iv. Flor. l. ii. c. 15. Zonar. l. ix.

CHAP. VIII.

The hiſtory of Rome, *from the deſtruction of* Carthage *to the end of the ſedition of the* Gracchi.

AFTER the deſtruction of *Carthage* and *Corinth*, *Rome* had no enemy to contend with, either in *Greece* or *Africa*, the imperious republic having put it out of the power of the conquered people to raiſe new diſturbances. However, ſhe was not yet in a condition to lay down her arms, and ſuffer her citizens, after ſo many labours, to enjoy

enjoy at home the ſweets of peace. She had ſtill a troubleſome war to maintain in *Spain*, where the brave *Viriathus* had gained great advantages over all the generals, who had been ſent againſt him, during the late *Punic* war. After the defeat and death of *Vitellius*, of whom we have ſpoken above, the *Luſitanian* had augmented his forces, and defeated in three pitched battles the prætors *Caius Plautius Hypſæus* and *Claudius Unimanus*, though they led againſt him very numerous armies. As he had been victorious for ſix years together, putting the *Romans* to flight where-ever he met them, he had drawn off whole nations from *Rome*, and laid waſte the countries of her moſt faithful allies. The ſenate therefore thought it neceſſary to ſend a conſul of reputation, with a conſular army, into *Further Spain*, and choſe for that expedition *Q. Fabius Æmilianus*, who had been juſt raiſed to the conſulate with *L. Hoſtilius Mancinus*. The latter had commanded the *Roman* fleet in *Africa*, two years before, in quality of prætor; the former was brother to the ſecond *Africanus*, and ſon to *Paulus Æmilius*, but adopted into the *Fabian* family, whence he had the name of *Fabius* and the ſurname of *Æmilianus*. While he continued at *Rome* to raiſe two new legions, *C. Lælius*, the friend of the *Second Africanus*, to whom *Hither Spain* had fallen by lot, imbarqued without delay, and, paſſing from his own province into *Further Spain*, convinced the *Luſitanian* general, that he was not invincible; and this is all we learn from hiſtory of this expedition. Some months after *Fabius* arrived, but ſpent the whole ſummer in inuring his new troops to the toils of war and diſcipline. The next year, when *Ser. Sulpicius Galba* and *L. Aurel. Cotta* were conſuls, *Fabius*, who was continued in the command of the army in *Spain*, gained two victories over *Viriathus*, and made himſelf maſter of two important places, which had been long in the hands of the rebels. However, on his return to *Rome* the ſenate did not judge his victories worthy of a triumph, which at this time was granted to ſuch generals only, as had killed at leaſt five thouſand of the enemy in one battle [k].

Viriathus *gains great advantages over the* Romans *in* Spain

But is defeated by Q. Fabius.

a b c

The next year, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* and *Appius Claudius Pulcher* were raiſed to the conſulate, and the former with the prætor *Q. Pompeius* appointed to carry on the war againſt *Viriathus*. *Pompeius* reached *Spain* before *Metellus*, and attacked *Viriathus* with ſome ſucceſs. But he was afterwards worſted by the *Luſitanian*, driven out of the field, and obliged to ſhut himſelf up in *Corduba*. Soon after *Metellus* arrived, and offered the enemy battle, which *Viriathus* declined; and then the conſul, entering the country of the *Arevacæ*, who had lately revolted, obliged the whole nation to ſubmit upon his own terms. *Metellus* was an officer of great experience and perſonal bravery, very ſevere in keeping the ſoldiers to their duty, and the author of the famous ſaying, ſince put into the mouths of many generals, *If he thought that his coat could be privy to his deſigns, he would burn it* [l]. While *Metellus* was ſignaliſing himſelf in *Spain*, his collegue, who commanded an army in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, forced the *Salaſſi* into a rebellion. This nation inhabited a province near the head of the *Po*, and had frequent diſputes with their neighbours the *Inſubres* about the *Druria*, which watered their country before it reached the borders of *Inſubria*. This river then brought down gold mixed with its ſand, and the *Salaſſi* uſed ſeveral arts to gather the particles of this precious metal, before they were carried by the ſtream into the country of the *Inſubres*. Of this the *Inſubres* complained to the conſul, who hereupon immediately entered the country of the *Salaſſi* in a hoſtile manner, and obliged them, contrary to their inclinations, to have recourſe to arms in their own defence. The conſul was defeated in a pitched battle, and loſt five thouſand of his men. Upon the news of this defeat the *Sibylline* books being conſulted, the decemvirs declared, that all the forms of religion had not been obſerved in this haſty war with the *Salaſſi*. Hereupon the general was ordered to offer a ſacrifice on the borders of the enemy's country. He obeyed, and then, the prejudices of religion giving the ſuperſtitious ſoldiery new courage, he fought a ſecond battle, defeated the *Salaſſi*, and killed five thouſand of them in his turn. As ſoon as the campaign was ended, the conſul returned to *Rome*, and demanded a triumph for having killed five thouſand of the enemy in a pitched battle, which was the preſent rule: But as he had loſt five thouſand legionaries in a former battle, his petition was rejected. Hereupon the conſul decreed himſelf that honour, and was the firſt who entered *Rome* triumphantly in ſpite of the ſenate and people. As he was advancing towards the capitol, a tribune of the people attempted to bring the victor down from his chariot. But his daughter *Claudia*, a veſtal, whom he carried

Metellus *gains the aſcendant over* Viriathus.

The Salaſſi *defeat the* Romans, *but are in a ſecond battle defeated by them.*

d e f

[k] Appian. in Iberic. [l] Author. de vir. illuſtr. Plut. in apoph.

a ried in the chariot with him, oppoſed the tribune, who after ſome altercations gave way, and in the perſon of *Claudia* ſhewed his regard both for her ſex and profeſſion. The conduct of the veſtal was highly applauded by the people, but the conſul was loaded with curſes [m].

THE following year, when *Q. Fabius Servilianus* and *L. Cæciliis Metellus* were conſuls, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, who was continued in *Spain* in quality of proconſul, purſued the war there, and diſplayed his ſtrict regard to diſcipline among his own troops, and his humanity to the conquered, in ſo glorious a manner, that it is not eaſy to decide which did him moſt honour. As he could not bring *Viriathus* to a battle, he applied himſelf to the recovering of thoſe places, which had ſided with the *Luſitani-*
b *an*. He firſt laid ſiege to *Contrebia*, and having made a breach in the wall, appointed five manipuli to mount it. Theſe were repulſed; but the general ordered them to renew the attack, without being reinforced; and then the ſhame of their former cowardice inſpired them with ſuch reſolution, that they fought like lions, and, in ſpite of all oppoſition, carried the place. He then inveſted *Nertobrigia*, where he gave a remarkable inſtance of his humanity and good nature. A chief lord of the country, named *Rhetogenes*, came out of the place, and ſurrendered himſelf to the *Romans*. But, as he had left in the city his wife and children, the inhabitants, inraged at his deſertion, placed them in the breach, which the legionaries were to mount. Hereupon the good-natured general, finding he could not attack the city without
c ſpilling their blood, abandoned a certain conqueſt, and raiſed the ſiege. The fame of an act of ſuch humanity being ſoon ſpread through all *Tarragonian Spain*, the inhabitants of the revolted cities ſtrove who ſhould firſt ſubmit to him. *Metellus* re- Metellus *recovers all* Tarceived them, and among the reſt the *Nertobrigians*, into an alliance with *Rome*; and ragonian at length recovered the whole country except *Termatia* and *Numantia* [n], of which Spain.
cities we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

ON the other hand, the conſul *Servilianus*, who was engaged with *Viriathus* in *Further Spain*, gained at firſt ſome advantages over that brave commander; but in the end was defeated by him with the loſs of three thouſand legionaries. The *Luſitanian* would *The conſul* Ser- have taken the *Roman* camp, if he had not been prevented by a young *Roman*, *vilianus defeat-*
d named *Caius Fannius*, ſon-in-law to *Caius Lælius*, who, putting himſelf at the head *ed by* Viriathus of the legionaries, ſuſtained the attack of the enemy, till night coming on put an end to the conflict [o].

WHEN the time came for the great elections, *Q. Pompeius*, a man of a mean, if not of an infamous, birth, was raiſed to the conſulate in preference to *Caius Lælius*, though ſupported by the intereſt of his inſeparable friend *Scipio Æmilianus*. The colleague given him was *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, a patrician. In the ſame comitia *Servilianus* was appointed to continue the war in *Spain* as proconſul; whereas *Metellus* was only Metellus *re-*
allowed to command in *Hither Spain* till the arrival of his ſucceſſor, though he earneſtly *called.*
ſolicited the favour, formerly granted to others, of finiſhing the war, which he had
e ſo happily begun. When he underſtood, that *Pompey*, a man of no birth or merit, and beſides his perſonal enemy, was to ſucceed him, he reſolved to make the beſt uſe of his time, and ſignalize himſelf by ſome great action, before the arrival of his worthleſs ſucceſſor. With this view he marched out of his quarters in the depth of the winter, entered the *further* province, and taking his rout towards *Luſitania*, where *Viriathus* had cantoned his troops, endeavoured, before he left *Spain*, to draw that *His ſucceſs in* famous commander to a battle. But *Viriathus*, though proud and enterpriſing againſt Spain.
others, kept himſelf wholly upon the defenſive againſt *Metellus*, who thereupon overran great part of the country, and brought back *Eſcadia*, *Gemella*, *Obolcula* (T), and many other conſiderable cities to their duty. Some of the heads of the revolt were
f puniſhed with death, and the reſt, to the number of nine thouſand five hundred, ſold to the beſt bidder. Thus *Metellus* ſhewed what he could do, and would have done, had he been continued in his province; which was the chief point he had in view.

But

[m] LIV. epit. l. liii. STRAB. l. iv. DIO. CASS. l. liii. [n] LIV. ibid. FRONT. Strat. l. iv. c. 1. FLOR. l. i. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. [o] LIV. in epit. l. xxxv. EUTROP. l. iv. APPIAN. in Iberic.

(T) All we know of *Eſcadia* is, that it ſtood in the neighbourhood of *Bætica* and *Luſitania*. *Gemella*, called by *Pliny Tucci* and *Gemella Auguſta*, ſtood, according to *Ambroſius Morales*, in the place where *Martos*, a ſmall city of *Andaluſia*, now ſtands. *Obolcula*, which *Antoninus* and *Ptolemy* call *Obulcula*, was a city of *Turdetania*, a province of *Bætica*. *Rodericus Carus* is of opinion, that it ſtood on the ſpot, where *Caſtillo de la Monclova* was afterwards built, that is, forty-two miles eaſt of *Seville*. This ſituation agrees with *Antoninus*'s itinerary.

His reſentments

But, in the height of his ſucceſs, news was brought him, that his ſucceſſor had left a *Rome*; and then his reſentment revived; he vented his paſſion, firſt, in raſh expreſſions, and then in actions, which were much more blameable. In the height of his paſſion, he reſolved to weaken the army he was to deliver up. With this view he diſbanded the flower of his troops, exhauſted the magazines, let his elephants die, broke in pieces the arrows which were provided for the *Cretan* archers, and threw them into the river. Thus *Metellus*, famous for the conqueſt of *Macedon*, whence he had the glorious ſurname of *Macedonicus*, and one of the beſt commanders *Rome* had, ſacrificed the good of his country to his own private ambition. On his return he was refuſed a triumph; the ſlighteſt puniſhment the republic could inflict upon him [o]. But after all, the army, which *Metellus* ſurrendered up to *Pompey*, conſiſted of thirty thouſand b foot and two thouſand horſe, a ſufficient force to have ſubdued all *Celtiberia*, if the new general had had the conduct and experience of his predeceſſor. He no ſooner appeared in the field, than the *Termantians* and *Numantines*, who had kept themſelves in a ſtate of independency, offered him very advantagious terms of peace.

The occaſion of the Numantine *war.*

But the preſumptuous conſul imprudently and obſtinately inſiſted upon their delivering up their arms, and thereby kindled a war, which coſt the *Romans* a great deal of blood. The conſul, full of confidence, drew near *Numantia* and inveſted it; but the *Numantines*, having firſt ſurrounded and cut in pieces a party of *Romans*, fell afterwards upon the main body of the army; and ſo galled them from the neighbouring eminences with ſhowers of darts and arrows, that the conſul thought it adviſeable to c retire. Accordingly, he removed to *Termantia*; but was not attended with better

The Numantines *and* Termantians *gain conſiderable advantages over the* Romans.

ſucceſs before this city, than before the other. The very firſt day, the *Termantians* killed ſeven hundred of his legionaries, took a great convoy, which was coming to the *Roman* camp, after having put to flight the tribune who eſcorted it, and not only defeated a conſiderable body of *Roman* horſe, but forced them to retire from poſt to poſt, till they came to the edge of a precipice, where they puſhed both men and horſes down over one another; ſo that they were all daſhed to pieces among the rocks. The *Termantians* continued in the field all night, in order to engage the reſt of the *Roman* cavalry the next day; which they did accordingly; but, the enemy being far ſuperior to them in numbers, they were forced to quit the field, after having kept their ground d from break of day to ſun-ſet. The number of the ſlain was equal on both ſides; but the loſs, which was a very conſiderable one to a ſmall nation, was ſcarce felt by the *Romans*. However, the conſul did not think fit to beſiege the city; but marched to *Malia*, a ſmall town, whoſe inhabitants ſurrendered to the *Romans*, after having maſſacred the *Numantine* gariſon. From thence the conſul advanced to *Lanci*, or, as others call it, *Lagni*, which covered the country of the *Numantines*. The *Numantine* gariſon, finding that the inhabitants had privately agreed with the conſul to ſacrifice them, entered their houſes in the night, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of them. The conſul, taking advantage of this inteſtine war, gave orders for the aſſault, and made himſelf, without oppoſition, maſter of the defenceleſs city. *Pompey*, ſeeing e himſelf in poſſeſſion of the place, thought it neceſſary to ſignalize his clemency and ſeverity: but unluckily he miſapplied them both; for he put the *Lancians* to the ſword, and gave quarter to the *Numantian* gariſon. Such were the exploits of *Pompey* after having kindled the *Numantian* war, and exaſperated a brave people, whom he might have reduced upon terms very advantagious for his republic [p].

In *Further Spain*, the proconſul *Servilianus* opened the campaign with ſucceſs, having obliged *Viriathus* to raiſe the ſiege of *Baccia*, and taken ſome caſtles in that neighbourhood. This encouraged the conſul to lay ſiege to *Eriſana*, a ſtrong city in *Luſitania*. But *Viriathus*, having by long marches reached the place, and got into it with a ſtrong detachment in the night, before the lines of circumvallation were finiſh- f ed, made a vigorous ſally upon the *Romans*, and drove them to a place where the reſt of his army lay in ambuſh. There they were ſurrounded on all ſides, and ſo hemmed in, that the only choice they had left was death or ſlavery. The brave *Luſitanian*, having now the proconſul and the whole *Roman* army in his power, inſtead of putting them all to the ſword, as he might have eaſily done, ſent a deputation to *Servilianus*, offering to conclude a peace with him on this ſingle condition; *That he ſhould continue maſter of the country now in his power, and that the* Romans *ſhould remain poſſeſſed of the reſt of* Spain. The proconſul, who expected nothing leſs than death

[o] Appian. ibid. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 3. [p] Appian. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. in eclog. Oros. l. v. c. 4. Front. ſtrat. l. iv. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 2.

a death or ſlavery, thought theſe very favourable and moderate terms; and therefore, without heſitation, concluded a peace, ſigned it, and got it ſoon after ratified by the *Roman* ſenate and people. Thus *Viriathus* at length put in execution the glorious deſign he had always had in view, which was to erect himſelf a kingdom, in the vaſt country he conquered from the republic [q]. And indeed, had it not been for the treachery of the *Romans*, he would have become, as an ancient author calls him, the *Romulus* of *Spain* [r]. He would have founded a monarchy capable of counterbalancing the power of *Rome*, or at leaſt of ſetting bounds to her conqueſts in thoſe parts.

The proconſul Servilianus *forced to make peace with* Viriathus.

The next year, *C. Lælius* was promoted to the conſulate with *Q. Servilius Cæpio*. The latter was a man of no probity or honour; but, however, it fell to his lot to com-

b mand in *Further Spain*, while *Lælius*, a general of experienced wiſdom, equity, and valour, continued inactive in *Rome*. *Pompey* was continued general in *Hither Spain*; but the republic ſent a certain number of ſenators to regulate his conduct and temper his fire. Before they arrived, he undertook the mad project of reducing *Numantia*, by turning the ſtream of the *Durius*, which ſupplied it with water. This gave the inhabitants an opportunity of haraſſing his troops, and cutting off ſuch numbers of them, that he was at length obliged to abandon the enterprize, and retire from before the place. And now, the great army, he had received from *Metellus*, being reduced to a very ſmall number of troops, he began to reflect ſeriouſly on his miſconduct; and, in order to ſcreen himſelf from cenſures, very artfully brought about a peace with

c the *Numantians*, on worſe terms than they had before offered him; for they only agreed to deliver up the *Roman* deſerters, and pay the republic thirty talents at different times. However, this peace was approved of, and ſigned both by *Pompey* and the ſenators, who had been ſent from *Rome* to be of his council. In the mean time, *Q. Servilius Cæpio*, to whoſe lot *Further Spain* had fallen, being deſirous to revenge the diſgrace the *Romans* had ſuffered the laſt year before *Eriſana*, preſſed the ſenate to order him to break the peace with *Viriathus*. The letters he wrote, after his arrival in *Spain*, and his continual remonſtrances, made ſuch impreſſions on the ſenate, that they baſely directed him to exaſperate the *Luſitanian* by mean artifices, and force him by repeated affronts to commit the firſt acts of hoſtility. Purſuant to this order,

A peace with the Numantians.

d which was ſo unworthy of a great and powerful people, the conſul did all he could to pick a quarrel with *Viriathus*; but he overlooked the affronts offered him, proteſting, that he would inviolably obſerve the conditions of the peace, granted him by the *Roman* ſenate and people. The conſul, finding he could not by any means ſtir up the *Luſitanian* to an open breach, made freſh applications to the ſenate; and the conſcript fathers, to the eternal ſhame of their republic, ordered him to declare war; and proclaimed *Viriathus*, who had not given them the leaſt provocation, an enemy to *Rome*. The conſul was no ſooner impowered to begin the war, than he put his troops in motion, and having made himſelf maſter of *Arſa*, a city of *Bætica*, he purſued *Viriathus* into the country of the *Carpetani*, and there reduced him to great ſtreights.

The baſeneſs and injuſtice of the Romans.

e But the *Luſitanian* made a moſt glorious retreat, and, though the conſul believed him ſhut in among the hills and rocks on all ſides, he diſappeared with his troops ſo ſuddenly, that the *Romans*, when they returned to their camp, turned the affair into ridicule, and were very ſevere in their jeſts on their general. *Cæpio* ſeeing himſelf thus deluded by the enemy, entered the country of the *Vettones*, and committed there moſt dreadful devaſtations. He then marched in queſt of *Viriathus*, whom he reduced ſo low, having an army far ſuperior in number to his, that the *Luſitanian* was forced to ſue again for peace, and even to comply with the hard preliminary impoſed upon him, which was to ſacrifice all thoſe who had cauſed any cities to revolt from the *Romans*, among whom was his wife's father. He put ſome of them to death in his

f own camp, and the reſt he delivered up to the ſeverity of the conſul, who cut off their right hands. He hoped, that this blind obedience would ſoften the conſul. But, to his great ſurprize, the next order he received was, to diſarm his troops; this the whole army rejected with great indignation, and hoſtilities were renewed, during which *Viriathus* continued his negotiations with the conſul, being wholly bent on founding a new kingdom in *Spain*, and ſettling himſelf on the throne. The perſons he employed to treat with *Cæpio* were *Audax*, *Ditalco*, and *Minur*, in whom he repoſed an intire confidence. But the conſul finding them, after ſome private conferences, to be men wholly devoted to their own intereſt, and capable of any crime, by which they

[q] Appian. Liv. Diodor. Sicul. ibid. [r] Flor. l. ii. c. 17.

The infamous conduct of Cæpio.

they could promote it, engaged them by rich preſents and great promiſes baſely and a treacherouſly to murder their general and their friend in his ſleep. Thus the *Romans* now began to have no regard to the law of nations, to public faith, or to humanity itſelf. The aſſaſſins, after they had committed the execrable murder, fled to the conſul's camp, informed him, that they had diſpatched his rival, and demanded the promiſed reward. But they found by experience, that traitors are hated even by thoſe who profit by their treachery. For the conſul told them, that all he would do for them was, to give them protection, adding with a reproachful air, that the *Roman* magiſtrates were not very ready to reward thoſe who murdered their own generals. The *Luſitanian* troops were inconſolable for the loſs of their commander, who was, without all doubt, the greateſt man *Spain* ever bred, and deemed invincible by *Rome* b herſelf. After his death the *Luſitanians* appointed one *Tantalus* to command them, who, having raſhly undertaken the ſiege of *Saguntum*, was ſurprized by *Cæpio*, defeat-

The war in Further Spain *ended.*

ed, and forced to ſurrender himſelf and his whole army at diſcretion. And thus an end was put to this troubleſome war, after it had laſted fourteen years. However, the ſenate had ſtill ſo much honour left, as to refuſe a triumph to the infamous conſul, though they enjoyed the fruits of his villainy, and even continued him in the command of the army another year in *Further Spain*, with the title of proconſul [s].

The next year, when *Lucius Calpurnius Piſo* and *M. Popilius Lænas* were conſuls, the republic baſely and unjuſtly broke the treaty, which *Pompey* had concluded with the *Numantines*, though the proconſul had received from thoſe unfortunate peo- c ple the deſerters, hoſtages, and money ſtipulated. The following year, *P. Scipio Naſica* and *D. Junius Brutus* were advanced to the conſulate, and the latter appointed to govern *Further Spain*, where he executed the orders he brought from *Rome*, of ſettling ſome of the veterans in a colony with *Viriathus*'s ſoldiers. This new colony he called *Valentia*, which in proceſs of time became a place of great renown. After this he attacked the banditti, who ravaged his province, in their own country, which not only the men, but likewiſe the women, defended with unparalleled bravery. However, the conſul at length reduced, and, in regard of their courage, pardoned them. In the mean time, *Popilius*, now proconſul, purſuant to the orders he received from the ſenate, broke the treaty of peace with *Numantia*, and marched againſt that city. d

The Romans *defeated before* Numantia.

But he no ſooner appeared before it, than the *Numantines*, ſallying out, put the whole *Roman* army to flight, and made ſuch ſlaughter of them, that they were not in a condition to make any further attempts, during the whole campaign. In the following conſulate of *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *C. Hoſtilius Mancinus*, *Brutus* paſſed the *Minius* in *Further Spain*, and entered the country of the *Bracarini*, where the women, intermixed with all their troops, fought with aſtoniſhing bravery. They engaged the legionaries without betraying the leaſt fear, killed many of them, and were themſelves cut in pieces without a ſhriek. Nevertheleſs *Talabriſia* and other cities ſurrendered; and the conſul, rather by his clemency, than by his ſword, gained over the whole country to the intereſt of *Rome* [t]. e

During theſe expeditions of *Brutus* in *Further Spain*, the conſul *Mancinus* took upon him the command of the army, which was delivered up to him by *Popilius* in *Hither Spain*, and drew near to *Numantia*. But, as thoſe brave legionaries, who were the terror of the whole world, trembled at the very ſight, nay, at the bare name of a *Numantine*, the conſul thought it adviſeable to decamp, and move farther off in the night. But the *Numantines*, being informed of their motions, purſued them, and having firſt ſeized the camp, which they had abandoned, came up with the flying legions, and made a dreadful havock of them. The conſular army conſiſted of at leaſt thirty thouſand, whereas the *Numantines* were not above four thouſand. Never- f theleſs, this ſmall body, as ſtrange as it may appear, killed in the purſuit twenty thouſand of the *Romans*, and put the reſt to a diſorderly flight. At the return of light the conſul ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by heaps of dead bodies, and ſhut in on all ſides by the enemy in a rough and mountainous country. But in this ſad ſituation, inſtead of giving himſelf up to deſpair, he acted as prudence and the preſent neceſſity ſeemed to require. As there was no way left for him and the poor remains of his army to eſcape, the prudent conſul began a negotiation with the enemy, offering to conclude a peace with them upon reaſonable terms. This was what the *Numantines* had long deſired; but nevertheleſs, the bad ſucceſs of their agreement with the conſul *Pompeius*

The Numantines *intirely defeat the* Roman *army.*

[s] Appian. in Iberic. Diodor. Sicul. apud Vales. Auth. de vir. illuſtr. Front. ſtrat. l. iii. c. 17. Appian. ibid.

[t] Liv. in epit.

a *Pompeius* deterred them from entering into a treaty with a *Roman* general. They therefore desired to treat only with *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, who was then quæstor in the consular army, and greatly esteemed for his probity even by the enemy. With him the conferences were begun, and a peace concluded upon these terms: 1. That the *Numantines* should suffer the *Romans* to retire unmolested: 2. That the inhabitants of *Numantia* should maintain their independence, and be reckoned among the friends of the *Roman* people. The consul, the quæstor, and all the chief officers of the *Roman* army, bound themselves by a solemn oath inviolable to observe the second article. By this means the lives of ten thousand citizens were saved to the republic; so that the quæstor hoped to make a merit of his negotiation with the *Roman* people.

They conclude a peace with the Romans

b The *Numantines*, soon after the treaty was concluded, gave an instance of the sincerity of their intentions. When they plundered the *Roman* camp, they had taken among other things the quæstor's books of accounts; and *Gracchus* went into the city to demand them. The *Numantines* received him with great civility and politeness, restored him his books, and even offered him all the booty they had taken in the camp. But the quæstor, charmed with the generosity and good-nature of the *Numantines*, rejected the offer and accepted only of a small box, which belonged to him, and was full of the incense which he used to burn in honour of his domestic gods [u].

When news of the peace concluded with the *Numantines* was brought to *Rome*, the shocking injustice and baseness of the *Romans* towards so generous an enemy ap-

c peared anew. The *Numantines* had saved the lives of ten thousand *Romans*, who were in their power, when the peace was concluded; but though the senate and people were glad to reap this advantage from the treaty, yet they resolved to break it; and therefore would not admit the *Numantine* embassadors, on their first arrival, within the walls of the city. 'Tis true, that when the new consuls, *P. Furius Philus* and *Sex. Attilius Serranus*, were chosen, they granted them an audience, when one of the embassadors made a speech in the senate, which would have affected them, if they had had any sense of justice or humanity. But as these virtues had now forsaken *Rome*, the senate and people basely and unjustly resolved to break the peace, and extirpate that generous and innocent people, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the consul, the

d quæstor, and all the officers of the army who had served in *Spain*. They pretended to make the injured *Numantines* satisfaction, by ordering the consul *Mancinus* to be carried, bound hand and foot, to one of the gates of *Numantia*, and be there delivered up to the enemy, stripped of his arms and cloaths [w].

The baseness and injustice of the Romans.

During these transactions at *Rome*, *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, who had been sent to succeed *Mancinus* in *Hither Spain*, began an unjust war with the *Vaccæi*, purely for the sake of finding himself work. But, while he was preparing to besiege *Palantia*, their capital, deputies came from *Rome*, with a decree of the senate ordering him to desist. However, *Æmilius* persisted in his design, till the *Vaccæi*, by intercepting his convoy, obliged him to decamp for want of provisions. The *Romans* left their camp in the

e night, and the *Vaccæi*, knowing in what confusion they retired, pursued them, and in the pursuit put six thousand legionaries to the sword. Nevertheless, *Æmilius*, on his return to *Rome*, was treated with more lenity than he expected, being condemned only to pay a fine. And now the consul, *P. Furius Philus*, being arrived in *Spain* with orders to renew the war with the *Numantines*, thought it necessary in the first place to deliver up to them the victim he had brought from *Rome*. It was an affecting sight to see a consular man, who had lately appeared guarded by lictors, at the head of a flourishing army, now deprived of all the marks of a *Roman* citizen, stripped naked to the waist, and formally committed to the care of a fecialis, who was to put him into the hands of the enemy, for having, as was pretended, imposed upon them by a

The Romans *defeated by the* Vaccæi.

Mancinus *delivered up to the* Numantines, *who refuse to accept of him.*

f false peace and an unlawful oath. But the *Numantines*, not thinking the blood of one man a sufficient atonement for the breach of the most solemn engagements, shut their gates, declaring that they would not accept of *Mancinus*, unless they had the whole army with him. So that, after he had lain a whole day at the gate of the city, the consul *Furius*, agreeable to the equity of the *Romans* of that time, thinking this a sufficient satisfaction to the injured people, brought him back to his camp, entertained him with respect, and restored him to all the rights of a *Roman* citizen; nay, he was afterwards admitted to his place in the senate. The war with the *Numantines*, though already declared, was not renewed while *Furius* continued in *Spain*, his commission being,

[u] Liv. in epit. Plut. in Gracch. Appian. in Iberic. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. Oros. l. v. c. 5. Cic. de off. l. iii.

[w] Plut. in Gracch. Appian. in Iberic.

being, it ſeems, confined to the delivering up of *Mancinus*. But the next year, a
Q. Calpurnius Piſo, who was choſen conſul with *Ser. Fulvius Flaccus*, was ordered to carry on the war with vigor againſt the *Numantines*. But he, not caring to engage ſo brave and reſolute an enemy, contented himſelf with beſieging *Palantia* in the country of the *Vaccæi*, and did not ſo much as appear before *Numantia*. But *Brutus* made great conqueſts in *Luſitania*, and penetrated into the country of the *Callaici* or *Gallæci*, where he engaged an army of ſixty thouſand *Spaniards*, killed fifty thouſand of them on the ſpot, made ſix thouſand priſoners, and almoſt extirpated the whole nation. Hence he acquired the ſurname of *Callaicus*, and was continued in his government, till the war ſhould be ended. This year the *Vardæi*, a people of *Illyricum*, rebelled, and rejected all amicable meaſures. Whereupon the conſul *Flaccus* was ſent with an b
army to reduce them; which he did ſo effectually, that *Rome* at his return honoured him with a triumph [w].

Brutus *makes great conqueſts in* Luſitania.

In the mean while, the time for the elections being come, *Scipio Africanus* offered his nephew *Fabius Buteo* as a candidate for the quæſtorſhip, when, to his great ſurpriſe, the tribes demanded to have *Scipio* himſelf for their conſul, ſaying, that he only could deſtroy *Numantia*, who had deſtroyed *Carthage*. A law had been made ſome years before, enacting, that the ſame perſon ſhould not be twice promoted to the conſular dignity. The tribunes of the people therefore, in order to honour *Scipio* with the faſces a ſecond time with the approbation of the ſenate, propoſed to the comitia, that *Scipio* ſhould have a ſpecial privilege granted him for his promotion, and that, his privilege c
ſhould not be made a preſident. The people accepted the propoſal with joy, and nominated him conſul for the next year with *C. Fulvius Flaccus*. *Scipio* was ordered, without drawing lots, to carry on the war againſt the *Numantines*, but was not allowed to raiſe any new levies, the ſenate telling him, that there were ſoldiers enough in *Spain*, and that they only wanted a good general. However, he drew together a body of about five hundred voluntiers, all horſemen, whom he called *The ſquadron of his friends*, and borrowed about four thouſand men of the cities of *Italy*. In the number of the former was, according to *Velleius Paterculus*, the famous poet *Lucilius*. He alſo wrote to *Micipſa*, king of *Numidia*, to ſend him ſuccours, and then made all haſte to his province, where he wiſely ſpent the firſt ſummer in reforming his troops, d
till he had altered them to his wiſh; and frugality, vigilance, and a love of duty had taken place of effeminacy, lazineſs, and indolence, which had long prevailed among the officers as well as the ſoldiers. Neither did he ſpare, but rather increaſe, their labours during the winter. He obliged every man, that went out of the camp, to carry his tools, and bring back ſome ſtakes with him. When the ſoldiers complained of this hardſhip, he told them, that he would oblige them to bring paliſades to fortify the camp, till they had learnt to fortify it with their ſwords [x]. At this time he received a reinforcement of cavalry, elephants, and ſlingers from *Numidia*. They were a choice body, but what moſt diſtinguiſhed them was, the young prince, who commanded them, by name *Jugurtha*, a prince with whom the *Romans* will be but e
too well acquainted hereafter. Young *Marius* made on this occaſion his firſt campaign, and the brave prince entered into ſo ſtrict a friendſhip with him, that he was inſeparable from him, little ſuſpecting, that *Marius* would one day become his moſt cruel enemy and his conqueror.

Scipio Africanus *ſent againſt the* Numantines.

And now *Scipio*'s conſulſhip expired; but he was continued in the command of the *Roman* army in *Spain*, till ſuch time as *Numantia* ſhould be reduced. The new conſuls choſen were *P. Mucius Scævola* (U) and *L. Calpurnius Piſo Frugi*. *Sicily* fell by lot to the latter, where he was to make war with the revolted ſlaves; and *Italy* to the former, who continued in the capital to calm, if poſſible, the ſpirit of ſedition, which began to appear there. *Scipio*, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, ſent out f
large detachments to ravage the country round *Numantia*; for his ſcheme was to reduce the place, not by force, which would have coſt *Rome* much blood, but by famine. After he had found, that his troops were no longer afraid of the enemy, but boldly faced them, and even put them to flight, he began to put ſome confidence in his

[w] Flor. l. ii. c. 18. Oros. l. v. c. 5. Liv. epit. l. lvi. [x] Flor. l. ii. c. 18. Appian. ibid. Flut. in apoph.

(U) This is the ſame *P. Mucius Scævola*, whom *Cicero* extolls in ſeveral places of his works, as one of the moſt able civilians and moſt virtuous citizens of *Rome*. Several of the ſame name have been famous for their virtue and probity, which ſeem to have been hereditary in the *Mucian* family.

a his legionaries, and reſolved to begin the ſiege, or rather the blockade, without delay.

Numantia ſtood on a hill of a difficult acceſs, and had large fields within its walls, which were about three miles in compaſs. The inhabitants, able to bear arms, are ſaid to have been only four thouſand men, at leaſt when the place was firſt inveſted by *Scipio*, whoſe army conſiſted of threeſcore thouſand well diſciplined troops, *Romans* and *Spaniards*. Theſe the proconſul divided into two bodies, the one commanded by himſelf, the other by his brother *Q. Fabius*, and, drawing near to the city, began his works. The *Numantines*, alarmed at the ſight of ſo formidable an army, made again propoſals of peace; but the proconſul inſiſting upon their delivering up, by way b of preliminary, their city, their perſons, and their arms, to be diſpoſed of at pleaſure, they reſolved to prefer a glorious death to an ignominious ſlavery. After they had taken this reſolution, they marched out of the city in good order, inſulted the *Romans* in their trenches, and with a boldneſs, which deſpair alone could inſpire, offered the *Roman* general battle. But he declined it, ſaying to his ſoldiers, who began to complain of his conduct, that an able general ought never to hazard a battle, unleſs neceſſity compels him, or ſuch an opportunity offers as makes the victory certain. *The* Numantines, ſaid he, *are actuated by deſpair; their ruin is inevitable; to engage them would be only giving them the pleaſure of ſhedding your blood.* *Scipio*, having thus reſtrained the impetuoſity of his troops, ſurrounded the place with a wide and deep c ditch, ſix miles in compaſs. Without this he drew another; and behind that raiſed a rampart, which he ſecured with paliſades, and ſupported with a wall eight foot broad, and ten foot high, with towers at proper diſtances. Then to prevent any communication with the city by water, he ſtopped the navigation of the *Durius*, which waſhed the walls of the city, with a kind of *ſtaccado*, which was flanked with two wooden caſtles on the two banks. When the works were finiſhed, he guarded them carefully night and day. The ramparts were lined with legionaries, the towers filled with archers and ſlingers, and men poſted all the way from the circumvallation to his camp, with orders to give notice by ſhouts on which ſide the alarm was given. When any of the works were attacked by the beſieged, the commander on the poſt attacked d hung out a red ſtandard by day, and made a great fire by night; upon which notice the general, who kept always twenty thouſand men in a readineſs to march, ſent them immediately ſtrong reinforcements to drive back the enemy. *Scipio* gave no reſt to the beſieged, nor relaxation to his own troops. He viſited each poſt every day, and took a view of all the parts of this vaſt circumvallation. But notwithſtanding all the precaution he could uſe, ſix of the beſieged made their way through his camp, and, eluding the vigilance of the centries, got ſafe to the neighbouring cities, which they endeavoured to ſtir up againſt the *Romans*. But *Lutia* was the only place, which did more than pity the unfortunate *Numantines*. The youth of this city, touched with concern for their diſtreſſed countrymen, reſolved to march to their e relief. But the old men in the place, having more at heart their own ſafety, than that of the *Numantines*, acquainted *Scipio*, with the reſolution and deſigns of their youth. Hereupon the general without delay, flew to *Lutia* in perſon with ſome light-armed troops, marched three hundred furlongs in eight hours, and arriving when leaſt expected, at *Lutia*, demanded the raſh young men to be delivered up to him. The inhabitants, unwilling to comply with his requeſt and part with their children, concealed them, and pretended they had made their eſcape. But *Scipio*, threatening to pillage the city, they thought it adviſeable to obey, and delivered up to him four hundred of the young men who had been the chief promoters of the late reſolution. The proconſul no ſooner had them in his power, than he cauſed their right hands to be f cut off, and returned to his camp by ſun-riſing [y].

Numantia *beſieged.*

Numantia *reduced to great ſtreights.*

And now, famine and deſpair increaſing together in the beſieged city, five embaſſadors came out to *Scipio*, intreating him in the name of their countrymen, either to let them end their days, like brave men, in a general action, or ſave their liberty by an honourable capitulation. *Abarus*, who was at the head of the embaſſy, ſuggeſted to *Scipio*, that it was for his honour, either to ſhew clemency to the people, who had ſo bravely ſignalized their love for liberty, or at leaſt not to deſtroy them otherwiſe than with the ſword. But they received this ſhort anſwer; I will hearken to no propoſals, till you have abſolutely ſurrendered up to me your city, your perſons, and your

[y] Liv. in epit. l. lvii. Appian. in Iberic. Oros. l. iii. c. 7. Aul. Gell. l. xiii. c. 3.

your arms, without any reſerve. Then the fury of the beſieged firſt vented itſelf on a
the deputies, whom they cut in pieces for bringing them nothing but ill news. After-
wards, being preſſed by want, they reſolved to make a laſt effort in order to break
through the barriers, which confined them; accordingly, they marched out in good
order by two gates, and fell upon the works with a fury not to be expreſſed. Their
fixed reſolution to die or eſcape made them inſenſible of the many wounds they receiv-
ed. In ſpite of the continual ſhowers of ſtones, darts, and arrows, which were diſ-
charged upon them from the ramparts and towers, they would have forced their way
through the enemy's camp, had not *Scipio* himſelf, at the head of twenty thouſand
men, haſtened to the relief of the troops that defended the poſts attacked by the enemy.
They were then, after a ſharp diſpute, forced to give way to numbers and retire, b
which they did in good order. But their returning into the city was only changing one
kind of death for another. For they were now reduced to ſuch ſtreights as to feed firſt
on the fleſh of their horſes, afterwards on that of their dead companions, and laſtly, to
kill and devour one another. Thus did theſe poor citizens, who were formerly ſo
firmly united in carrying on their common intereſt, make war on themſelves in a much
more cruel manner, than any common enemy could have done. In this deplorable
condition they held a conſultation, wherein it was reſolved, that they ſhould have
recourſe to the proconſul, and make an abſolute ſurrender, ſince they could by no
means hold out any longer. However, this reſolution was not univerſally approved.
Great numbers choſe rather to die, than to give up their liberty; and ſhutting them- c
ſelves up in their houſes, there calmly waited for the fate, which hunger ſoon brought
upon them. The reſt ſent a deputation to *Scipio*, who was touched with compaſſion at
the ſight of thoſe unhappy men. There was ſomething inexpreſſibly wild in their
air, and a ſavageneſs even in the manner they addreſſed him. As ſoon as they men-
tioned the word *ſurrender*, the proconſul received them graciouſly, and ordered them
to bring all their arms to a place appointed the next day. But they demanded a
longer time, which being granted, they ſet fire to their houſes, as ſome hiſtorians tell
us; reduced their city to aſhes, and either killed one another, or periſhed in the
flames; inſomuch, that not one of them remained alive to grace the proconſul's
Numantia utterly deſtroyed. Year of the flood 2871. *Before Chriſt* 128. *Of* Rome 620.
triumph. But *Appian*[a] aſſures us, that, two days after the time allotted, a conſider- d
able number of thoſe unhappy wretches came to the place appointed, and ſurrendered
their arms, and that *Scipio*, having reſerved fifty of them for his triumph, ſold the reſt
to the beſt bidder. Be that as it will, thus much may be ſaid in honour of thoſe brave
Spaniards, that, though they were few in number, no other people ſo long reſiſted the
Roman forces, ſo often defeated the conſular armies, or brought ſo much diſgrace
both on the generals and ſenate of *Rome*. *Numantia*, though infinitely inferior both
to *Carthage* and *Corinth*, was much more glorious in her fall, than either of theſe
proud cities. *Scipio* took *Carthage* ſword in hand; but did not think it poſſible to
reduce *Numantia* otherwiſe than by famine. With this city fell all the hopes of the
revolted *Spaniards*; ſo that the whole country immediately ſubmitted to the *Roman* e
yoke. Then the ſenate ſent ten of their body to ſettle the new province. But the
Spaniards were too great lovers of liberty to continue long quiet. We ſhall ſee them
often taking up arms and renewing the war, till the emperor *Auguſtus* intirely reduced
them, and ſettled *Spain*, as well as the reſt of the then known world, in peace and
tranquillity. *Scipio* on his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph; and on this
occaſion the *Roman* people added the ſurname of *Numantinus* to that of *Africanus*.

Numantia, while in being, had brought numberleſs diſaſters upon *Rome*; but, in ſome
ſenſe, proved ſtill more fatal to her after her deſtruction. Her aſhes, if we may be
allowed the expreſſion, ſtirred up the firſt ſedition, which polluted the capitol with
blood, and was a prelude to thoſe cruel civil wars, which afterwards broke out ſucceſ- f
ſively in the republic, and coſt her the lives of more citizens, than the conqueſt of the
world. We mean the ſedition raiſed by *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, which it may not
be improper to trace up to its firſt ſource. The *Sempronian* family, from which *Tib.*
The birth and education of Tib. Sempronius Gracchus.
Gracchus was deſcended, was, though plebeian, one of the moſt illuſtrious in the
commonwealth. *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, the father of this *Gracchus*, had been twice
raiſed to the conſulate, was a great general, and had been honoured with two triumphs.
But he was ſtill more renowned for his domeſtic virtues and probity, than for his birth
or valour. He married the daughter of the firſt *Africanus*, that famous *Cornelia*, who
was

[z] Flor. l. ii. c. 12. Oros. l. v. c. 7 [a] Appian. in Iberic.

a was the pattern of her ſex, and the prodigy of her age, and had by her ſeveral children, of whom three only arrived to maturity of age, *Tiberius Gracchus*, *Caius Gracchus*, and a daughter, named *Sempronia*, who was married to the *Second Africanus*. *Tiberius* the eldeſt was deemed the moſt accompliſhed youth in *Rome*, with reſpect to the qualities both of the body and mind. His extraordinary talents were heightened by a noble air, an engaging countenance, and all thoſe winning graces of nature which recommend merit. He made his firſt campaigns under his brother-in-law, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf upon all occaſions by his courage and the prudence of his conduct. When he returned to *Rome*, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of eloquence, and at thirty years old was accounted the beſt orator of his age. He married the daughter
b of *Appius Claudius*, who had been formerly conſul and cenſor, and was then prince of the ſenate. He continued for ſome time in the ſentiments both of his own and his wife's family, and ſupported the intereſt of the patricians; but without openly attacking the popular faction. We have obſerved above, that he diſcharged the office of quæſtor in *Spain*, whither he attended the conſul *Mancinus*, and ſhared with him the misfortunes of that unhappy campaign. He was the chief author and negotiator of that ſhameful, but neceſſary, peace with the *Numantines*. The ſenate, with the utmoſt injuſtice, diſannulled the treaty, and condemned the conſul, the quæſtor, and all the officers, who had ſigned it, to be delivered up to the *Numantines*. The people indeed, out of eſteem for *Gracchus*, would not ſuffer him to be ſacrificed; but however, he
c had juſt reaſon to complain both of the ſenate and people, for paſſing ſo ſcandalous a decree againſt his general and himſelf, and breaking a treaty, whereby the lives of ſo many citizens had been ſaved. But, as the ſenate had chiefly promoted ſuch baſe and iniquitous proceedings, he reſolved in due time to ſhew his reſentment againſt the party, which had moſt contributed to his diſgrace. In order to this, he ſtood for the tribuneſhip of the people, which he no ſooner obtained, than he reſolved to attack the nobility in the moſt tender part. They had uſurped lands unjuſtly; cultivated them by ſlaves to the great detriment of the public, and had lived for about two hundred and fifty years in open defiance to the *Licinian* law, by which it was enacted, that no citizen ſhould poſſeſs more than five hundred acres. This law
d *Tib. Gracchus* reſolved to revive, and by that means revenge himſelf on the patricians. But it was not revenge alone which prompted him to imbarque in ſo dangerous an attempt. It is pretended, that his mother *Cornelia* animated him to undertake ſomething worthy both of his and her family. *I am commonly called*, ſaid ſhe, *by way of honour, the mother-in-law of the* Second Africanus. *Why don't they ſtyle me the mother of* Gracchus? *It is becauſe your name is not ſo illuſtrious as to reflect any honour upon me. For your own ſake then, and for your mother's, make yourſelf famous by ſome great attempt.* Theſe reproaches of his mother, the authority of ſome great men, namely his father-in-law *Appius Claudius*, of *P. Craſſus*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, and of *Mucius Scævola*, the moſt learned civilian in *Rome*, and his natural thirſt after glory, joined
e with an eager deſire of revenge, conſpired to draw him into this moſt unfortunate ſcheme. The law, as he firſt drew it up, was very mild; for it only enacted, that thoſe, who poſſeſſed more than five hundred acres of land, ſhould part with the overplus, and that the full value of the ſaid lands ſhould be paid them out of the public treaſury. The lands, thus purchaſed by the public, were to be divided among the poor citizens, and cultivated either by themſelves, or by freemen, who were upon the ſpot. *Tiberius* allowed every child of a family to hold two hundred and fifty acres in his own name, over and above what was allowed to the father. Nothing could be more mild than this new law, ſince by the *Licinian* he might have abſolutely deprived the rich of the lands they unjuſtly poſſeſſed, and made them accountable for the profits
f they had received from them during their long poſſeſſion. But the rich patricians could not ſo much as bear the name of the *Licinian law*, though thus qualified. Thoſe chiefly of the ſenatorial and equeſtrian order exclaimed againſt it, and were continually mounting the roſtra one after another, in order to diſſuade the people from accepting a law, which, they ſaid, would raiſe diſturbances, that might prove more dangerous than the evils, which *Tiberius* pretended to redreſs by the promulgation of it. Thus the zealous tribune was obliged day after day to enter the liſts with freſh adverſaries; but he ever got the better of them, both in point of eloquence and argument. He often intermixed with his ſolid arguments ſuch topics, as were moſt proper to make impreſſions on the multitude. *The wild beaſts*, ſaid he, *have dens and caverns to retire*
g *to; while the citizens of* Rome *have not ſo much as a roof or a cottage to ſhelter them from the*

He undertakes the revival of the Licinian *law.*

The Sempronian *law.*

the inclemency of the weather; *nay, not ſo much as ground enough to ſerve them for a grave.* a
On the other hand, the rich inſiſted on the length of their poſſeſſion, on the debts they had contracted by purchaſing theſe lands, and on the ſtrange confuſion which ſuch a change would occaſion in families, ſince theſe eſtates were ſettled on their wives and children. But *Gracchus* anſwered all their objections, ſo clearly and fully, as left no room for any reply. *Cicero*, who read the ſpeeches of *Gracchus*, tells us, that he admired them more for the ingenious turns and ſolid reaſons he found in them, than for the purity of the language, which was not yet in its perfection [b]. The people were charmed to hear him maintain the cauſe of the unfortunate with ſo much ſucceſs, and beſtowed on him the higheſt commendations. The rich therefore had recourſe to violence and calumny, in order to deſtroy, or at leaſt to diſcredit, the tribune. b
It is ſaid, they hired aſſaſſins to diſpatch him; but they could not put their wicked deſign in execution, *Gracchus* being always attended, to and from the roſtra, by a guard of about four thouſand men. His adverſaries therefore endeavoured to ruin his reputation by the blackeſt calumnies. They gave out, that he aimed at monarchy, and publiſhed pretended plots laid for crowning him king. But the people, without giving ear to ſuch groundleſs reports, made it their whole buſineſs to encourage their tribune, who was hazarding his life and reputation for their ſake [c].

Gracchus *gains the favour of the people.*

When the day came, on which this law was to be accepted or rejected by the people aſſembled in the comitium, *Gracchus* began with haranguing the mighty croud, which an affair of ſuch importance had brought together both from the city and country. c
In his ſpeech he ſhewed the juſtice of the law with ſo much eloquence, made ſo moving a deſcription of the miſeries of the meaner ſort of people, and at the ſame time ſet forth in ſuch odious colours the uſurpation of the public lands, and the immenſe riches which the avarice and rapaciouſneſs of the great had raked together, that the people, tranſported with fury, demanded with loud cries the billets, that they might give their ſuffrages. Then *Gracchus*, finding the minds of the citizens in that warmth and emotion, which was neceſſary for the ſucceſs of his deſign, ordered the law to be read. But unluckily, one of the tribunes, by name *Marcus Octavius Cæcina*, who had always profeſſed a great friendſhip for *Gracchus*, having been gained over by the patricians, declared againſt the proceedings of his friend and collegue, and pronounced the word d
which had been always awful in the mouth of a tribune of the people, *Veto, I forbid it.* As *Octavius* was a man of an unblameable character, and had hitherto been very zealous for the publication of the law, *Gracchus* was greatly ſurprized at this unexpected oppoſition from his friend. However, he kept his temper, and only deſired the people to aſſemble again the next day, to hear their two tribunes, one in defence of, the other in oppoſition to, the law propoſed. The people met at the time appointed, when *Gracchus*, addreſſing himſelf to his collegue, conjured him by the mutual duties of their function, and by the bonds of their ancient friendſhip, not to oppoſe the good of the people, whom they were bound in honour to protect againſt the uſurpations of the great: nay, taking his collegue aſide, he addreſſed him thus; e
Perhaps you are perſonally concerned to oppoſe this law; if ſo, I mean, if you have more than the five hundred acres allowed, I myſelf, poor as I am, engage to pay you in money what you will loſe in land. But *Octavius*, either out of ſhame, or from a principle of honour, continued immoveable in the party he had embraced. *Gracchus* therefore had recourſe to another expedient, which was to ſuſpend all the magiſtrates in *Rome* from the execution of their offices. It was lawful for any tribune to take this ſtep, when the paſſing of the law, which he propoſed, was prevented by mere chicanery. After this he aſſembled the people anew, and made a ſecond attempt to ſucceed in his deſign. When all things were got ready for collecting the ſuffrages, the rich privately conveyed away the urns, in which the tablets were kept. This kindled the f
tribune's indignation, and the rage of the people. A thouſand confuſed noiſes aroſe in the aſſembly. The comitium was like to become a field of battle, when two venerable ſenators, *Manlius* and *Fulvius*, very reaſonably interpoſed, and throwing themſelves at the tribune's feet, prevailed upon him to ſubmit his law to the judgment of the conſcript fathers. This was making the ſenators judges in their own cauſe; but *Gracchus* thought the law ſo undeniably juſt, that he could not perſuade himſelf that they would reject it; and if they did, he knew the incenſed multitude would no longer keep any meaſures with them [d].

Gracchus *ſuſpends all the magiſtrates from their functions.*

Gracchus *ſubmits his law to the judgment of the ſenate.*

The

[b] Cic. in Bruto. [c] Liv. epit. l. lviii. Plut. in Gracch. Appian. de bell. civil. l. i. Aul. Gell. l. ii. c. 13. [d] Plut. in Gracch. Appian. de bell. civil. l. i. Liv. epit. l. lviii.

a THE ſenate, who wanted nothing but to gain time, affected delays, and came to no reſolution. There were indeed ſome among them, who, out of a principle of equity, were for paying ſome regard to the complaints of the tribune, and for ſacrificing their own intereſt to the relief of the diſtreſſed. But the far greater part would not hear of any compoſition whatſoever. Hereupon *Gracchus* brought the affair anew before the people, and earneſtly intreated his collegue *Octavius* to drop his oppoſition in compaſſion to the many unfortunate people, for whom he interceded. He put him in mind of their ancient friendſhip, took him by the hand, and affectionately embraced him. But ſtill *Octavius* was inflexible. Hereupon *Gracchus* took an unjuſt, ſay ſome authors, but a neceſſary ſtep, to remove all oppoſition, and leave
b the people at liberty to vote. He reſolved to deprive *Octavius* of his tribuneſhip, ſince he alone obſtinately withſtood the deſires of the whole body of ſo great a people. Having therefore aſſembled the people, he told them, that ſince his collegue and he were divided in opinion, and the republic ſuffered by their diviſion, it was the province of the tribes aſſembled in comitia to re-eſtabliſh concord among their tribunes. *If the cauſe I maintain*, ſaid he, *be, in your opinion, unjuſt, I am ready to give up my ſeat in the college. On the contrary, if you judge me worthy of being continued in your ſervice in this ſtation, deprive him of the tribuneſhip, who alone obſtructs my wiſhes. As ſoon as you ſhall have nominated one to ſucceed him, the law will paſs without oppoſition.* Having thus ſpoke, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly, after having ſummoned them to meet again the
c next day.

Brings it again before the people.

AND now, *Gracchus*, being ſoured with the oppoſition he had met with from the rich and from his obſtinate collegue, and being well appriſed that the law would paſs in any form, in which he ſhould think fit to propoſe it, reſolved to revive it, as it was at firſt paſſed, without abating any thing of its ſeverity. There was no exception in favour of the children in families; or reimburſement promiſed to thoſe who ſhould part with the lands they poſſeſſed above five hundred acres. The next day, the people being aſſembled in vaſt crowds on this extraordinary occaſion, *Gracchus* made freſh applications to *Octavius*; but to no purpoſe; he obſtinately perſiſted in his oppoſition. Then *Gracchus*, turning to the people, *Judge you*, ſaid he, *which of us de-*
d *ſerves to be deprived of his office.* At theſe words the firſt tribe voted, and declared for the depoſition of *Octavius*. Upon which *Gracchus*, ſuſpending the ardor of the tribes, made another effort to bring over his opponent by gentle methods. But all his endeavours proving ineffectual, the other tribes went on to vote in their turns, and followed the example of the firſt. Of five-and-thirty tribes, ſeventeen had already declared againſt *Octavius*, and the eighteenth was juſt going to determine the affair, when *Gracchus*, being willing to try once more whether he could reclaim his collegue, ſuſpended the collecting of the ſuffrages; and addreſſing *Octavius* in the moſt preſſing terms, conjured him not to expoſe himſelf, by his obſtinacy, to ſo great a diſgrace, nor to give him the grief of having caſt a blemiſh upon his collegue and friend, which neither time nor merit would wipe off. *Hearken, dear* Octavius, ſaid he,
e *hearken rather to the advice of a faithful friend, than to a factious cabal, who are intereſted to ſeduce you. Be perſuaded to follow the inclinations of the* Roman *people. It is ſtill in your power to reconcile yourſelf to them, and gain their affections for ever.* Octavius could not hear theſe words without concern. He is ſaid to have wept, and to have continued ſome time in ſuſpenſe. But having unluckily caſt his eyes on the ſenators there preſent, he was aſhamed to break his word with them; and therefore, reſuming his former ſteadineſs, he boldly anſwered *Tiberius*, that he might go on with the work he had begun. At theſe words, the eighteenth tribe voted, *Octavius* was depoſed, and the law paſſed, as *Gracchus* had propoſed it the laſt time. The depoſed tribune
f was dragged from the roſtra by the incenſed multitude, who would have inſulted him further, had not the ſenators and his friends facilitated his eſcape [e].

Octavius *depoſed, and the law paſſed.*

THE *Licinian* law being thus revived, with one conſent both by the city and country tribes, *Gracchus* cauſed the people to appoint triumvirs, or three commiſſioners to haſten its execution. In this commiſſion the people gave *Gracchus* the firſt place, and he had intereſt enough to get his father-in-law *Appius Claudius* and his brother *Caius Gracchus* appointed to be his collegues. Theſe three ſpent the whole ſummer in travelling through all the *Italian* provinces, to examine what lands were held by any perſon above five hundred acres, in order to divide them among the poor citizens. When *Gracchus*

[e] PLUT. & APPIAN. ibid.

Gracchus returned from his progreſs, he found by the death of his chief agent, that a
his abſence had not abated either the hatred of the rich, or the love of the poor,
toward him. As it plainly appeared, that the deceaſed had been poiſoned, the tribune
took this occaſion to apply himſelf again to his protectors, and implore their aſſiſtance
againſt the violence and treachery of his enemies. The populace more attached, after
this accident, to their hero, than ever, declared they would ſtand by him to the laſt
drop of their blood; and this their zeal encouraged him to add a new clauſe to the law,
viz. that the commiſſioners ſhould likewiſe inquire, what lands had been uſurped from
the republic. This was touching the ſenators in a moſt tender point, for moſt of
them had appropriated to themſelves lands belonging to the republic. But after all,
the tribune, upon a ſtrict inquiry, found, that the lands taken from the rich would b
not be enough to content all the poor citizens. But the following accident eaſed him
of this difficulty, and enabled him to ſtop the murmurs of the malecontents among
the people. *Attalus Philometor*, king of *Pergamus*, having bequeathed his dominions
and effects to the *Romans*, *Eudemus* the *Pergamean* brought his treaſures to *Rome* at
this time; and *Gracchus* immediately got a new law paſſed, enacting, that this mo-
ney ſhould be divided among the poor citizens, who could not have lands; and that
the diſpoſal of the revenues of *Pergamus* ſhould not be in the ſenate, but in the co-
mitia. By theſe ſteps *Gracchus* moſt effectually humbled the ſenate, who, in order to
diſcredit him among the people, gave out, that *Eudemus*, who had brought the king's
will to *Rome*, had left with *Gracchus* the royal diadem and mantle of *Attalus*, which, c
the law-making tribune was to uſe when he ſhould be proclaimed king of *Rome*. But
theſe reports only ſerved to make *Gracchus* be more upon his guard, and to inſpire the
people with an implacable hatred againſt the rich, who were the authors of them.
Gracchus, being now, by his power over the minds of the multitude, abſolute maſter
of their ſuffrages, formed a deſign of raiſing his father-in-law *Appius Claudius* to the
conſulate the next year, of promoting his brother *Caius* to the tribuneſhip, and getting
himſelf continued in the ſame office. The laſt was what moſt nearly concerned him,
his perſon, ſo long as he was in the office, being ſacred and inviolable. As the ſe-
nate was very active in endeavouring to get ſuch only elected into the college of tri-
bunes, as were enemies to *Gracchus* and his faction, the tribune left no ſtone unturn- d
ed to ſecure his election. He told the people, that the rich had reſolved to aſſaſſinate
him as ſoon as he was out of his office; he appeared in mourning, as was the cuſtom
in the greateſt calamities; and bring his children yet young into the forum, recom-
mended them to the people in ſuch terms, as ſhewed that he deſpaired of his own
preſervation. At this ſight the populace returned no anſwer but by outcries and
menaces againſt the rich. When the day appointed for the election of new tribunes
came, the people were ordered to aſſemble in the capitol, in the great court before the
temple of *Jupiter*. The tribes being met, *Gracchus* propoſed his petition, intreat-
ing the people to continue him one year longer in the office of tribune, in conſidera-
Solicits the tri- tion of the great danger to which he was expoſed, the rich having vowed his de- e
buneſhip for ſtruction as ſoon as his perſon ſhould be no more ſacred. This was indeed an unuſual
another year. requeſt, it having been long cuſtomary not to continue any tribune in his office above
a year. However, the tribes began to vote, and the two firſt declared for *Gracchus*.
Hereupon the rich made great clamours, and ſome of their faction, who were poſt-
ed in different places, cried out, *Juſtice, juſtice! theſe men are going to overturn all
the laws. No man can hold the office of tribune two years together.* Theſe clamours
terrified *Rubrius Varro*, who preſided in the college of tribunes that day, to ſuch a
degree, that he reſigned his place to *Q. Mummius*, who offered to preſide in his room.
But this raiſed a tumult among the tribunes themſelves, ſome pretending, that the
preſident had no right to diſpoſe of his place, which it belonged to the whole college f
to do by a majority of votes. As the tribunes began to diſpute the legality of this
act, with great warmth among themſelves, *Gracchus* wiſely diſmiſſed the aſſembly,
and ordered them to meet again the next day.

Gracchus *divides the treaſures of king* Attalus *among the people.*

In the mean time, the people, being ſenſible of what importance it was to them
to preſerve the life of ſo powerful a protector, not only conducted him home, but
watched by turns all night at his door. Next morning by break of day, *Grac-
chus*, having aſſembled his friends, led them from his houſe, and poſted one half
of them in the comitium, while he went up himſelf with the other to the capitol.
As ſoon as he appeared, the people ſaluted him with loud acclamations of joy. But
ſcarce was he placed in his tribunal, when *Fulvius Flaccus*, a ſenator and friend to g
Gracchus,

a *Gracchus*, breaking through the croud, came up to him, and gave him notice, that the ſenators, who were aſſembled in the temple of *Faith*, which almoſt touched that of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, had conſpired againſt his life, and were reſolved to attack him openly on his very tribunal. Hereupon *Gracchus* tucked up his robe, as it were, to prepare for a battle; and, after his example, ſome of his party, ſeizing the ſtaves of the apparitors, prepared to defend themſelves, and to repel force by force. Theſe preparations terrified the other tribunes, who immediately abandoned their places in a cowardly manner, and mixed with the croud; while the prieſts ran to ſhut the gates of the temple for fear of its being profaned. On the other hand, the friends of *Gracchus*, who were diſperſed by parties in different places, cried out, *We are ready: What muſt we do? Gracchus*, whoſe voice could not be heard by all his adherents on account of the tumult, the clamours, and the confuſed cries of the different parties, put his hand to his head; which was the ſignal agreed on to prepare for a battle. But ſome of his enemies, putting a malicious conſtruction upon that geſture, immediately flew to the ſenate, and told the fathers, that the ſeditious tribune had called for the crown to be put upon his head. Hereupon the ſenators, fancying they already ſaw the king of *Pergamus*'s diadem on the tribune's head, and the royal mantle on his ſhoulders, reſolved to give the conſul leave to arm his legions, treat the friends of *Gracchus* as enemies, and turn the comitium into a field of battle. But the conſul *Mucius Scævola*, who was a prudent and moderate man, refuſed to be the inſtrument of their raſh revenge, and to diſhonour his conſulate with the maſſacre of a diſarmed people. As *Calpurnius Piſo*, the other conſul, was then in *Sicily*, the moſt turbulent among the ſenators cried out, *Since one of our conſuls is abſent, and the other betrays the republic, let us do ourſelves juſtice; let us immediately go and demoliſh with our own hands this idol of the people.* *Scipio Naſica*, who had been all along for violent meaſures, inveighed bitterly againſt the conſul, for refuſing to ſuccour the republic in her greateſt diſtreſs. *Scipio Naſica* was the great grandſon of *Cneius Scipio*, the uncle of the firſt *Africanus*, and conſequently couſin to the *Gracchi* by their mother *Cornelia*. But nevertheleſs not one of the ſenators betrayed a more irreconcileable hatred againſt the tribune than he. When the prudent conſul refuſed to arm his legions, and put the adherents of *Gracchus* to death, contrary to the uſual forms of juſtice, he ſet no bounds to his fury, but, riſing up from his place, cried out like a madman; *Since our conſul betrays us, let thoſe who love the republic follow me.* Having uttered theſe words, he immediately walked out of the temple, attended by a great number of ſenators. *Naſica* threw his robe over his ſhoulders, and, having covered his head with it, advanced with his followers into the croud, where he was joined by a company of the clients and friends of the patricians, armed with ſtaves and clubs. Theſe, falling indifferently upon all who ſtood in their way, diſperſed the croud. Many of *Gracchus*'s party took to their heels, and, in that tumult all the ſeats being overturned and broken, *Naſica*, armed with the leg of a broken bench, knocked down all who oppoſed him, and at length reached *Gracchus*. One of his party ſeized the tribune by the lappet of his robe; but he, quitting his gown, fled in his tunic, and as he was in that hurry of ſpirits, which is inſeparable from fear, leaping over the broken benches, he had the misfortune to ſlip and fall. As he was getting up again, he received a blow on the head, which ſtunned him; then his adverſaries, ruſhing in upon him, with repeated blows, put an end to his life. Some hiſtorians pretend, that *Naſica* with his own hand completed the work, which had been begun by his advice, and under his conduct. Others ſay, that *Publius Satureius* and *Lucius Rubrius*, or, as *Plutarch* calls him, *Lucius Rufus*, two of his collegues, ſecretly jealous of his glory, gave him the two blows that diſpatched him. However that be, *Rome* was by his death delivered, according to *Cicero*, from a domeſtic enemy, who was more formidable to her, than even that *Numantia* which had firſt kindled his reſentments. Perhaps no man was ever born with greater talents, or more capable of aggrandizing himſelf, and doing honour to his country. But his great mind, his manly courage, his lively, eaſy, and powerful eloquence, were, ſays *Cicero*, like a ſword in the hands of a madman. *Gracchus* abuſed them, not in ſupporting an unjuſt cauſe, but in conducting a good one with too much violence. He went ſo far as to make ſome believe, that he had really ſomething in view beſides the intereſt of the people, whom he pretended to relieve; and therefore ſome hiſtorians have repreſented him as a tyrant. But the moſt judicious writers clear him from this imputation, and aſcribe his firſt deſign of reviving the *Licinian* law to an eager deſire of being revenged on the ſenators for the affront they had

A fray enſues.

Gracchus is killed.

very unjuſtly put upon him and the conſul *Mancinus*, as we have hinted above. The law he attempted to revive had an air of juſtice, which gave a ſanction to his revenge, without caſting any blemiſh on his reputation. The death of *Gracchus* did not put an end to the tumult. Above three hundred of the tribune's friends loſt their lives in the fray, and their bodies were thrown with that of *Gracchus* into the *Tiber*. Nay, the ſenate carried their revenge beyond the fatal day, which had ſtained the capital with *Roman* blood. They ſought for all the friends of the late tribune, and without any form of law aſſaſſinated ſome, and forced others into baniſhment. *Caius Billius*, one of the moſt zealous defenders of the people, was ſeized by his enemies, and ſhut up in a caſk with ſnakes and vipers, where he miſerably periſhed. Though the laws prohibited any citizen to take away the life of another before he had been legally condemned, *Naſica* and his followers were acquitted by the ſenate, who enacted a decree, juſtifying all the cruelties committed againſt *Gracchus* and his adherents [f].

The cruel death of Caius Billius.

In the mean time the people, being recovered from their fear, reproached themſelves with the death of their tribune, as not having defended him with ſufficient courage. They inveighed chiefly againſt *Scipio Naſica*, the author of the tumult, upbraiding him publicly with murder and ſacrilege. Some threatened to murder him; others were for ſummoning him before the aſſembly of the people, and trying him for his life. The ſenate therefore, fearing leſt his preſence might raiſe a new ſedition, thought proper to remove him; and accordingly ſent him, under pretence of an embaſſy, into *Aſia*, though his office of *pontifex maximus* obliged him not to go out of *Italy*. He rambled about a great while in different parts of the *Levant*, till at length, wore out with trouble, he died at *Pergamus*. By his abſence the fire of ſedition was rather ſtifled, than extinguiſhed. The people ſtill maintained the law, which *Gracchus* had paſſed in their favour, and nominated a new commiſſioner in his room to finiſh the diſtribution of the lands which he had begun. The perſon they pitched upon was, *P. Craſſus*, whoſe daughter *Caius Gracchus*, brother to *Tiberius*, had lately married. On the other hand the patricians, to keep off the execution of the law, found means to bring into the college of tribunes a creature of their own, *Q. Pompeius Rufus*, one of *Gracchus*'s moſt violent enemies. In the mean time the conſular year being near expired, the election was made without any diſturbance in the uſual place, and the ſupreme magiſtracy conferred on *Publius Popilius Lænas*, and *P. Rupilius*. It fell to the lot of *Popilius* to continue in *Italy*, and keep the citizens of *Rome* in awe, while his collegue ſet out for *Sicily* to make war with the revolted ſlaves in that iſland. We ſhall follow him thither, and take a view of the origin and progreſs of this rebellion, which brought more calamities on the *Sicilians*, than all the ravages and devaſtations of their old enemies the *Carthaginians*.

Scipio Naſica *is ſent into* Aſia.

The war of the ſlaves in Sicily.

In *Sicily* the great men of the iſland, or the *Roman* knights, who had the management of the public revenues, having, by degrees, engroſſed all the great eſtates to themſelves, out of avarice employed in the culture of their lands ſlaves inſtead of freemen, to whom they ſcarce allowed neceſſaries; ſo that thoſe unfortunate men, being obliged to provide for themſelves, learnt to live by rapine. As they frequently met together in companies to plunder the houſes in the country, or to rob the travellers on the great roads, they came at length to deliberate how to deliver themſelves from ſlavery. They were almoſt as numerous as the natives themſelves, and therefore wanted only a leader to appear at their head, and conduct the conſpiracy. A *Sicilian* lord, named *Antigines*, had amongſt his ſlaves one by name *Eunus*, who was very fit for this purpoſe. He was a native of *Apamea* in *Syria*, and having been taken priſoner in war, had paſſed through the hands of ſeveral maſters, till at length he was brought into *Sicily*. He was a vigilant, active man, full of fire, and pretending to have a conſtant intercourſe with the gods by dreams and apparitions, was conſulted by his fellow ſlaves as an oracle. The *Sicilians* in general exerciſed a kind of tyranny over their ſlaves; but a citizen of *Enna*, a city in the center of the iſland, by name *Damophilus*, had made himſelf more odious than the reſt by his cruelties, to a great number of theſe unhappy wretches who cultivated his immenſe poſſeſſions. They were all marked with a hot iron in their foreheads, ſhut up every night in cloſe priſons, and led out early in the morning to their daily labour in the fields, though at the ſame time they were ſcarce allowed the neceſſary proviſions to ſupport themſelves. On the other hand, *Megallis*, the wife of *Damophilus*, was no leſs cruel towards the ſlaves of her ſex, exacting

[f] Plut. in Gracch. Appian. de bell civil. l. i. Oros. l. v. c. 8. Cic. de off. l. i. c. 21. & de orat. l. ii.

a ing their taſks with inſupportable rigor, and cauſing them to be unmercifully whipt for the leaſt fault. Theſe two tyrants had a daughter, who was very different from themſelves: though ſhe was very young, ſhe had good-nature enough to pity the afflicted; ſhe often alleviated their ſufferings, appeaſed her furious mother, ſupplied, as far as ſhe was able, the wants of the neceſſitous, and, in ſhort, was the only refuge of thoſe unhappy men. We are ſorry hiſtory has not tranſmitted to us the name of this humane and virtuous young woman. The oppreſſed ſlaves, not being able to bear any longer the unſpeakable miſeries they groaned under, entered into a plot againſt the authors of them. But in order to ſecure themſelves ſucceſs, they firſt went to conſult *Eunus*, who with a ſolemn prophetic tone, pronounced, that the enterpriſe

Eunus *heads the revolted ſlaves, and ſeizes* Enna.

b was agreeable to the gods, and that it would be attended with ſucceſs, provided they did not delay the execution of it. He offered to conduct it himſelf; and the ſlaves, overjoyed to have ſuch a man at their head, aſſembled in great haſte to the number of four hundred on *Damophilus*'s eſtate, armed with forks, hooks, and other inſtruments of huſbandry, and marching directly to *Enna*, ſurpriſed and pillaged it. The ſlaves in the city joined their comrades, and committed barbarities not to be expreſſed. The men were maſſacred, the women diſhonoured, and even the children at the breaſt daſhed on the ground, and trod under foot. As *Damophilus* was gone with his wife and daughter to take the air in a garden near the city, *Eunus*, who had taken upon him the office of general, ſent a party to ſeize them, which was done with cir-

c cumſtances of great barbarity. However, they treated the daughter with all the reſpect which was due to her virtue. So true it is, that good-nature commands regard even from the moſt furious [g].

Eunus, being now maſter of *Enna*, aſſembled the ſlaves he commanded in the public theatre; and having erected there a kind of tribunal, ordered *Damophilus* and his wife to be brought before him, in order to be tried. Some of the ſlaves were accuſers, others witneſſes, and the multitude judges. *Eunus* preſided, and gave the accuſed leave to ſpeak in their defence. But while *Damophilus* was endeavouring to raiſe compaſſion, and ſome began to ſhew pity for him, *Hermias* and *Zeuxis*, two of his ſlaves, whom he had treated with great cruelty, came up to him, and with

d repeated blows diſpatched him. His wife *Megallis* was ſentenced to be delivered up to the ſlaves of her own ſex, whom ſhe had treated without mercy. Theſe furies ſet no bounds to their cruelty, inflicted on their miſtreſs every torment, which revenge could invent; and at length after having ſatiated their rage, threw her down a precipice, which put an end to her unhappy life. As for the daughter, ſhe was treated with the utmoſt reſpect, conducted with the unanimous conſent of all to *Catana*, and there delivered untouched into the hands of her relations. In the mean time *Eunus*, finding he could not pretend to aſſume a perfect authority over ſuch untractable people, without being inveſted with ſovereign power, prevailed upon the multitude to proclaim him king. The firſt orders the new king gave were very

Eunus *proclaimed king.*

e cruel; for he cauſed all the inhabitants of *Enna* to be barbarouſly murdered, ſaying, that there could never be any real concord between freemen and ſlaves. After this, having got into his power *Antigines* and *Pithon*, who had ſucceſſively been his maſters, he put them to death with his own hand. He then aſſumed all the enſigns of royalty, changed his name of *Eunus* into that of *Antiochus*, gave the title of queen to his wife, who was a *Syrian*, and a ſlave as well as himſelf, and applied himſelf to ſettle a kind of government among his new ſubjects. His regulations drew above ſix thouſand ſlaves to *Enna* in leſs than three days, armed with ſuch weapons as came firſt to their hands, *viz.* ſpits, axes, ſaws, poles, *&c.* At the head of theſe *Eunus* took the field, and committed every-where moſt dreadful ravages. The people,

f whoſe houſes were burnt, and lands laid waſte, came in flocks to the *Roman* prætor, who governed the iſland, imploring his aſſiſtance. *Manlius*, who was governor of *Sicily* in the year of *Rome* 615, when this ſedition firſt broke out, marched againſt the rebels with one legion, the uſual army of prætors, who reſided in peaceable provinces, but he was defeated, and his camp taken and plundered. The ſame misfortune happened to the prætors *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Caius Calpurnius Piſo*, whom the republic ſent into the iſland the two following years. The news of theſe advantages being ſpread all over the iſland, the new king's forces daily increaſed. Among the reſt, one *Cleon*, a native of *Cilicia*, joined him with five thouſand men; others came

He gains great advantages over the Roman *prætors.*

[g] Liv. epit. l. lvi. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Flor. l. iii. c. 19.

came from the moſt diſtant parts of the iſland at the head of conſiderable bodies to a ſupport, under the banners of *Eunus*, the common cauſe: inſomuch, that when the prætor *L. Plautius Hypſæus* landed in *Sicily*, he found above ſeventy thouſand ſlaves in arms under the command of *Eunus*, beſides thoſe who had aſſembled under other leaders in different places; ſo that the whole number of armed ſlaves in the iſland amounted to two hundred thouſand. As *Hypſæus* had only eight thouſand men in his army, he no ſooner appeared in the field, than he was attacked, and intirely defeated. The rebels, elated with this victory, laid ſiege to *Taurominium*, a city of great ſtrength, and having ſoon reduced it, made it their magazine of arms, and place of refuge. At length the republic, alarmed at the progreſs the rebels made in the beginning of the year 619, ordered *C. Fulvius*, collegue in the conſulate to the ſecond *Africanus*, into *Sicily*, to ſuppreſs this conſpiracy, which began now to be formidable. But whether he gained any advantages over the rebels, hiſtory has not informed us. In the following year 620, the conſul *L. Calpurnius Piſo* (W), to whoſe lot *Sicily* fell, attacked the *Syrians*, for ſo the rebellious ſlaves were commonly called, under the walls of *Meſſana*, which city they had inveſted, put them to the rout for the firſt time, obliged them to raiſe the ſiege, and killed above ſix thouſand of them on the ſpot. But though *Piſo* conquered the rebels, he had not the glory of intirely reducing them. This was reſerved for *P. Rupilius*, who was choſen conſul for the preſent year. He opened the campaign with the ſiege of *Taurominium*. As this city was ſituated on a high and ſteep hill, and difficult of acceſs on all ſides, the conſul reſolved to reduce it by famine. With this view he drew a line of circumvallation round the mountain, and by that means cut off all communication with the neighbouring country. As the gariſon was very numerous, proviſions ſoon began to fail them; and then want added to their obſtinacy produced many tragical events. They killed and devoured one another, but, as they could expect no pardon, ſtill perſiſted obſtinate. At length the city was betrayed to the *Romans* by a *Syrian* ſlave, named *Sarapion*; and the governor, with all his gariſon were, by the conſul's orders, thrown down headlong from the top of a rock. From *Taurominium* the conſul led his army to *Enna*, where the pretended king had ſhut himſelf up with *Cleon*, and the flower of his troops. This place likewiſe *Rupilius* reſolved to reduce by famine; and accordingly inveſted it on all ſides. The beſieged, being ſoon reduced to great ſtreights, made ſeveral ſallies, attempting to break through the enemy; but though they fought like men in deſpair, they were conſtantly repulſed by the *Romans*. In one of theſe ſallies, *Cleon* fell alive into the conſul's hands, covered with wounds and blood, but did not long ſurvive his captivity. His empaled body was expoſed to the view of the beſieged to increaſe their terror. At length *Enna* likewiſe was treacherouſly delivered up to the conſul, whoſe troops put all the ſlaves they found in the place to the ſword. We are told, that at the taking of theſe two cities above twenty thouſand of the rebels loſt their lives. As for *Eunus*, when he ſaw the *Romans* maſters of the walls, he put himſelf at the head of his guards, conſiſting of about ſix hundred men, forced his way through the legionaries, fled for refuge to a ſteep rock, and there prepared to ſell his life dear. He was purſued cloſe, and ſurrounded in his retreat by the conſular troops; and then it appeared, that there was more oſtentation than true courage in his ſervile ſoul. The ſoldiers of his guard agreed to kill one another. But their king concealed himſelf among the rocks, and was at laſt taken alive out of a cave with four of his domeſtics, and delivered up to the conſul, who ſent them to *Murgantia*, to be ſtrictly guarded there, till the departure of the *Roman* army. *Rupilius* reſerved *Eunus*, not ſo much to grace his triumph, as to ſhew the *Romans* the chief they had ſo much dreaded with ſo little reaſon. But he fell ſick, and died in priſon, wore out with grief, and devoured with vermin [h]. *Rupilius* continued ſome time in *Sicily* in quality

And takes Tauromínium.

C. Fulvius *ſent againſt the ſlaves.*

Tauromínium *betrayed to the* Romans.

And alſo Enna.

Eunus *taken priſoner.*

Eunus *dies in priſon.*

[h] DIODOR. SICUL. in eclog. FLOR. l. iii. c. 19. FRONT. ſtrat. l. iv. c. 1. VAL. MAX. l. ii. c. 7. & l. iv. c. 3. CIC. pro Fonteio, & in Verr. act. 6.

(W) This *Calpurnius Piſo* is ſaid to have been the author of the famous law *De repetundis* againſt the avarice of magiſtrates, who robbed the public. While he was prætor in *Sicily*, there being a great ſcarcity of corn at *Rome*, the ſenate charged him to buy up a great quantity all over that iſland; which he did with ſuch diſintereſtedneſs as acquired him the glorious ſurname of *Frugi*, that is, *The Honeſt*. He remitted to the public treaſury a conſiderable part of the money which had been ſent him for this purpoſe, and managed the reſt with ſuch prudence and frugality, as to provide with it for the wants of the public (31).

(31) *Cic. in Verr. act.* 3.

a quality of proconſul; retook the cities which were ſtill in the hands of the rebels; reſtored the fugitive ſlaves to their maſters; and laſtly, drew up a new code of laws for the *Sicilians*, which were ever after obſerved to the great ſatisfaction of the whole iſland. Having ſettled his province in peace, he returned to *Rome*; but refuſed a triumph, being aſhamed to have it recorded in the triumphal tables, that he had overcome ſlaves. He was one of thoſe great and diſintereſted men, who had the virtue of the firſt ages of *Rome*. The only glory he ſought was, that of promoting the public good; and the only reward he deſired was, the conſciouſneſs of having ſerved his country [i].

b DURING the war in *Sicily*, *Andronicus*, the illegitimate ſon of *Eumenes*, laid claim to the kingdom of *Pergamus*, which *Attalus* was ſaid to have bequeathed to the *Romans*; and having ſeized it, put himſelf in a condition to maintain a war with *Rome*, which we have deſcribed at length in our hiſtory of the kingdom of *Pergamus*. The next year, *P. Licinius Craſſus* and *Valerius Flaccus* were choſen conſuls; the former was *pontifex maximus*, and the latter *flamen Martialis*, that is, high-prieſt of *Mars*; ſo that *Rome* was now for the firſt time governed by two perſons devoted to the ſervice of the gods. This ſame year two plebeians, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, ſurnamed *Macedonicus*, and *Q. Pompeius* were choſen cenſors. It had been an invariable cuſtom in *Rome* for two hundred and twenty years to chuſe one of the cenſors out of the patricians, and the other out of the plebeians. But now the patricians,

The plebeians choſen cenſors.

c probably to ſoften the people, ſuffered them to raiſe two of their body to this eminent dignity, which had never happened before. In the cenſus, which theſe two plebeians took of the citizens of *Rome*, they found 317823 men able to bear arms; and their cenſorſhip was famous for a law, which they got paſſed, obliging all *Romans* to marry at a certain age.

New diſturbances about the Sempronian *law.*

IN the mean time, the diſturbances about the *Sempronian* law were continued by the tribune *Carbo*, who was continually complaining to the people of the chicaneries of the rich in oppoſing the execution of it. One day he publicly aſked the great *Scipio Africanus* what he thought of the murder of *Sempronius Gracchus* his brother-in-law, not doubting, but he would condemn the authors of his death? But, to his great

d ſurpriſe, *Scipio* anſwered, that if *Gracchus* had endeavoured to ſow diſcord in the republic, he thought him lawfully put to death. Upon this unexpected anſwer, the tribune ſtirred up the people to inſult the moſt venerable man in *Rome*. But *Scipio* aſſuming an aſcendant over the multitude; *Be ſilent*, ſaid he, *ye untractable people. Think ye that I am afraid of your murmurs, who have been ſo often unconcerned at the fury of your enemies?* At theſe words the unruly multitude began to hiſs him, which that brave commander not being able to bear, *Miſerable wretches*, ſaid he, exalting his voice, *What would have become of you, had it not been for my father* Paulus Æmilius, *and myſelf? you would have been enſlaved by your enemies, and ſpent your unhappy lives in a ſtate of ſubjection. And is this the reſpect you owe your deliverers? Is this your gratitude?*

e Theſe words, uttered with that authority, which the long command of armies gives a general, ſilenced the multitude, and made the moſt ſeditious tremble like ſlaves. The comitia were immediately diſſolved, and every one returned home with more eſteem, but leſs affection, for the great *Scipio*. After this the illuſtrious *Roman* retired to one of his country-houſes at *Gaieta* with his dear *Lælius*. There theſe two inſeparable friends, who had diſcharged with glory the higheſt offices in the republic, amuſed themſelves with the ſame little innocent pleaſures which had diverted them when children. They walked by the ſea-ſide, entertained themſelves with picking up ſmooth flat ſtones, and throwing them on the ſurface of the water, and enjoyed more pleaſure in this ſweet retirement, than they had done at the head of the republic

f and her armies [k].

IN the mean time, *Carbo*, more active than ever in ſupporting the intereſts of the people, having prevailed upon them to continue him in his office another year, propoſed a law, enacting that the ſame perſons ſhould hold the tribuneſhip during the pleaſure of the people, without coming to an annual election. But *Scipio* and *Lælius*, upon the report of this new ſtorm, haſtened to *Rome*, oppoſed the law with all their intereſt, and got it rejected. In the following conſulate of *Claudius Pulcher* and *M. Perperna*, a ſoldier of fortune, and not ſo much as a *Roman* citizen, the diſturbances of *Rome* were daily increaſed by the tribunes. *Caius Atinius Labeo*, who was at

[i] Cic. in Ver. act. ii. [k] Cic. de orat. l. i.

The insolence of the tribune Labeo.

at the head of the college, seized *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* the censor, who had refused a him a place in the senate, at noon-day, and immediately pronounced sentence of death upon him, commanding his attendants to throw him headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock. The officers took hold of that venerable magistrate by the throat, and treated him with the utmost barbarity. One of his slaves flew to acquaint his master's relations with the violence offered him. They all came and found the censor half dead wallowing in his blood. As it was not lawful to take even a relation, no not a father, out of the hands of a tribune, they flew with all possible speed, and brought one of *Labeo*'s colleagues, who opposed the unjust sentence, and saved the remains of *Metellus*'s life. Without this timely assistance, the most considerable magistrate in *Rome* after the consul, the triumphant victor and conqueror of *Macedon*, whence he had b the glorious surname of *Macedonicus*, would have been executed like a common criminal. *Labeo* was so far from being punished for this cruel insult on *Metellus*, that he had interest enough to get a law passed, enacting, that for the future the tribunes should all have votes in the senate. This law being passed, he went in state to the forum, and there by sound of trumpet ordered all the effects of the great *Macedonicus* to be sold to the best bidder. Such acts of violence were to all discerning men the forerunners of those civil wars which not long after broke out [1].

In the next consulate of *C. Sempronius Tuditanus* and *M. Aquilius*, fresh troubles were raised on account of the *Sempronian* law. The commissioners for putting it in c execution, were continually stirring up the people against the rich by their complaints; and the allies of the republic complained as much of the injustice of the commissioners, who in the distribution of the lands were more favourable to the inhabitants of *Rome*, whose votes might be of service to them, than the people of the provinces. *Scipio* therefore took the latter under his protection, and having spoke warmly in favour of these poor allies, got the execution of the law transferred from the three commissioners to the consul *Sempronius*. But the consul, dreading the consequences of civil broils at home, as much as he loved the glory of arms abroad, set out for *Japidia*, one of the western provinces of *Illyricum*, which had fallen to him by lot, to quell some disturbances lately raised there. *Scipio*, thus left alone to stand the hatred of the three commissioners, for the other consul was then settling the kingdom of *Pergamus* in peace, d was charged by them with the most odious designs. That indeed of aspiring to the dictatorship was probably true; but it was no manner of just reproach to him, though he was greatly calumniated for it by the commissioners, and their adherents. *C. Gracchus* his brother-in-law told him to his face, *That he ought to be put to death as a tyrant.* *Scipio* calmly replied; *There is scarce any man, who is not an enemy to his country, that desires it.* *Marcus Fulvius Flaccus*, one of the triumvirs, cast the most bitter reflections rage could suggest upon *Scipio*, censured both his public and private conduct, and warmly insisted, that the dictatorship was his point in view, and that he desired this dignity only in order to usurp a perpetual tyranny. But nevertheless, both the senate and people seemed inclined to favour *Scipio*'s motion, the partiality of the triumvirs in the distribution of the lands being very palpable. All the senators in a body, e and vast crouds both of *Roman* citizens and allies, attended him to his house. In short, *Rome* seemed determined to nominate him dictator the next day. But in the

The death of Scipio.

morning, to the great grief and surprise of all well-wishers to their country, he was found dead in his bed. Those who viewed his body more narrowly, discovered the marks of a violent death about his neck, as if he had been strangled. His death was, upon good grounds, imputed to the triumvirs, *Papirius Carbo*, *C. Gracchus*, and *Fulvius Flaccus*, and to his wife *Sempronia*, the sister of the *Gracchi*, who is said to have conveyed in the night the triumvirs into his room. The authors of the crime took f great pains to spread a report, that *Scipio*, finding he could not obtain for the allies the advantages he had promised them, had out of grief and despair laid violent hands on himself. Thus died this illustrious hero, whose talents and exploits were so equal to those of the first *Africanus*, that *Rome* herself could not determine which was superior in merit. Their characters, their conduct, their tempers, and their honours, were equally great; and, to the eternal reproach of their country, one died with grief in a kind of exile, and the other a violent death in *Rome*. The second *Africanus* died possessed of very little else but the glory of his exploits. For he left to *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, his nephew and heir, having no children himself, scarce thirty-

His character.

[1] Aul. Gell. l. xiv. c. 8. Cic. pro domo sua.

g thirty-two pounds weight of ſilver, and two pounds and a half of gold. Surpriſeing poverty in a general, who might have inriched himſelf with the ſpoils of *Carthage!* The patricians wept for him as a father. When *Metellus*, who had been all his life-time his rival for glory, heard the news of his death, he ſhewed the utmoſt concern, and turning to his two ſons, *Go*, ſaid he, *attend the funeral of the greateſt man* Rome *ever bred; you will never ſee his equal.* The people too lamented his death, and attended in great crouds his body to the funeral pile; but they would not ſuffer any inquiries to be made after the authors of his death, for fear of finding *C. Gracchus*, who now began to be their darling, concerned in ſo baſe and treacherous a murder [m].

While theſe things were tranſacting at *Rome*, the conſul *Tutidanus* was making
b war in *Japidia*, where he was attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that in one campaign he quieted the whole country, and upon his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph, as was likewiſe his collegue *Aquilius* three years after for reducing the kingdom of *Pergamus*, though he did it by poiſoning the ſprings, which ſupplied the ſeveral towns with water; which was a moſt execrable and inhuman breach of the law of nations. And now there was not the leaſt diſturbance or commotion in any of the provinces ſubject to the *Roman* republic. *Ciſalpine Gaul*, *Spain*, *Africa*, *Iſtria*, *Illyricum*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*, bore the yoke with great ſubmiſſion; ſo that there was no expedition for the new conſuls, *Cn. Octavius* and *T. Annius*, to undertake within or without *Italy*. The people gave themſelves wholly up to pleaſures and luxury in this time
c of tranquillity; which licentiouſneſs greatly increaſed in the ſucceeding conſulate of *L. Caſſius Longinus* and *L. Cornelius Cinna*. But when *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *L. Aurelius Oreſtes* were raiſed to the conſular dignity, this general tranquillity was a little interrupted by a revolt in *Sardinia*, which province fell to the lot of *Aurelius*; and *Caius Gracchus* was his quæſtor. This young *Roman* was become the idol of the people, who after the death of his brother looked upon him as their chief patron and protector. He had indeed ſome very eminent qualities, and was deemed the beſt orator in *Rome*. The multitude adored him on account of his favouring the citizens of *Rome*, more than the allies, in the partition of lands. He had for ſome time retired from public life, and applied himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of eloquence. During his
d retirement, the republic enjoyed a profound tranquillity; and it was commonly ſaid, that he had reſolved to bury his talents in obſcurity for fear of his brother's fate. But after two years retirement, he unexpectedly appeared upon the ſtage, and ſtood for the quæſtorſhip, which he obtained, and in that quality attended the conſul *Aurelius* into *Sardinia*, where he ſignalized his courage, and obliged all who depended upon him in the diſcharge of his office. He gained the affection of his general by his punctuality, ready obedience, and the great ſervices he rendered him in ſupplying the army with cloaths and proviſions by the intereſt he had among the *Sardinians*, who were greatly taken with his temperance, modeſty, and obliging carriage. But the ſenate, in the mean time, growing jealous of the popularity *Gracchus* acquired in
e the army, and dreading the conſequences of it, ordered all the troops in *Sardinia* to be recalled, and freſh ones to be ſent in their room. The next year the patricians had the mortification to ſee *Fulvius Flaccus*, who had been one of the triumvirs for the partition of the lands, raiſed to the conſulate. His collegue was *Plautius Hypſæus*, a patrician of a mild and pacific diſpoſition. The plebeian conſul was no ſooner entered upon his office, than he propoſed a law, enacting, that the right of *Roman* citizenſhip ſhould be granted to all the *Italian* allies, to whom the triumvirs had not been able to aſſign any ſhare in the divided lands. He had, when one of the triumvirs, exaſperated the people in the provinces, by not admitting them to an equal ſhare of lands with the inhabitants of *Rome*; and now by this law he endeavoured
f to reconcile himſelf to them. He ſupported it with a fury, which ſhewed him determined to exaſperate the ſenate. The patricians earneſtly intreated him to drop the law, which would not fail to be attended with dangerous conſequences, and might kindle a war in the bowels of *Italy*. But the imperious conſul did not even vouchſafe to give them an anſwer; ſo that there was reaſon to fear an immediate rupture: But a new incident intervened, which kept the republic for ſome time in tranquillity. Embaſſadors came from *Maſſilia*, deſiring the aſſiſtance of the *Romans* againſt the *Salyes*, who had ravaged their country. This gave the ſenate an opportunity of ſending *Fulvius* beyond the *Alps*; and he, being greedy of glory, readily accepted the commiſſion.

Caius Gracchus.

He gains the affection of the ſoldiery.

[m] Appian. de bell. civil. l. i. Cic. in Lælio, & pro Muræna. Plut. in Romul. & Gracch. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt.

commiſſion. His abſence, and that of *Gracchus*, might have given the republic an interval of reſt, if the ſeditious conſul had not, before he left *Rome*, ſown the ſeeds of a rebellion, which broke out as ſoon as he was gone. For the *Italian* allies having by his departure loſt all hopes of obtaining the right of citizenſhip, with which he had flattered them, began to enter into cabals againſt the republic. *Fregellæ*, a city of the *Volſci* on the *Liris*, was the firſt that openly revolted. But *Numitorius Pullus*, the chief author of the rebellion, being cited before the prætor, and frightened into a diſcovery of the whole plot, a *Roman* army was ſent againſt the city, which by the advice of *Numitorius* ſubmitted; but nevertheleſs was immediately razed. *Numitorius* himſelf was pardoned, but all his accomplices condemned to die, and executed. The exemplary puniſhment of the *Fregellani* checked the boldneſs of the malecontents, and ſtifled the ſedition for ſome time [n]. a b

Fregellæ *rebels, and is razed.*

All ſeemed quiet, when *C. Caſſius Longinus* and *C. Sextius Calvinus* were raiſed to the conſulate; but this calm was of ſhort duration. *C. Gracchus*, who had been continued, much againſt his inclination, in *Sardinia*, with the character of pro-quæſtor, being weary of his long ſtay in an iſland where his talents were buried, and fearing the affections of the people might cool by ſo long an abſence, reſolved to run all the hazards of a very bold ſtep. In open defiance to all law, he embarqued unknown to the conſul, left *Sardinia*, and, when leaſt expected, appeared at *Rome*. He was therefore accuſed before the cenſors, but ſo far impoſed upon his judges by his eloquence, that he was acquitted. The high eſteem and great concern which the multitude ſhewed for him on this occaſion, encouraged him to ſtand for the tribuneſhip. He flattered himſelf, that if he could once get poſſeſſion of this important office, he ſhould eaſily find means to maintain himſelf in it, and to execute all his ſchemes of revenge at leiſure. He therefore put himſelf among the candidates, and ſolicited the office with the utmoſt diligence and application. This rouſed the ſenate to be more active in oppoſing him; and his excellent mother *Cornelia* was very preſſing with him to deſiſt. She wrote to him from one of her country-houſes in *Campania* near cape *Miſenum*, whither ſhe had retired after the melancholy death of her eldeſt ſon, two very affecting letters upon this ſubject (X); in which ſhe labours to divert him from his deſign with ſuch tenderneſs both for him and her country, as ſhews her worthy of the ſtatue which the c

C. Gracchus *returns from* Sardinia.

[n] Liv. epit. Appian. l. i. de bell. civil. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 5. Jul. Obseq. Cic. de inven. l. ii. de finib. l. ii. in Piſon. & ad Heren. l. iv.

(X) Two of theſe letters have reached our times, and ſufficiently ſhew us the ſpirit and ſentiments of that heroine, in whoſe praiſes the ancients often expatiate. In one of them ſhe expreſſes herſelf thus: "Son, you have now no partner in the affection of "your mother. *Tiberius* is no more. All my joys "and fears now centre wholly in you. The death "of your elder brother was owing to his deſire of "revenge; and will you ſuffer yourſelf to be hurried "on to your deſtruction by the impetuoſity of the "ſame paſſion? Avert, ye gods, ſo fatal a preſage; "It will be a ſatisfaction, you will ſay, to revenge "his murder. I allow it, dear child. I have as "ſtrong a ſenſe, as you, of the pleaſure of revenge. "But I can, by force of reaſon, ſuppreſs the firſt "ſallies which paſſion raiſes in my breaſt. And at "preſent, my concern for the welfare of the public "has a greater influence upon me, than my grief "at the loſs of my ſon. Ah, *Gracchus!* remember, "that with the ſame blow which wounds your "country, you will ſtrike deep into your mother's "breaſt. But what am I ſaying! You will your-"ſelf ſink under the weight of this raſh attempt. "I ſhall loſe you; but your enemies will remain. "Unfortunate mother! let what will happen, the "ill effects of the civil broils, in which you are "preparing to engage, will fall upon me, and be "more than I ſhall be able to bear (32)".

Gracchus paid no regard to the repreſentations of his mother, his rage againſt the ſenate getting the better of her wholeſome advice. This drew from her a ſecond letter in the following words: "Un-"dutiful child! next to the murderers of *Tiberius*, "I have not a more cruel enemy in the world than "you. Have I had any reaſon to expect, that my "only ſurviving ſon ſhould bring me nothing but "bitterneſs in my old age? To what can I impute "this obedience, but to my continual indulgence, "and too great compliance with your inclinations? "And is it too much to deſire an equal return of "deference and reſpect? Impious wretch! will you "never be at reſt till you have deſtroyed the repub-"lic? Shall I have the mortification, before I die, "to ſee that you have overturned it? Do not, *Grac-"chus*, do not act over again the tragical ſcenes of "my unfortunate family! Wait at leaſt till my eyes "are cloſed, before you ſtand for the tribuneſhip; "and then my aſhes will not feel the misfortunes "which you will bring upon yourſelf. In the "midſt of your diſtreſs you will perhaps invoke "the manes of your father and mother: but will "they then be affected with your tears? The time "to believe and obey them, is while they live. O "*great Jupiter*! ſuffer not my ſon to perſiſt in a "deſign, which muſt be the deſtruction of him-"ſelf, his country, and his mother (33)". From theſe ſmall remains we may judge whether this incomparable matron could have any hand in the baſe aſſaſſination of the ſecond *Africanus*, which ſome writers have, without any grounds, laid to her charge. She loved her children, but had at the ſame time a tender regard for her country; and therefore the ſenate, notwithſtanding their reſentment againſt her two ſons, ſuffered the people to erect a ſtatue to her with this inſcription on the baſe; *To* Cornelia *the mother of the* Gracchi.

(32) *Ex frag. Cornel. Nepotis ab Andrea Scotto collectis.* (33) *Idem ibid.*

a the ſenate permitted the people to erect to her memory. But neither her intreaties nor commands could prevail; he purſued his point, and ſucceeded. There was this circumſtance peculiar to his election, that for want of room in the *campus Martius*, a great number of citizens got up on the roofs of the houſes round it, and from thence voted for *Gracchus* with ſhouts and acclamations. His graceful perſon, noble air, fine features, and modeſt deportment, poſſeſſed every ſpectator in his favour before he ſpoke; and when he did ſpeak, their ears were no leſs charmed; for a more complete orator had never aſcended the roſtra (Y) °. Soon after the election of *Gracchus* to the tribuneſhip, his fellow triumvir *Fulvius Flaccus* returned from *Gaul* to ſecond him in his attempts. He was a furious plebeian, and a declared enemy to the b ſenate and the rich, and ready to imbarque in any bold and deſperate undertaking. *Gracchus* procured him a triumph for an expedition of little importance, in order to bring new honour and ſtrength to his party by the addition of a conſular man, and a triumphant victor [p].

Is choſen tribune.

THUS all th ngs ſeemed to tend to a ſedition in *Rome*, when *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* and *T. Quinctius Flaminius* were choſen conſuls. The former was ſent into the *Balearic* iſlands to quell an inſurrection there, and the latter continued at *Rome*, where *Gracchus* was daily inventing new ſchemes to depreſs the ſenate, and exalt the people. He got his brother's law confirmed, relating to the diviſion of the lands of *Italy* between the citizens of *Rome* and the indigent allies; and for the more ſpeedy execution of c it, he cauſed himſelf to be nominated one of the commiſſioners for the ſaid partition, in conjunction with *Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Licinius Craſſus*, who ſeems to have been the brother of his wife *Licinia*. With the aſſiſtance of theſe he undertook and performed ſeveral works in favour of the people. For the convenience of travellers, he repaired the great roads, built a great many bridges, erected the firſt *milliary columns*, or columns at the end of each mile, and placed ſtones at proper diſtances for the eaſe of travellers in mounting their horſes. Theſe public works gained him the hearts of the people; but the two following laws, which he got paſſed in ſpite of the ſenate, were far more agreeable to the multitude than any public works. The firſt was, that public granaries ſhould be built at *Rome*, and filled with corn at the d public expence; the ſecond, that monthly diſtributions ſhould be made from thence to every citizen who wanted corn, at a very low price. In order to enable the treaſury to bear this expence, he got duties laid on all the goods imported into *Aſia* at the ports deviſed to the republic by king *Attalus*. He paſſed ſeveral other laws relating to the ſervice and cloathing of the troops, which were ſo agreeable to the people, that the tribune gained an abſolute aſcendant over them, and became in a manner deſpotic maſter of *Rome*. This could not but raiſe the hatred and jealouſy of the patricians, who united all their intereſt to cruſh him as ſoon as his office ſhould expire. To prevent this, *Flaccus* preſſed him to ſolicit the tribuneſhip a ſecond time; which he did accordingly, and ſucceeded, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the ſenate, e and the whole body of the nobility [q].

His new laws.

He is choſen tribune a ſecond time.

WHILE *Gracchus* was thus humbling the ſenate, the conſul *Metellus*, landing in the *Balearic* iſlands, ſubdued them, and treated thoſe poor helpleſs barbarians with ſuch cruelty, that, out of thirty thouſand, he ſcarce left one thouſand of them alive. After this bloody and eaſy victory, the conſul built two cities in the larger iſland, one to the eaſt, called *Palma*, now *Majorca*; the other to the weſt, named *Pollentia*, now no longer in being. To people theſe two places, the conſul brought three thouſand *Romans*

The Balearic *iſlands ſubdued.*

° CIC. l. ii. de orat. [p] PLUT. in Gracch. APPIAN. ibid. [q] PLUT. in Gracch. SALLUST. in frag.

(Y) *Cicero*, a good judge in point of oratory, tells us, that a more complete orator than *Caius Gracchus* never appeared in the roſtra. His graceful perſon, noble air, fine features, and expreſſive action, charmed all who ſaw or heard him. His voice, which was ſtrong and melodious, reached and affected the moſt diſtant auditors. The only fault imputed to him was too much vehemence, when he ſuffered paſſion to tranſport him. The orator, who was himſelf well appriſed of this defect, choſe out from among his ſlaves an excellent muſician, whom he kept conſtantly behind him, when he was ſpeaking. If in a fit of paſſion the orator happened to raiſe his voice too much, the ſlave with a ſort of flagellet brought him back to his proper key. So much care did the *Romans* take, when they ſpoke in public, to give their ſpeeches all poſſible graces. But *Gracchus* never appeared more eloquent, than when he lamented the tragical end of his brother. As he was affected with it himſelf, his deſcriptions were ſo ſtrong and lively, that they drew tears from every eye (34).

(34) *Cic. de orat. l.* iii.

Romans from the colonies on the continent of *Spain*. After this the conſul returned a to *Rome*, where he triumphed, and was honoured with the ſurname of *Balearicus*, as his father had been with that of *Macedonicus*. At the ſame time the proconſul *Sextius*, who had been continued in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, having gained a complete victory over the *Salyes*, found no difficulty in ſubduing the whole nation. He beſieged their capital, which ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from *Maſſilia* or *Marſeilles*, took it, and reduced the inhabitants to ſlavery. When the conquered came to be ſold, the proconſul, being informed that one of them, by name *Crato*, had ſuffered much from his countrymen on account of his affection to the *Romans*, not only gave him his liberty, and reſtored to him all his effects; but allowed him to chuſe out nine hundred among his countrymen, who were, at his requeſt, ſet at liberty [r]. After this the proconſul, to b ſecure his new conqueſt, founded a colony in the place where he had gained his victory, chuſing a ſpot of ground for this purpoſe, which abounded both with hot and cold ſprings. Here he built a new city, which, from the ſprings and his own name, he called *Aquæ Sextiæ*. This place, now known by the name of *Aix in Provence*, he peopled with a colony, which *Rome* had formerly planted at *Fabrateria*, in the country of the *Volſci*. *Sextius*, having thus ſettled the *Romans* in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, returned to *Rome*, and triumphed; an honour which he better deſerved than his predeceſſor *Fulvius Flaccus* had done [s].

And the Salyes *in* Tranſalpine Gaul.

Aquæ Sextiæ *or* Aix *founded.*

The conſul, on his return to *Rome*, found the republic in great confuſion on account of the innovations of *Gracchus*. The ſeditious tribune ſaw with concern, that the c *Roman* knights, who were the moſt wealthy of the citizens, inclined more to the ſide of the nobility, than to his; ſo that the plebeian party was made up only of the indigent populace. The knights were indeed reckoned a part of the plebeian body; but as they were the richeſt of that order they made alliances with the patricians, and, upon a diviſion, generally ſided with them. *Gracchus* therefore, in order to draw them off from the ſenate, and bring them into his meaſures, drew up a law for makeing ſix hundred of them ſenators; but this law the crafty tribune propoſed only to pave the way for another, which was in appearance more moderate, but in effect raiſed the knights above the ſenators. This was, to transfer from the ſenators to the knights the cognizance of all private cauſes, civil and criminal. The ſenators uſed d their utmoſt efforts to get this law rejected; but *Gracchus* was abſolute maſter of the ſuffrages of the people, ſo that the following *plebiſcitum* paſſed by a vaſt majority, *Let the judging of all private cauſes belong to the knights, excluſive of the ſenators.* The tribune was ſo elated with this ſucceſs, that he cried out in a tranſport of joy, *I have at length humbled the ſenate.* The favour which the people ſhewed him on this occaſion, emboldened him to proceed ſo far, as to ſolicit for the conſulſhip, in ſuch terms as led the people to conclude, that he intended to appear for it himſelf; but when the day of the elections came, he entered the *campus Martius*, leading his friend *C. Fannius Strabo* by the hand, whom he recommended to the favour of the people, ſaying, with a very engaging air, which he knew how to aſſume when he pleaſed, *If you confer the* e *conſulſhip on my friend, it is the ſame thing as if you conferred it upon me.* This was enough, *Fannius* was declared conſul with *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus*. It fell to the lot of the latter to carry on the war beyond the *Alps*, and to the former to continue in *Italy*. And now *Gracchus*, being raiſed to ſuch a pitch of power and authority over the people of *Rome*, as the moſt abſolute monarchs have over their ſubjects, in order to ſhew his contempt for the ſenate, cauſed the ſeats in the comitium to be changed. The plebeians had hitherto been ſo placed, that the orators, who harangued them, at the ſame time faced the ſenate, and addreſſed themſelves to that venerable body as well as to the people; but *Gracchus*, by altering the ſituation of the plebeians, contrived it ſo, that, when he harangued the people, he turned his back to the ſenators. This f was a glaring proof, that he acknowledged no ariſtocratical power in the republic, but thought the whole authority lodged ſolely in the people. This laſt outrage rouſed the ſenators, and put them upon contriving expedients to check the inſolence of the daring tribune. As the conſul *Domitius* was abſent, they applied themſelves to his collegue *C. Fannius*, whom, to their great joy and ſurprize, they found to be in his heart a ſteady republican, and a ſincere friend to his country, not to be corrupted, and determined not to ſacrifice the intereſt of the public to his private gratitude. Soon after his election, the popular tribune revived a prohibition formerly given to the judges,

The knights made judges in all private cauſes.

Gracchus *is oppoſed by the conſul* C. Fannius.

[r] Ammian. Marcel. l. xv. Vel. Paterc l. i. c. 15. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſ.
[s] Strabo, l. iv. Vel. Paterc. l. i. Flor. l. iii. c. 2.

a judges, *Not to put in execution a capital ſentence on a* Roman *citizen, without the conſent and order of the people.* This law met with no oppoſition; but when he propoſed the following edict, *That the allies ſhould be upon the ſame foot with the citizens of* Rome *as to a right of ſuffrage, even in the acceptance or refuſal of laws*, the conſul *Fannius*, thinking this a monſtrous innovation, to the great ſurprize of his benefactor, openly declared againſt him, and, mounting the roſtra, harangued the people with great zeal, expatiating on the evil conſequences that would infallibly attend the paſſing of the law propoſed by the tribune. By this means the republic was divided between her two chief magiſtrates, and the debates grew every day warmer and warmer. One was ſupported by the ſenate, the other by the multitude, and both carried matters to
b great extremities. *Gracchus* was for giving the right of citizenſhip and ſuffrage to all the *Italian* allies of *Rome*, from the moſt eaſtern parts of *Italy* to the foot of the *Alps*, which drew vaſt crouds of thoſe people to the capital. The ſenate, alarmed at this prodigious concourſe of ſtrangers, engaged the conſul to forbid all thoſe, who had not yet a right of ſuffrage, to continue in the city, or within five miles of it. This order gave riſe to a warm diſpute between the conſul and the tribune in point of juriſdiction. *Fannius* inſiſted, that theſe new-comers ſhould leave *Rome*; *Gracchus* encouraged them not to obey an order, which the conſul had no right to publiſh. On one ſide were enacted conſular edicts; and on the other ordinances of the tribune directly contrary to them. At length the boldeſt man ſucceeded: *Fannius*, who was a better
c ſoldier than orator, thinking it neceſſary to make uſe of force, ſent his lictors to ſeize ſome of thoſe pretenders to the citizenſhip of *Rome*, and cauſed them to be dragged through the ſtreets, and driven out of the city. *Gracchus*, either out of cowardice, or, as he ſaid, for fear of giving riſe to a civil war, ſuffered his friends to be thus treated, without offering to aſſiſt them; and this too great tameneſs was the firſt thing that leſſened his credit, and made his partizans ſomewhat diffident [t].

But it was not enough for the ſenate to have thus checked the exorbitant power of the tribune; they aimed at nothing leſs than his deſtruction: but as they could not compaſs their deſign, without gaining over one of his brother tribunes, they applied themſelves to *Livius Druſus*, judging him the moſt proper perſon in the college for
d their purpoſe. He was in the flower of his age, of an illuſtrious family, tho' plebeian, in point of manners blameleſs, ſkilled in buſineſs, a good orator, and capable of a laudable emulation. As he had nothing more at heart than the welfare of his country, and the ſervice of his fellow-citizens, he came readily into the meaſures of the conſcript fathers; but they, remembering the misfortunes of *Octavius*, who had oppoſed the attempts of *Tiberius*, directed *Livius* to purſue quite different meaſures from thoſe which that tribune had taken, and taught him a conduct ſo refined and ſo well-judged, that hiſtorians commend it as a maſter-piece of policy. They did not deſire him to oppoſe the novelties which *Gracchus* daily introduced, but, on the contrary, to court the favour of the people, by attempting to ſurpaſs *Gracchus* himſelf in popularity; a
e ſcheme finely laid, and executed with ſtill more addreſs. If *Gracchus* propoſed any law agreeable to the people, and diſpleaſing to the ſenate, *Livius* immediately propoſed another which was more ſo, and by that means brought himſelf into great favour with the multitude. This game was ſo artfully played, as not to be ſuſpected even by the moſt ſagacious of the adverſe party. *Gracchus* could not ſee without concern the good-will of the people divided between him and *Livius*; and being ſenſible that his intereſt was daily leſſened among the multitude, he began to ſhew ſome reſpect to the fathers, who returned it with great civilities, and pretended to be upon very good terms with him. But their maſter-piece was yet behind: they prevailed on *Rubrius*, another tribune, to propoſe a law for raiſing ſix thouſand *Romans* to rebuild and re-
f people *Carthage*. The law being paſſed, *Rubrius*, under pretence of doing honour to *Gracchus*, named him in the firſt place to be the leader of the colony, his ſeditious friend *Fulvius Flaccus* in the ſecond place, and himſelf in the third. *Gracchus* fell into the ſnare, and croſſing the ſea, ſpent ſome months in *Africa*, and began to build there a new city on the ruins of *Carthage*, which he called *Junonia*, from the name of the goddeſs, who had always been the protectreſs of the old city. At the end of two months, *Gracchus* returned to *Rome*, where he met with a very indifferent reception, even from the moſt zealous of his party. *Livius*, during his abſence, had got the aſcendant, and gained the affections of the people to ſuch a degree, that *Gracchus* was

The ſenate gains over Livius, *one of the tribunes;*

The artifice of the ſenate.

A decree paſſed for rebuilding Carthage.

[t] Plut. & Appian. ibid.

was now almoſt quite forgot by the unſteady multitude. The popular tribune was ſo a ſenſible of this, that his friends had much ado to keep up his drooping ſpirits. However, he took ſome ſteps to prevail on the people to elect him tribune the third time, which was his laſt game; but at the ſame time he very imprudently affronted the reſt of his collegues, by ordering a ſcaffold to be pulled down, which they had erected to ſee more conveniently a ſhew of gladiators (Z). *Gracchus* pretended, that the ſcaffold

Gracchus *ſtands for the tribuneſhip a third time.*

(Z) The combats of gladiators paſſed from *Greece*, or, as others will have it, from the *Aſiatic* provinces, to *Hetruria*, and from thence to *Rome*. This cruel cuſtom was firſt introduced into the world to ſupply the room of human victims, which the pagans offered at the funeral piles, or near the tombs of their anceſtors, from a ſuperſtitious notion, that the ſouls or manes of the deceaſed were rendered propitious and highly pleaſed with human blood. This monſtrous perſuaſion prevailed even among the more civilized nations. They generally believed, that the effuſion of human blood was a tribute which the dead required of the living; but, to diſguiſe their impious barbarity with the ſpecious ſhew of pleaſure and voluntary combat, they introduced gladiators; that is, men deſtined by the ſtate to cut one another's throats. Theſe combats were, in their firſt riſe, confined to the funerals of great men; but in a ſhort time became common at the obſequies of private perſons. Thoſe who could afford it, never failed to allot in their wills a certain ſum for a combat of gladiators, this being a ſure way of drawing a great concourſe of people together, and having their obſequies performed with great ſolemnity. The firſt ſhew of gladiators, called by the *Latins munus gladiatorum*, was exhibited at *Rome*, according to *Valerius Maximus* (35), by *M.* and *D. Brutus* upon the death of their father, in the year of the city 490. Several years after, that is, in the year of *Rome* 537, upon the death of *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus* the augur, who had been thrice honoured with the conſulate, his three ſons, *Lucius*, *Marcus*, and *Quintus*, entertained the people with the cruel pleaſure of ſeeing twenty-two couple of gladiators fight in the forum. In the year of *Rome* 547, the firſt *Africanus* diverted his army at *New Carthage* with a ſhew of gladiators, which he exhibited in honour of his father and uncle, who had begun the reduction of *Spain*. On this occaſion two young *Spaniards*, of an illuſtrious birth and couſin-germans, who contended for the ſovereignty of a city named *Lacibis*, obtained leave of *Scipio* to end their quarrel by ſingle combat; which they did accordingly, and their example was followed by ſeveral other *Spaniards* of diſtinction, who fought either to end their perſonal quarrels by duels, or purely to gain ſome glory by conquering. In proceſs of time the *Romans* grew ſo fond of theſe bloody entertainments, that not only the heir of any great and rich citizen lately deceaſed, but all the principal magiſtrates, preſented the people with ſhews of this nature, to procure their eſteem and affection. The ædiles, pretors, conſuls, and, above all, the candidates for offices, made their court to the people, by entertaining them frequently with theſe ſights. As for the emperors, it was ſo much their intereſt to ingratiate themſelves with the populace, that they obliged them with combats of gladiators almoſt upon all occaſions. As theſe bloody ſolemnities were increaſed, ſo was the number of the combatants. At the firſt ſhew exhibited by the *Bruti*, only three couple of gladiators fought; but *Julius Cæſar*; in his ædileſhip, diverted the people with three hundred and twenty couple (36). *Titus* exhibited a ſhew of gladiators, wild beaſts, and repreſentations of ſea-fights, which laſted a hundred days; and *Trajan* continued a ſolemnity of this nature a hundred and twenty three days, during which time he brought out a thouſand couple of gladiators. The number of gladiators were ſo great, even in the time of the republic, that when the conſpiracy of *Cataline* broke out, the ſenate ordered them to be diſperſed about the ſtrongholds, and ſecured, leſt they ſhould join the diſaffected party. The famous *Spartacus*, who put *Rome* under no ſmall apprehenſion, was himſelf a gladiator, and of the ſame condition were the greater part of his troops, with which he defeated the two *Roman* generals *Claudius* and *Vatinius*. As to the condition of the gladiators, they were commonly ſlaves, or captives purchaſed by the *laniſtæ*, that is, by perſons who made it their profeſſion to teach them how to manage their arms, and brought them up for public ſhews. The laniſtæ hired them out at a great price to the perſon who was at the expence of the ſhew, and led them, armed to the amphitheatre, like ſo many victims. Before they entered the liſts, their maſters, or the laniſtæ, engaged them, by the moſt dreadful oaths, never to give ground, but to fight to the laſt extremity. The form of this oath is ſtill preſerved in the fragments of *Petronius*. When brought to the place ſet apart for theſe bloody ſhews, they were ranged into claſſes, and divided into couples; ſo that each had his adverſary. They fought with the utmoſt fury, and purſued one another without mercy, their maſters ſparing neither threatenings nor blows to ſtir up the cowardly. If either of the two combatants, exhauſted with fatigue and loſs of blood, or ſtruck with horror at the approach of death, begged quarter, he held up his finger, and laid down his arms, to ſhew that he had recourſe to the mercy of the people preſent, from whom he expected the deciſion of his fate. It often happened, that the ſpectators took a cruel pleaſure in giving up the ſuppliant to the fury of his adverſary; and then, *Recipe ferrum*, *Stab him*, *ſtab him*, was the cry from all parts of the theatre. Sometimes the multitude declared their pleaſure, by holding up, or, as others will have it, by bending back their thumbs, which was the fatal ſign of condemnation. The cowardly ſcarce ever met with any favour from the populace, who were deaf to their cries and prayers. On the other hand, thoſe who ſhewed a generous contempt of death, were generally favoured by the people, and ſaved.

As ſoon as the mournful ſound of the trumpets proclaimed the death of one of the gladiators, his body, covered with wounds and blood, was ignominiouſly dragged with a crook, through one of the gates of the amphitheatre to a place adjoining, called *Spoliarium*, where the conquerors ſtripped the dead of their cloaths and arms, and inhumanly diſpatched them, if they ſtill breathed. *Pliny* tells us (37), that many of the common people often crouded round the dying, and clapping their mouths, without the leaſt concern, to their trembling limbs, drank their warm blood, as it ſtreamed from their wounds, out of a perſuaſion, that it was a ſovereign remedy for the falling-ſickneſs. If the people ſhewed an inclination to favour the vanquiſhed, the laniſta ſtill retained his right to them, and kept them for other combats. The reward of the conqueror was only a crown of maſtic and a palm branch, which he received

(35) *Val. Max. l.* ii. *c.* 6. (36) *Dio Caſſ. l.* lxviii. (37) *Plin. l.* xxviii.

a ſcaffold raiſed by the tribunes left no room for the common people to ſee the ſhew. By this bold action he ingratiated himſelf with the mob, but provoked the whole college

received from the hands of the magiſtrates, to which was added ſometimes, but very rarely, a ſmall ſum of money.

The greateſt of all the advantages the gladiators ever gained in their victories, and after many years of ſervice, was, the recovery of their liberty. In this caſe, the prætor declared them for ever free from the hard fate of being ſubjected to an avaricious and mercileſs maſter. A kind of foyl, called by the *Latins rudis*, was put into their hands, as a pledge of their infranchiſement, and on their heads a ſort of bonnet, named *pileus*, which was given to all thoſe, who from ſlaves became free. When they were thus ſet at liberty, they conſecrated their arms to *Hercules*, the tutelary god of the *gymnaſia*, or military ſchools.

The gladiators were, as we have hinted above, commonly priſoners taken in war, or refractory and ungovernable ſlaves; for it was a common cuſtom for maſters to ſell ſuch ſervants to the *laniſtæ*, or the inſtructors of the gladiators; but, in proceſs of time, free men often fought for hire as gladiators; whence they had the name of *auctorati*. Some young perſons, of good families, after they had ſpent their eſtates in debauchery, were not aſhamed to hire themſelves out as gladiators; nay, the knights and noblemen, and even the ſenators themſelves, often took up this infamous profeſſion, to keep themſelves from ſtarving, after they had ſquandered away their patrimony; inſomuch, that *Auguſtus* was obliged to publiſh an edict, forbiding any of the ſenatorial order to turn gladiators. Not long after, he laid the ſame reſtraint on the knights (38). But theſe prohibitions were ſo little regarded by the following princes, that, in one ſhew exhibited by *Nero*, four hundred ſenators, if the numbers in *Suetonius* are not corrupted, and ſix hundred of the equeſtrian order, fought in the arena as common gladiators (39). Nay, even women of diſtinction frequently engaged in theſe public encounters, particularly under *Nero* and *Domitian*, and are upon that account elegantly expoſed by *Juvenal* in the following verſes:

Quale decus rerum, ſi conjugis auctio fiat,
Balteus, & manicæ, & criſtæ, cruriſque ſiniſtri
Dimidium tegmen? vel ſi diverſa movebit
Prælia, tu felix, ocreas vendente puella.
Hæ ſunt quæ tenui ſudant in cyclade, quarum
Delicias & panniculus bombycinus urit.
Aſpice quo fremitu monſtratos perferat ictus;
Et quanto galeæ curvetur pondere; quanta
Poplitibus ſedeat, quam denſo faſcia libro (40)!

Thus engliſhed by Mr. *Dryden*.

Oh! what a decent ſight 'tis to behold
All the wife's magazine by auction ſold!
The belt, the creſted plume, the ſev'ral ſuits
Of armour, and the Spaniſh-*leather boots!*
Yet theſe are they that cannot bear the heat
Of figur'd ſilks, and under ſarſenet ſweat.
Behold the ſtrutting Amazonian *whore,*
She ſtands in guard, with her right-foot before,
Her coats tuck'd up, and all her motions juſt,
She ſtamps, and then cries, Hah! at every thruſt.

But the moſt ridiculous ſet of combatants were the dwarfs, who, encountering one another, or engaging with the women, afforded the people great diverſion. They are deſcribed with a great deal of humour by *Statius* (41), to whom we refer our readers.

There are ſeveral kinds of gladiators, diſtinguiſhed by different appellations, which they took from their country, their arms, their way of fighting, or from ſuch-like circumſtances. The moſt famous, and moſt frequently mentioned by the antients, are, the *Retiarii*, the *Secutores*, the *Myrmillones*, the *Thracians*, the *Sammites*, the *Pinnirapi*, the *Eſſedarii*, and the *Andabatæ*. The *Retiarius* was dreſſed in a ſhort coat, having a *fuſcina* or trident in his left-hand, and a net in his right, with which he endeavoured to intangle his adverſary, that he might the more eaſily diſpatch him with his trident. The *Secutor*, who was always matched with the *Retiarius*, was armed with a buckler and a helmet, on which was engraved a fiſh, in alluſion to the net. If the *Retiarius* failed in caſting the net, he fled round the place of combat, till he had got it ready for a ſecond throw. In the mean time, his antagoniſt purſued him to prevent his deſign; and from thence was called *Secutor* or *Follower*. In the ſeveral motions, which the *Retiarius* made while he was attempting to catch the head of his adverſary in his net, he repeated the following words, recorded by *Feſtus*: *Non te peto, piſcem peto; quid me fugis, Galle? Why do you fly from me,* Gaul? *my aim is not at you, but at your fiſh.* The *Secutor*'s weapon was a *falx ſupina*, or kind of ſcymiter. *Juvenal* gives us a very particular account of this ſort of combat, in ſpeaking of a young nobleman, who ſcandalouſly took up the profeſſion of a *Retiarius* in the reign of *Nero* (42). The *Myrmillo* was, as is pretty plain from *Juvenal*, the ſame as the *Secutor*. However, *Lipſius* will have the *Myrmillones* to be a diſtinct order of gladiators, who fought completely armed. The *Thracians* uſed a *ſica*, or dagger, and a *parma*, or little round ſhield. Some writers think they were called *Thracians*, becauſe they were natives of *Thrace*; others pretend they were ſo named from their weapons, which were peculiar to the *Thracians*. As to the *Samnite* gladiators, *Livy* tells us, that the *Campanians*, bearing a great hatred to the *Samnites*, armed ſome of their gladiators after the faſhion of that country, and called them *Samnites*. Such was their original. What their arms were, he tells us in another place; they wore, ſays he, a ſhield, broad at the top to defend their breaſts, and narrow at the bottom, that it might be moved with greater eaſe; they wore a belt over their ſhoulders, a greave on their left foot, and a creſted helmet on their heads. Hence it is plain, that the *Amazonian* combatant, deſcribed above by *Juvenal*, had aſſumed the armour and duty of a *Samnite* gladiator. The *Pinnirapi*, who always entered the liſts againſt the *Samnites*, were ſo called from the *pinnæ* or creſt, which adorned the *Samnite*'s helmet. Theſe *pinnæ* they uſed to catch at, and carry them off in triumph, as marks of their victory; and hence the name of *Pinnirapi*, made up of the two *Latin* words *pinnæ* and *rapere*. The *Eſſedarii* engaged one another in chariots, called *eſſeda*. The *Andabatæ* fought on horſeback, armed with a helmet, which covered their face and even their eyes, ſo that they ſtruck at a venture; and hence *Andabatarum more pugnare* is, among the *Latins*, to fight blind-fold.

We ſhall take our leave of the gladiators, with an obſervation out of *Petronius Arbiter*, who tells us, that the combats of gladiators were introduced out of ſuperſtition, but maintained out of policy; a cruel policy indeed! but the republic found her account in it. The *Roman* youth, being accuſtomed to look on blood and ſlaughter as matter of diverſion, learned to deſpiſe death, which was become familiar to them, and to brave the greateſt dangers.

(38) *Dio Caſſ. l.* xlviii. & *Suet. in Auguſt. c.* 43. (39) *Suet. in Ner. c.* 11. (40) *Juv. ſat.* vi. *ver.* 254, & *ſeq.* (41) *Stat. l.* vi. *ver.* 57, & *ſeq.* (42) *Juv. ſat.* viii. *ver.* 199.

lege of the tribunes, who ſoon found an opportunity to ſhew their reſentment; for a few days after, when the election came on, the old tribunes, whoſe buſineſs it was to collect the votes, ſo counted them, that the majority was declared to be againſt *Gracchus*, tho', in all likelihood, the greateſt number of ſuffrages was for him. To complete his misfortune, his profeſſed enemy, *L. Opimius*, was choſen conſul, with *Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus*, nephew to the ſecond *Africanus*. It fell to the lot of *Fabius* to make war in *Gaul*, where *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, who had continued there with the character of proconſul, had gained great advantages, which we ſhall take notice of hereafter. As for *Opimius*, he continued in *Italy*, and made it his buſineſs to humble in his turn the great adverſary of the ſenate, and his own perſonal enemy; for *Gracchus* had got him formerly excluded from the conſular dignity, becauſe he would not come into his meaſures. The idol of the people, being thus reduced to the condition of a private man, and conſequently expoſed to the perſecutions of his enemies, had recourſe to the law for rebuilding *Carthage*, and, together with *Fulvius Flaccus*, his inſeparable friend, raiſed ſix thouſand men for that purpoſe. When they had made the neceſſary preparations for paſſing over into *Africa*, they were informed, that the law would be repealed. This news brought them back to *Rome*; for they were then buſied in getting together on the ſea-coaſt a ſufficient number of veſſels for the tranſporting of their men. Upon their arrival, they found, that the ſenate had given the tribune *M. Minucius* inſtructions for that purpoſe; and that his chief argument to the people was built on ſome pretended prodigies, which were ſaid to have happened at *Carthage*, when the workmen firſt began to mark out the circumference of the new city. To diſprove this pretence, *Gracchus* mounted the roſtra once more, but both ſpoke and acted like a madman. Among other things he ſaid, *That, if the ſenate reported, that heaven obſtructed the rebuilding of* Carthage *by prodigies, the ſenate lyed.* *Gracchus*, who was naturally of a mild diſpoſition, would never have carried things to this extremity, if he had not been led to it by the advice of his friend *Fulvius*, who, tho' advanced in years, ſtill retained all the fire of youth. On the day appointed for the comitia to meet about the confirming or repealing of the law, *Fulvius*, early in the morning, poſted ſome of his faction in the area of the capitol, where the aſſembly was to be held; and *Gracchus*, with a numerous guard, took poſſeſſion of one of the porticoes of the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, there to wait for the reſult of the comitia. In the mean time, the conſul *Opimius*, having offered a ſacrifice to *Jupiter* in his temple on the capitol, one of the conſul's lictors, by name *Antillius*, as he was bringing out the intrails of this victim, after they had been preſented on the altar, inſulted *Gracchus* and his friends, crying out, *Take care, rioters; make way for the faithful ſervant of the republic.* Upon this one of *Gracchus*'s domeſticks drew a dagger, and laid *Antillius* dead at his feet. This unhappy accident, together with a violent ſtorm, diſperſed the crowd, every one retiring in great conſternation to his own houſe. As the author of the murder was not known, the greater part imputed it to *Gracchus* himſelf, tho' no one, even of the adverſe party, was more affected with it than he; for he knew, that his enemies waited for an opportunity to lay on him the blame of a civil war, which they were reſolved to begin. He paſſed the night in great uneaſineſs, dreading the evil conſequences of that raſh action; but *Fulvius*, who, from his earlieſt years, had been bred up in a camp, behaved in a very different manner. He retired to his houſe attended with a ſtrong guard, and there made a great entertainment for his friends, drinking hard, and cauſing wine to be freely diſtributed among thoſe who attended him. He did not retire till it was very late, and then ſlept ſound, till the out-cries of his guard, and the noiſe that was heard in all the ſtreets of *Rome*, awaked him. The conſul *Opimius* had taken poſſeſſion of the capitol with his conſular troops before day, and thereby made himſelf maſter of a poſt which commanded the city. After this, he had aſſembled the ſenate at the break of day in the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, and cauſed the dead body of *Antillius* to be expoſed to public view, in order to ſtir up the multitude againſt *Gracchus* and his adherents. The ſenate in great haſte drew up a decree, impowering the conſul to do whatever he ſhould judge proper for the publick good; which was in effect creating him dictator. Hereupon *Opimius*, reſolving to repay his old enemy all the evils the republic and himſelf had ſuffered from him, ordered the *Roman* knights to take up arms, and each to bring with him two domeſtics well armed. On the other hand, *Fulvius*, upon the firſt notice of theſe extraordinary proceedings, ran like a madman about the ſtreets; and, having raiſed the mob, flew, with his two ſons and a confuſed multitude, to take poſſeſſion of

But is diſappointed.

A lictor killed in the capitol by one of Gracchus's *domeſtics.*

The Conſul Opimius *ſeizes the capitol.*

a of mount *Aventine*; ſo that the two extremities of *Rome* to the eaſt and weſt were like two camps, whence two armies were ready to march againſt each other. *Gracchus*, foreſeeing that much blood would be ſhed in this quarrel, ſhewed a great reluctance to follow *Fulvius* to mount *Aventine*. However, he reſolved at length to go and join his friend; but left his houſe more like a magiſtrate, who was going to put an end to a civil conteſt, than a warrior, who was marching to battle. He neither changed the habit, which he uſually wore in the city, nor took any other arms than a dagger under his robe, to defend himſelf in caſe he was attacked. As he was juſt going out of his houſe, his wife, who tenderly loved both her huſband and her country, ran, all in tears, to ſtop him. She ſeized him by his robe, and holding in her
b arms his ſon, the only pledge of their mutual affections; *Whither are you going*, ſaid ſhe, *ſo early? Can you be ignorant, that the murderers of your brother are preparing the ſame fate for you? You are going to put yourſelf at the head of a vile rabble, who will baſely abandon you at the ſight of the leaſt danger. If you have any affection either for me or your dear child, take care of a life which is to us ſo dear.* She was going on, when *Gracchus*, pierced to the heart with grief, and not having power to anſwer her, broke away from between her arms; but ſhe, holding him by the robe, followed him, till at length, bore down with the weight of her grief, ſhe fainted and fell down in the ſtreet, whence ſhe was carried to the houſe of *Licinius Craſſus* her brother, who had intirely devoted himſelf to *Gracchus*'s party. *Gracchus*, at his arrival on mount
c *Aventine*, found there a confuſed multitude of people, no-ways in a condition to withſtand the conſular troops and the whole body of the nobility, who, with their clients and domeſtics, formed a very powerful party. He therefore ſummoned the chief men of his party to a council of war, when they unanimouſly reſolved to fortify the temple of *Diana*, to invite the ſlaves to join them, with a promiſe of granting them their liberty, and, laſtly, to offer a treaty before they began hoſtilities. *Gracchus* prevailed on *Fulvius* to ſend to the conſul his youngeſt ſon, a child ſcarce twelve years old, but of extraordinary beauty, and admired by all for his underſtanding, which was much above his years. When young *Fulvius* appeared before *Opimius* with a *caduceus*, the ſymbol of peace, in his hand, the conſul, in deriſion to the embaſſy,
d received the young embaſſador with great pomp and ceremony, and then ordered him to return to mount *Aventine*, and inform thoſe who had ſent him, that, if they would obtain peace, they muſt come themſelves, and ſubmit to the judgment of the ſenate. *Take care, child*, ſaid the conſul, after he had returned that anſwer, *take care you don't appear here a ſecond time. Their ſending an ambaſſador of your age can be done only to inſult us.* Hereupon young *Fulvius* withdrew, and, returning to mount *Aventine*, made his report. Then *Gracchus* himſelf, to prevent the ſpilling of *Roman* blood, offered to come down from the hill in perſon, to hear the propoſals of the ſenate; but the multitude would not ſuffer him, fearing to be deprived of their leader. As no body elſe cared to charge themſelves with this commiſſion, *Fulvius* had the impru-
e dence to ſend his ſon a ſecond time to the conſul, who, without ſo much as hearing him, tho' he appeared before him with a great air of modeſty, cried out in a violent rage, *It is too much to inſult us in this manner. Let the child be carried to priſon, not ſo much to puniſh the ſon, as to chaſtiſe the inſolence of the father.* The order was immediately put in execution, and no farther mention made of treaties. The conſul reſolved, without loſs of time, to fall upon the rebels and force them from their poſt. Accordingly he marched down the capitol, and, arriving at the foot of mount *Aventine*, began the attack with the prudence of an experienced officer. *Fulvius*, whoſe bravery had been honoured with a triumph, made a vigorous reſiſtance. And now *Romans* engaged for the firſt time with *Romans*, and conſuls with conſuls, within the very
f walls of *Rome*. There had been, before this time, ſeveral frays; but this was a formal battle, both parties being commanded by generals of great experience. *Opimius* ordered a body of archers, armed with bows and arrows after the *Cretan* manner, to march up the hill, under the command of *Dorimus Brutus*, and charge the rebels. On the other hand, *Fulvius* came down the hill like a torrent, and fell upon the archers with incredible fury. In this firſt attack *Lentulus*, the prince of the ſenate, was dangerouſly wounded, and many perſons of diſtinction loſt their lives; for in the engagement the ſenators and knights were confounded with the common ſoldiers, and the people with their magiſtrates. The conſul, meeting with a more vigorous oppoſition than he expected, proclaimed an amneſty for all thoſe, who ſhould lay down their
g arms, and at the ſame time ſet a price on the heads of *Gracchus* and *Fulvius*, promiſeing

And Fulvius *mount* Aventine.

Gracchus *joins* Fulvius.

The conſul Opimius *rejects the terms of accommodation offered by* Gracchus *and* Fulvius.

A battle in Rome.

ing to give their weight in gold to any one who ſhould bring them to him. This a
proclamation had the deſired effect; the populace ſlipt away one by one, and, deſert-
ing their leaders, returned ſilently to their own houſes. *Fulvius*, ſeeing himſelf thus
abandoned all on a ſudden, fled for refuge, with his eldeſt ſon, to a friend's houſe,
and concealed himſelf in an old bathing-room, which was very private and no longer
in uſe. In the mean while, his enemies, greedy of the reward ſet upon his head, made
a diligent ſearch after him, and not finding him, tho' they knew he could not be far
off, threatened to burn down the whole neighbourhood. This terrified the owner of
the houſe, to which *Fulvius* and his ſon had retired; however, he would not betray
his friend himſelf, but directed another to ſhew where he was. Hereupon armed men
Fulvius killed. entered the houſe, and killing both the father and the ſon, cut off their heads, with b
a deſign to preſent them to the conſul when the action was over [u].

In the mean time, *Gracchus*, who had not engaged in the battle, for fear of imbru-
ing his hands in *Roman* blood, fled for refuge to the temple of *Diana*; but *Licinius*
Craſſus, his brother-in-law, and *Pomponius*, a *Roman* knight, who attended him,
adviſed him to make his eſcape through the gate *Tergemina*. He followed their
advice, and, paſſing through the centre of the city, got to the bridge *Sublicius*, where
his enemies, who purſued him cloſe, would have overtaken and ſeized him, if his
two friends, *Licinius* and *Pomponius*, with as much intrepidity and reſolution, as *Ho-*
ratius Cocles had formerly exerted in the ſame place, had not oppoſed their fury. They
defended the bridge againſt all the conſular troops, till *Gracchus* was out of their reach; c
but at length, being overpowered by numbers and covered with wounds, they both
expired on the bridge, which they had ſo valiantly defended. In the mean while, *Grac-*
chus fled to a ſacred wood, dedicated to the *Furies*, and there ordered a generous
ſlave, by name *Euphorus*, or, as others call him, *Philoſtratus*, who had attended him,
The death of Gracchus. to put an end to his life. The faithful ſlave, reſolving not to outlive his maſter,
ſtabbed himſelf with the ſame dagger, which he had plunged into the breaſt of *Grac-*
chus, and expired with him. Others tell us, that, *Gracchus* being overtaken by thoſe
who purſued him, *Euphorus*, embracing his maſter, covered him with his body; ſo
that his enemies could not hurt him, without firſt killing the faithful ſlave, who, after
receiving many wounds, breathed his laſt over *Gracchus*, whom the rabble ſoon diſ- d
patched. As ſoon as he was dead, one of the multitude cut off his head; but as he
was carrying it like a trophy to the conſul, *Lucius Septimuleius*, who had always pro-
feſſed a ſtrict friendſhip for *Gracchus*, ſnatched it out of his hand, and baſely went
with it to the conſul, to get the reward ſet upon it, which was its weight in gold;
but firſt he privately poured melted lead into the ſkull, and then delivered it to *Opi-*
mius, who was ſo taken with the preſent, that he paid ſeventeen pounds and a half
for it, without diſcovering the cheat. The body of *Gracchus* was firſt thrown into
the *Tiber*, and afterwards carried to his mother *Cornelia*, who paid it all funeral
honours. It is not agreed, whether *Caius Gracchus* hand any thing in view prejudicial
to the public liberty, in courting the favour of the people, and publiſhing ſo many e
laws to the diſadvantage of the ſenate. Some are of opinion, that he aimed at the
ſovereign power; others, that his deſign was only to eſtabliſh an equilibrium in the
republic, and deliver the common people from the oppreſſions of the rich. His whole
conduct ſeems to confirm the latter opinion; but thus much, however, muſt be allowed,
that the methods he took were ſeditious, and that ambition and deſire of revenge
carried him beyond the bounds of juſtice. He ſo far altered the conſtitution of the
commonwealth, and diſturbed the public peace, particularly by the diſunion of
patrons and clients, that the *Roman* ſtate became very unſettled and liable to any
new revolution. Tho' his intentions might have been upright, yet there was room
to fear, that ruin would be the effect of ſuch diſturbances in ſo corrupted a common- f
wealth. The people, inſtead of ſupporting their protector, deſerted him in his
greateſt danger, and were not ſenſible of their loſs, till it was too late to retrieve it;
but afterwards they erected ſtatues to the *Gracchi*, worſhipped them as gods, and
inſtituted feſtivals in their honour [w].

Cruelty of Opimius On the other hand, the conſul *Opimius*, not ſatisfied with the death of *Gracchus*,
of *Fulvius*, and of above three thouſand of their party, who had been ſlain in the
engagement on mount *Aventine*, impriſoned and condemned to die all the friends
and adherents of the *Gracchi* whom he could diſcover. His ſeverity towards
young

[u] Plut. in Gracch. Appian. de bell. civil. l. i. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. Auth. de vir. illuſt. [w] Plut. & Appian. ibid. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 7.

a young *Fulvius* was highly blameable, and deſervedly condemned even by thoſe of his own party. The child had, notwithſtanding the conſul's prohibition, thought it his duty to obey his father, and return a ſecond time with terms of accommodation. This act of obedience and filial duty the brutiſh conſul looked upon as a great crime, and accordingly ſent a lictor to the young *Roman* in priſon, to acquaint him, that he muſt die, and to offer him in his name the liberty of chuſing what kind of death he thought the eaſieſt. The innocent youth, at this unexpected meſſage, burſt out into tears; which an *Hetrurian* aruſpex who was ſhut up in the ſame priſon, obſerving, *Why all this buſtle*, ſaid he, *in parting with life? I will ſhew you how eaſy a thing it is to die.* He had ſcarce uttered theſe words, when he took a leap, and daſhed
b his head againſt one of the lintels of the door with ſuch violence, that he died upon the ſpot. Young *Fulvius* followed his example, and, by a like death, put the inhuman conſul's orders in execution. After this, *Opimius* commanded the bodies of thoſe who had been killed on the *Aventine*, to the number of three thouſand, to be thrown into the *Tiber*, confiſcated their goods, and publiſhed an edict, forbidding their widows and relations to put on mourning for them. *Licinia*, the wife of *Gracchus*, was even deprived of her dowry. The cruel conſul, after having ſhed ſo much blood, was not aſhamed to build a temple to *Concord*, as if he had, by pacific meaſures, brought his fellow-citizens to an union. The people never ſaw this temple but with horror, and looked upon it as a monument of the cruelty of *Opimius*. As for
c the ſenate, they made it their chief buſineſs to extinguiſh even the memory of the laws publiſhed by the *Gracchi*. With this view they gained over one of the commiſſioners, and prevailed upon him to repreſent in the aſſembly of the people, that he met with inſurmountable difficulties in the inquiry after, and partition of, the lands; but that, to relieve the people, he would take care that every proprietor of ſuch lands ſhould pay a certain rent, proportionable to the quantity he poſſeſſed; and that the money, ariſing from theſe rents, ſhould be diſtributed among the poor citizens, who enjoyed no ſhare of thoſe public lands. He added, that, in conſideration of this payment, he was of opinion, that thoſe who poſſeſſed ſuch lands ſhould be acknowledged the lawful proprietors of them, with a diſcharge from all claims for the future;
d and that they ſhould be allowed afterwards to alienate and diſpoſe of theſe inheritances as they pleaſed; but the ſaid lands ſhould be always ſubject to the rent that ſhould be agreed upon. The people, ſeduced with the hopes of this advantage, paſſed the law, which abſolutely deſtroyed that of the *Gracchi*. Soon after, the rents, which the owners of the lands were to pay to the people, were ſuppreſſed, one of the tribunes of the people pretending, that the rich paid a ſufficient tribute to the public, by being at the charge of ſupporting the dignity of the commonwealth in the magiſtracies, with which they were inveſted. Thus the people were again reduced to their former wants, and ſubjected to the authority of the ſenate and the oppreſſions of the rich; a juſt puniſhment for their inconſtancy, and ingratitude to their benefactors,
e whom they baſely abandoned in their greateſt danger *.

The Gracchian laws repealed. Year after the flood 2883. *Before Chriſt* 116. *Of* Rome 632.

During theſe troubles at home, the late conſul *Domitius* was ſpreading with great ſucceſs the terror of the *Roman* arms in *Tranſalpine Gaul*. He had, during his conſulſhip, intirely ſettled the country of the *Salyes* in peace; a work happily begun by *C. Sextius Calvinus* three years before; but the *Allobroges*, whoſe country bordered on that of the *Salyes*, being uneaſy at the ſettlements of the *Romans* in their neighbourhood, began to riſe, with a deſign to fall upon the *Roman* colony at *Aquæ Sextiæ*. Hereupon *Domitius*, who was now only proconſul, having been ſucceeded by *Q. Fabius Maximus* the collegue of *Opimius*, to prevent the *Arverni*, a powerful people, from joining the *Allobroges*, entered into an alliance with their neighbours the *Æqui*,
f one of the moſt conſiderable nations in *Tranſalpine Gaul*. Upon this the *Arverni* began hoſtilities with the *Æqui*, who complained to *Domitius*; and the *Roman* general took occaſion from thence to force himſelf a paſſage into the country of the *Arverni*. He had ſcarce entered it, when the king of the *Arverni*, named *Bituitus*, or, according to the *Celtic* orthography, *Bitultick*, ſent a deputation to the proconſul, which was quite a new ſcene to the *Romans*. The head of the embaſſy was very richly dreſſed, and followed by a great number of attendants; but his chief guard conſiſted of a company of huge dogs, that followed him in good order, like regular troops. By his ſide walked a *bard*, that is, according to *Feſtus*, a prieſt, who, being a ſkilful verſifier

The ſucceſs of the Romans *in* Tranſalpine Gaul.

* Plut. Appian; Vell. Paterc. ibid.

verſifier in the language of his country, ſung the praiſes of his king, his people, and the embaſſador. The proconſul received the embaſſador with great civility, who, aſſuming an imperious air, commanded him, in the name of his maſter, to forbear moleſting the *Allobroges*, and to retire forthwith from all *Gaul*. *Domitius*, who was not a man to be terrified by ſuch rhodomontades, turned his back upon the embaſſador and his bard, without deigning to give them an anſwer, and immediately led his troops into the fruitful plains of the *Cavari*. While he was encamped there near a village called *Vindalia*, not far from the place where the *Sulga*, now the *Sorgue*, falls into the *Rhone*, an innumerable multitude of *Allobroges* came to attack him; but were eaſily routed by the proconſul's regular and well-diſciplined troops. We are told, that twenty thouſand *Gauls* were killed on the ſpot, and three thouſand made priſoners of war [y]. a b

The Allobroges *defeated with great ſlaughter.*

The defeat of the *Allobroges* put the powerful nation of the *Arverni* in motion. *Bitultick* raiſed an army of two hundred thouſand men, and marched againſt the *Romans*, whom they found incamped in the country of the *Cavari*. The *Roman* army, thirty thouſand ſtrong, was commanded by *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who came from *Rome* during the troubles raiſed by *Gracchus*, but was now become proconſul, *P. Manlius* and *C. Papirius Carbo* having been raiſed to the conſulate. *Domitius* had ſurrendered the command to *Fabius*, but ſtill continued in the camp to aſſiſt the general with his advice. *Bitultick*, who placed too great confidence in his numbers, when he ſaw the *Roman* camp, deſpiſed ſo weak an enemy, and turning to thoſe who attended him, *This handful of men*, ſaid he, *will ſcarce be ſufficient to feed the dogs that follow me.* When he began the attack, the proconſul *Fabius*, who had a quartan ague, was in the height of one of his fits; however, he drew up the legions himſelf, and, being carried through the ranks, encouraged his ſoldiers to behave like true *Romans*. The *Gauls*, who were utterly undiſciplined and without experience, were ſoon put to the rout, and vaſt numbers of them ſlain. And then *Domitius*, deſirous to ſhare the glory of the day with *Fabius*, ſent to invite the king of the *Arverni*, who had not yet left the field of battle, to an interview. The credulous *Gaul* accepted the invitation, and came to meet *Domitius* with a ſmall attendance at the place appointed; but, to his great ſurprize, ſaw himſelf all on a ſudden ſurrounded by *Domitius*'s guards. The betrayed king called for vengeance from the gods, protectors of faith, but in vain; the baſe *Roman* telling him, that he muſt go to *Rome*, to give an account of his conduct to the ſenate. Accordingly he was ſent under a ſtrong guard to *Marſeilles*, and there put on board a veſſel, which conveyed him to *Rome* [z]. The *Allobroges*, upon the news of the victory gained by *Fabius* over their friends the *Arverni*, immediately ſubmitted. As for the *Arverni*, the captivity of their king and the loſs they had ſuſtained in the battle, which is ſaid to have amounted to an hundred and twenty thouſand men, either killed or drowned in the *Rhone*, ſo diſheartened them, that they ſent embaſſadors to ſolicit a peace; which was granted them upon very reaſonable terms, the proconſul only requiring of them, that they ſhould continue at home, and not diſturb the *Æqui*, or any of the neighbouring nations. *Fabius* and *Domitius*, having thus ſettled the eaſtern part of *Gaul* in peace, returned to *Rome*, where the ſenate approved of the baſeneſs of *Domitius*, and not only detained the injured *Bitultick*, and expoſed him in the triumphs of his conquerors, but, by a freſh act of injuſtice, ordered the conſul *P. Manilius*, who was then ſetting out for *Gaul*, to ſend *Congeniatus*, the ſon of *Bitultick*, to *Rome*. The young prince indeed was entertained and educated at *Rome* in a manner ſuitable to his rank; and therefore, when returned to his dominions, maintained to the laſt a great friendſhip and eſteem for the *Romans*, by whom he had been educated. As for the unhappy *Bitultick*, after he had been baſely obliged by the ſenate to grace the triumphs of *Domitius* and *Fabius*, he was confined to the city of *Alba*, where he ſpent the reſt of his days, the ſenate being afraid, leſt he ſhould renew the war, if they allowed him to return to his own dominions [a]. Thus were all rules of equity, and even the law of nations, ſhamefully neglected and trod under foot by the ſenate, when they came in competition with the intereſt of their republic. c d e f

And the Arverni.

The treachery of Domitius.

The Allobroges *and* Arverni *ſubmit.*

Year after the flood 2884.
Before Chriſt 115.
Of Rome 633

This year ended with a remarkable trial: *P. Decius Mus*, one of the tribunes of the people, accuſed the late conſul *Opimius*, and cited him to appear before the comitia.

Opimius *accuſed before the people.*

[y] Strabo, l. iv. Flor. l. iii. c. 2. Vell. Paterc. l. iii. Appian. apud Fulvium. Oros. l. v. c. 13. [z] Appian. in Celtic. Vell. Paterc. l. ix. c. 6. [a] Flor. l. iii. c. 2. Vell. Paterc. ibid. Jul. Cæs. comment. l. i. Diodor. Sicul. apud Valeſ.

a tia. The crimes laid to his charge were, his having put to death a great number of citizens on the *Aventine*, and afterwards ſentenced others to die, and cauſed them to be executed, before the people had condemned them; a cauſe of the utmoſt importance to both parties, and debated with great warmth. *Decius*, no mean orator, maintained, that *Opimius* had tranſgreſſed the law, enacting, *that no citizen ſhould be put to death, but by a decree of the people*; and pretended, that if the people gave up their right in this inſtance, the defenders of the people would undergo the fate of the *Gracchi*, whenever the ſenate ſhould think fit. They will declare them, ſaid he, dangerous citizens, and then death will be the reward of their zeal for the intereſt of the people. On the other hand, the conſul *Papirius Carbo* undertook the defence of
b *Opimius*, and by ſhewing to the multitude how dangerous it was, and inconſiſtent with reaſon, that ſeditious men and rebels ſhould have no other judges or avengers but themſelves, prevailed upon them to acquit *Opimius*, and thereby declare, that it was *And acquitted.* lawful for a conſul, when impowered by the ſenate, to deliver the republic from a dangerous citizen, without waiting for the conſent of the people aſſembled in comitia. Thus was tranquillity reſtored to the city. The ſenate recovered their ancient aſcendant over the people, who bore their mild government without complaints; but this tranquillity was ſoon diſturbed by new commotions, which greatly ſhook the conſular ſtate, and paved the way for an abſolute monarchy. Theſe civil diſturbances, and ſome foreign wars, together with the riſe, progreſs, declenſion, and total ruin of
e the imperial ſtate, ſinking under the weight of its own greatneſs, will be the ſubject of the firſt chapters of the following volume.

The End of the Fourth Volume.

A N

A N

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